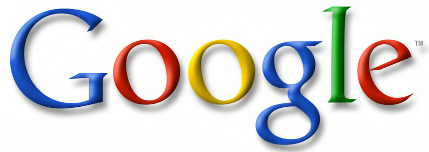

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HUMANITARIAN ESSAYS.

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HUMANITARIAN ESSAYS.

BEING VOLUME III. OF

"CRUELTIES OF CIVILIZATION."

BY

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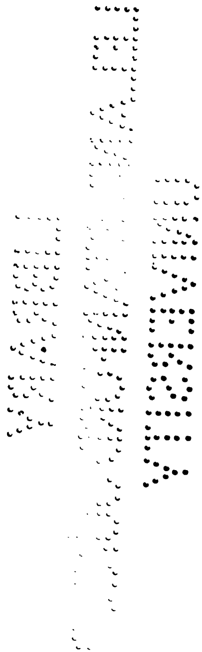

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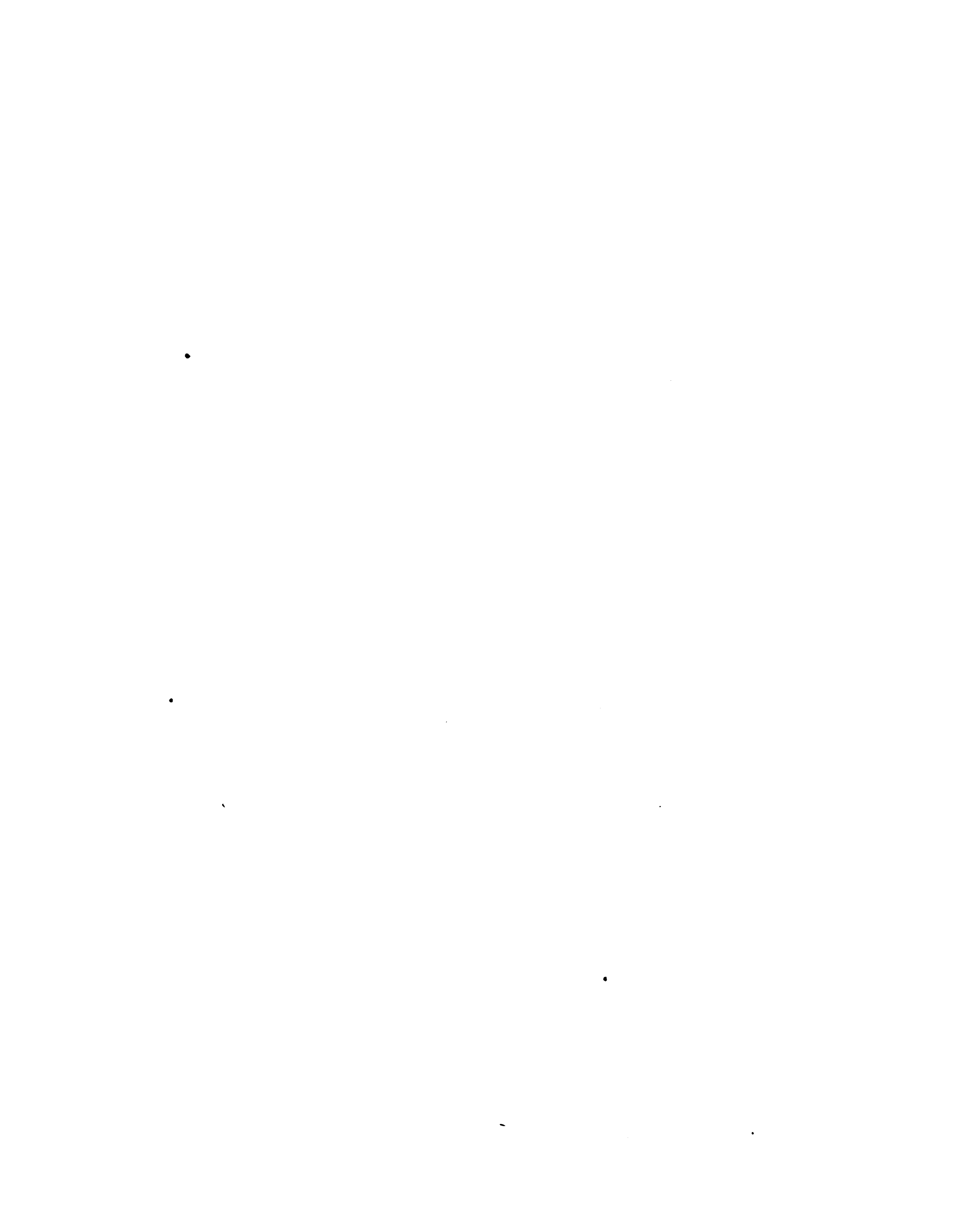

NOTE.

THE following essays are reprinted from the Humanitarian League's pamphlets of the past three years, and form the third and concluding volume of "Cruelties of Civilisation." The first part of this series dealt with certain social questions of immediate human interest; the second with those questions that more closely affect the welfare of animals. In the present volume both kinds are included, but in such proportion as to leave no ground for the complaint so often brought against humanitarians—that, while pleading the cause of the lower animals, they forget that of their fellow-men. It has from the first been the League's purpose to show that the cause of humanity is everywhere one and the same, and that it is iniquitous to inflict unnecessary suffering on any sentient being.

HUMANITARIAN ESSAYS.

it will be well to observe how, in the course of the official and other enquiries into the matter, the word has gradually defined itself. One figure loomed large in the popular imagination of the time—the "sweater"—who by means of his "system" of sub-contracting wrung wealth for himself from the toil of haggard wretches working in indescribably filthy "dens," for next to impossibly long hours, barely keeping soul and body together with the starvation wages they earned.

It was with some such picture in their minds that the Board of Trade, in 1887, ordered their labour correspondent, Mr. John Burnett, to enquire into "what is known as the Sweating System at the East End of London, especially in the tailoring trade." In his report to the Board he defined the system as "one under which the sub-contractors undertake to do work in their own houses or small workshops, and employ others to do it, making a profit for themselves by the difference between the contract price and the wages they pay their assistants." This system he found to prevail throughout the East End. "The smaller sweaters," he reported, "use part of their dwelling accomodation, and in the vast majority of cases work is carried on under conditions in the highest degree filthy and unsanitary. In small rooms not more than nine or ten feet square, heated by a coke fire for the pressers, and at night lighted by flaming jets of gas, six, eight, ten, and even a dozen workers may be crowded." These workers have frequently to be in the workshop at 6 a.m. to start working, or to await the arrival of work, and in the busy season have to work right on to midnight with five or ten minutes for dinner, which, said a witness examined by the Lords' Committee, "we have on the chair by the side where we are

working." Tea or coffee supplied by the master is taken cold because, as the same witness explained, "we cannot allow ourselves time to drink warm coffee, because the work does not earn the price, and we must earn so much as to get a living for our families." For this labour the average wage would vary from 10s. or 11s. to 15s. per week. Such is the "sweating system" as described by Mr. Burnett, and in the voluminous "Report and Evidence of the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Sweating System in 1890."

That this system still flourishes the following well-authenticated case will show. A firm of clerical tailors give out much of their work to a contractor, paying him from 2s. to 3s. 6d. a pair for trousers. These he has made by eight women and two men, in a room with a low ceiling and very bad sanitary arrangements, over a public house, for which he pays 8s. a week. There is a coke fire and several gas jets in the room. The workers, other than the machinist and presser, earn about 8s. or 9s. a week, working from 8 a.m. to 8 or 9 p.m., with an hour for dinner and "tea anyhow." On the labour of these people the sweater lives in comfort. The following extract from the *Daily News* of July 24th, 1896, furnishes even more conclusive evidence of the continued existence of as complete a system of sweating as was revealed by the reports of 1887 or 1890-91.

Judge Emden, sitting at Lambeth County Court yesterday, offered some strong remarks upon the rate of remuneration of tailoresses. His Honour had before him an action in which a clothing manufacturer sued a tailoress to recover 19 kharkee coats, which she was detaining. Plaintiff stated that he took work from wholesale manufacturers, and was now engaged with a large order of special kharkee coats for export to South Africa. The defendant was among those of his employees who

did work at home. She was entrusted with 19 of these coats for the purpose of working in them by hand five button-holes and sewing on four buttons. The rate of pay for this was ¾d. per coat, or 9d. per dozen.

Judge Emden (surprised): Ninepence per dozen, or each?

Plaintiff: Ninepence per dozen, and that is the usual rate.

Judge Emden: How long does it take to do a coat?

Defendant: It cannot be done under an hour.

Plaintiff, with some emphasis, informed his honour that he only got 4½d. per coat for cutting, making, button-holing, and pressing. He had to cut things "very fine" himself or he lost on his jobs. Defendant, he added, accepted the work at 9d. per dozen, and in many cases he (plaintiff) was without any profit.

Judge Emden: I suppose you will say next that no one makes a profit.

Plaintiff: I don't but the capitalist does. Proceeding, plaintiff added that he turned out as many as 500 or 600 coats a day.

Judge Emden: I am sorry for the poor people who work for you at the rate you mention. It is said, and said very truly, that one half of the world does not know how the other half lives. This case affords a shocking disclosure of how this woman—and she is only one of a class—has been paid for her labour.

Yet although the sub-contractor figures largely in the popular imagination, and although there is no doubt that he often makes a good living out of the toil of others, the enquiries proved—as Mr. Lakeman, the well-known factory inspector, told the Lords' Committee—that there is sweating without sub-contracting and sub-contracting without sweating. In many cases the contractor works as hard and as long as his hands, and gets little more than they do—in fact is sweated himself—and on the other hand some contractors pay decent wages to their employees and only work them during factory hours.

The evidence given before the Lords' Committee and the

researches of Mr. Chas. Booth show that "sweating" extends beyond the "Sweating System" and that many people working in their own homes on their own materials, or on those furnished them direct from the manufacturer or dealer, are sweated quite as badly as the occupants of any "sweater's den." This comes out quite clearly in the pathetic case of Mrs. Isabella Killick, trouser finisher, who was examined by the Lords' Committee, and which is one out of several similar cases examined before the same Committee, and typical of many thousands of others. She was a married woman whose husband had been a boiler maker earning good wages, but who was then dying in an infirmary.

"I have three children to support, the eldest ten years of age, the youngest three. I can't earn more than 1s. 2d. a day and I have to find my own materials, altogether I do not clear 1s. a day, not after finding my own trimmings, firing and all. I am up at six in the morning and never done till eight at night. I have to go for my work and take it back again. About three months of the year work is slack. I am then glad to get anything to do, cleaning or washing. I cannot be without work as I have three little ones to support."

"I take it from what you say," she was asked, "that you manage to clear 1s. a day by your work after providing your materials?"—"After the things." "Then there is 2s. for rent?"—"Yes." "And therefore all you have is 5s. really a week to live upon?"—"Yes." "And out of that you have to pay firing and your living?"—"Yes, firing and light." "I get a herring and a cup of tea, that is the chief of my living with the rent to pay and three children eating very hearty. As for meat, I do not expect I get meat once in six months."

In this case there is no sweater grinding down his hands. The poor woman goes to the dealer herself, makes her own contract (?), brings home her work, and gets all the

pay herself, and yet this is so small that long hours of work barely sustain life in herself and her children.

The enquiry thus changed its character from an enquiry into the "Sweating System" to an enquiry into those industries into which, or into some branches of which, sweating enters largely; sweating being defined as labour carried on for *excessively long hours*, for *very low wages*, and *under insanitary conditions*. Such trades were found to be very numerous.

In the lower branches of the Tailoring-trades women were found to be working in slop-shops from 8 a.m. to 10 or 11 p.m., for from a 1s. to 1s. 6d. a day. "The very lowest layer of the coat trade, that work done by women and men at their own houses, really does not pay the contractor to take it out," said Miss Potter. In trouser-finishing women toil, as we have seen, for the whole week for 4s. or 5s.

The Shirt-trade is another of the sweated industries. Women are paid 2s. 6d. a dozen for making shirts. They can with difficulty finish a dozen in a day and a half, giving some 7s. 6d. or 8s. for a week of "ceaseless toil." For "making" shirts with 7 button holes, *i.e.*, for all the work except the machining, women are now receiving ¼d. each, earning 3d. a day on an average.

Work is done in the Cabinet-making trade by men who buy their own materials, and put their own labour into them, selling the finished article at the end of the week to the dealers for whatever they can get. These men work "all the hours that God gives them," as one of them phrased it, in small and unhealthy workshops, and do not often earn more than from 15s. to 16s. a week.

The hard conditions under which the Chain-makers of Cradley Heath earn a mere subsistence, were widely

known in 1890, when women from the district came to give evidence before the Lords' Committee. They and the Nail-makers of Halesowen and the neighbourhood are sweated to a degree which it seems impossible to exceed. When women do heavier work than the ordinary blacksmith for hours, which are limited only by their physical endurance, earning thereby 1s. a day or even less—men earning but 3s., when they work huge hammers called "Olivers," which often require the combined strength of a man and woman to move, and after all their toil are defrauded in the weight of their product, and the quality of the material supplied them, it seems as if the force of sweating could no further go!

And yet in the matter of wages the women employed in the Nottingham Hosiery-trades are worse off. They can barely earn more than from 3s. to 3s. 6d. a week, so that they are often partly dependent upon parish relief, and "even this wretched wage is often paid in goods from the middleman's shop, just as if the Truck Act had never been passed."

The earnings in the Lace-trade, in the same district, are said to be 1½d. an hour or less.

Sweating also prevails in the Cutlery and File-Cutting trades of Sheffield, which are still in the stage of the small master and the domestic workshop.

Long hours are habitually worked in the Dressmaking-trades, and these are always liable to be suddenly lengthened by orders coming in to be executed at short notice. "Weddings and funerals," writes Miss E. March Phillips, "are made occasions for excessive hours. A country dressmaker excused the employment of young girls from 7 a.m. one day to 8 p.m. the next. 'Miss —— was going to get married. What could I do?'" When

one remembers that these long hours are worked by young girls in close and ill-ventilated rooms, the air in which is rendered still more noxious by gas, one can realise the damage to health which must ensue. "A few days of high pressure will permanently injure a child's health," we are told. In addition to this the wages paid are often very low, beginners and "apprentices" getting little or nothing, so that many girls are either partly supported by their relatives, or supplement their wages by prostitution.

Work in the Fur-trade is generally carried on in small workshops, sub-contracting of the worst kind prevails, and wages are so low, that 4s. a week represents a common wage for women, and men rarely earn more than 12s.

Even the recently developed Bicycle-manufacture is not free from the taint of sweating. Girls employed in tyre-making only get 8s. for working the usual factory hours, so that it may take the whole year's work of one of these women to earn the amount which the fashionable lady spends on her bicycle.

In the Mantle-making, Stick and Umbrella-making, Sack and Rope-making, Envelope-making, Ostrich-Feather making, in the Brush-making, Tinware-trade, and in a number of other minor industries, sweating is rampant. It is in such trades as these, where the work is mostly carried on in houses or small workshops in which good sanitary conditions do not exist, and where, whether under middlemen or "sweaters" or without them, men and women work for wearisome hours for a wage which is insufficient to maintain them in health and strength, that what is technically known as "sweating" is found.

Sweating in the Wider Sense.

But there are numbers of workers employed in the transport and distributive industries who toil under conditions which fulfil one or more of the requirements of "sweating." Paid well, they may work in "dangerous trades" or in unhealthy surroundings, or in healthy employments they may be overworked, or may receive excessively low wages, or both abuses may be combined. In this wider sense we may safely say that a very large proportion of the workers in this and every other civilised country are sweated. Taking a 'bus to catch the last train from one of the London termini a few nights ago, I asked the conductor of Metropolitan Stage Carriage No. — whether I might expect the 'bus to keep its time? "Yes," he replied, "this is our last journey, and both the driver and I are anxious to get home." In answer to further enquiries, he went on to say: "I get home about half-past twelve, and if the missus has got anything warm to eat I have a little supper, that is, if I am not too tired to eat it, and then I get to bed, about one o'clock. I am on the 'bus again at eight o'clock in the morning. Yes! I feel tired now after standing all day, but I feel more tired in the morning; you see, six hours' sleep of a night is not enough for a man. Does standing hurt me? Well, I am a strong man, except my throat is a bit delicate; but some of our men get soft leg (varicose veins) through standing, and then they sometimes make them time-keepers; many men get paralysis, and that's far worse. I get 35s. for a week of seven days, about 4d. an hour. Sundays off? No, indeed! I work twenty-three days out of every twenty-four."

Cases of overwork still occur among the great numbers

of men employed as guards, engine-drivers and firemen, and signalmen on the railways, and the work done by freightmen and shunters is very trying and dangerous. Though several inventions have been patented for coupling trucks without danger to the men, and even for automatic coupling, the companies still prefer to maim and slaughter a large number of their employees every year to incurring the expense of altering the arrangement for coupling their trucks. They do not, apparently, even consider the matter when ordering new trucks.

It is almost unnecessary to refer to the hard conditions of life and the overwork to the verge of exhaustion for small pay which is the lot of the vast number of men who work our mercantile marine. Continuous work during a voyage is their recognised lot. It is a joke among sailors that the fourth commandment is superseded for them by one which runs,

> "Six days thou shalt labour
> And do all that thou art able,
> And the seventh thou shalt holystone the decks
> And clean the cable."

A vivid picture of the life of the firemen on board our splendid ocean steamers is given in the following letter to the *Daily Chronicle*, May 25th, 1896, entitled,

"THE MOLOCH OF OCEAN SPEED.

"Sir,—Having just stepped off a great liner, and having made some efforts during my passage to find out something of the conditions under which stokers live on board these floating palaces, I have been much interested in the paragraph of your issue of April 17th on the abnormal number of suicides among men of that class.

"My interest in the subject dates from a previous voyage, when the chief engineer took me down to see the workings of the vessel. We stood as near as we could to the door of the

furnace-room, beaten back by the intolerable heat if we ventured from under the air funnel. Here in front of the row of huge furnaces stood the firemen stripped, almost naked, perspiration streaming down their blackened bodies, never ceasing in their work of opening and re-opening the furnace doors to shovel in fresh supplies of coal and keep the fire raked up to a white heat. Under these conditions the men worked four hours on and four off at stoking, but in addition to that had to remove their own ashes which took another hour. This chief engineer himself thought their hours too long, and the food provided for them very poor, and he did not think it any wonder that once ashore their instinct was to lie still and drink whisky. As a man of heart he pitied them, and said so, but what could he do?

"Aboard the far larger liner I have just left, I had considerable talk with a fireman, who was in a state of weakness and exhaustion brought about by the heat and strain. Of the eighty men who stoked this vessel, he believed every one drank save himself, not only ashore but afloat, for though against the rules, each smuggled whisky bottles in his satchel. . . . .

"No doubt many of these men are of a low type, and no doubt many of them drink. Under the circumstances is this wholly a matter of surprise? No doubt the company like to keep down expenses; the passengers want extra speed, and in the comfort of the saloon they do not realise the suffering of the white-faced, soot-blackened men far down in the burning heart of the ship. But three things at least might be done; the hours of work should be compulsorily shortened, even if this involves the engagement of more hands; the food provided should be subject to inspection and a standard quality insisted on; while lastly the prohibition of whisky on board should be made a reality."

Mr. Chas. Booth, in the last volume of the "Life and Labour of the People in London," estimates the number of persons employed in the preparation of food and drink in the Metropolis as 138,000, of whom 27,000 are women. Many of these are sweated to a terrible extent. Cases

are common of cooks working in underground kitchens of restaurants for 14 hours a day for wages of not more than 1s. 6d. a day, or even less. The public were startled a short time ago by the charges made in some of the evening newspapers as to the conditions under which waitresses were employed in the shops of Messrs. Lyons and Co., and other refreshment contractors, and, strange to say, a financial paper lately devoted a column a day for two or three days to the sweating of waitresses and barmaids at railway station bars and refreshment rooms. Perhaps, however, the following case at the Shoreditch County Court offers an example of the limits beyond which it is physically impossible to impose long hours and difficult to greatly reduce wages:

"A waitress named Dynes sued a coffee-tavern proprietor for a month's money for work done, and a month instead of notice. Plaintiff said she was employed as waitress, at 12s. a month. On November 6th last the defendant told her to clear out, and did not pay her her wages.—The Judge: Why were you dismissed?—Plaintiff: Because I was not up in time in the morning. I could not be. I never got to bed before a quarter to one, and I was expected to be up again at half-past four in the morning.—The Judge: What time did you get downstairs?—The Plaintiff: Five o'clock. Mr. Moore (Counsel for the Defendant): Isn't it a fact you came down late?—Plaintiff: At five o'clock.—Judge French: Do you call that late? (Laughter). —Plaintiff: Defendant then told me half-a-dozen times to go, so I went.—Mr. Moore: Did he not go up and tell you to finish your sleep?—The Judge: Was that meant ironically? (Laughter.) Really, Mr. Moore, could any girl of eighteen get up at that time in the morning if she went to bed at a quarter to one, even with this very generous allowance of two hours' rest in the afternoon? (Laughter.) She is a young girl, and the hours are worse than sailors' watches on board a ship, and they are strong and hearty men. (Applause in court). Judge French said he believed the girl's version of

what took place. He gave judgment for her with costs, and allowed her 4s. for her attendance that morning."

Although Shop Assistants are supposed to have "light work," yet the long hours they are compelled to stand about day after day, the absence of time for exercise, and the short intervals for meals (which are often far from appetising), together with the overcrowded and ill-ventilated bedrooms in which many of them sleep, and the insanitary condition of many shops, tend to undermine the health even of strong young men, and are especially fatal to delicate women and girls. If we add to this that the wages are frequently low and made lower by all kinds of vexatious and excessive fines, and that in very many shops there is constant "drive," we shall agree that the Shop Assistant is only too frequently the victim of sweating. In the "Report of the Committee of the Shop Hours Bill, 1886," we read: "Your Committee being satisfied that the hours of Shop Assistants range in many places as high as from eighty-four to eighty-five per week, are convinced that such long hours must be generally injurious to health, and that the same amount of business might be compressed into a shorter space of time." In consequence of this report the Shop Hours Regulation Act of 1886 was passed limiting the hours of persons under 18 employed in shops to 74 hours per week, or an average of 12 hours 20 minutes per day! It is now the law that if three-fourths of the shop keepers in any district desire to close early one day in the week the principal authorities are obliged to enforce the closing of all shops in the district. But as the larger towns are divided into districts, instead of being treated as a whole, the Act has been largely inoperative.

Who are the Victims?

The victims of sweating are those who in the fierce struggle for existence which rages among the poorer classes are weaker or in some way in a less advantageous position than others. This may arise from various causes, foremost among which we may reckon bodily weakness and ill health, ignorance, want of skill in work, absence of organisation among the workers, and, finally, sex. In short, the sweated will be the physically weak, the unskilled, and the unorganised workers, and as women often combine all these qualifications, woman is, *par excellence*, the sweated one.

The general want of skill and organisation among female workers renders the competition between them for employment keener than that between men. The female weavers in the Lancashire cotton mills are almost the only women whose labor is as well organised as men's labour, with the result that they receive the same wages as the men. It is, indeed, only recently that any attempt has been made to organise the unskilled female workers, and these attempts have met with but slight success. Another reason for the low wages paid to women is to be found in the fact that married women, partially supported by their husbands, and girls living at home, compete with other women who have to support themselves entirely, and their competition often brings down the wages of the latter almost to starvation point. Again, women are more patient of bad treatment and of long hours of labour, and are more easily frightened by their employers than men, and thus they are the greatest sufferers from acts of petty tyranny—unreasonable and excessive fines, etc.

What can an Individual do?

Everyone who has contemplated the horrors of sweating, and thought of the vast numbers of its victims; who has realised the intensity of the sufferings endured by those forming the base of the industrial pyramid, who are unable to pass on a portion of the social pressure to others lower than themselves, but are forced to bear the whole of its crushing weight—must feel troubled by his share of responsibility for these things, and must often have asked himself, "What can I do to remedy these evils?" It is to be feared, indeed, that but little can be done by the direct action of any individual, yet we are each of us bound to do that little. Everyone is to some extent a purchaser of the products of labour, and it has often been argued that much might be done towards the abolition of sweating if each well-to-do person was willing to pay a fair price for a good article, and to deal only with such tradesmen as treated their assistants with consideration. Now with regard to the first of these assertions, whilst it is no doubt true that very "cheap" articles are largely produced by sweated labour, this is not invariably the case, and if it were, it by no means follows that by paying a high price for a good article one can be sure of buying goods which are not the products of sweating, as the following case will show. In a certain West-end shop a lady will be charged three guineas for a well-made blouse of first-class materials costing the dealer 25s. 6d. (18s. for the material and 7s. 6d. for the labour). These blouses are made by seventeen girls employed only during the season. It is said that they come back regularly to the workroom on the first day of the season, having supported themselves during the remainder of the year by prostitution. Sixteen

of these girls—they are all over eighteen years of age—earn 15s. a week or somewhat less, whilst the remaining one is paid 11s.

Some good might, no doubt, be done if the public would boycott restaurants and refreshment rooms where the waitresses are notoriously overworked or underpaid, and would patronise only such shopkeepers as treat their assistants with some degree of consideration. But it is difficult to know who these are. Attempts have been made to draw up a "white list" of the employers who pay their shop people well, and do not overwork them, but little has as yet been done. The Christian Social Union have, indeed, drawn up a list of bakers whom they can recommend as "dealing fairly with their employees and satisfying the conditions of the sanitary authorities," and of clerical tailors who adhere to the arrangement as to hours and wages agreed upon by the Association of London Master Tailors and the Amalgamated Society of Tailors. They also recommend Lockhart's, the Aerated Bread Company, "Pearce and Plenty," and the British Tea Table Company as coffee-houses in which the waitresses are never worked for more than eleven hours per day, are not fined, have opportunities for sitting down, and have other advantages over the waitresses in most refreshment rooms, though the conditions under which they work "leave room for much improvement." The London Society of Compositors (7 and 9, St. Bride Street, E.C.) publishes a list of "Fair Houses." There is room for a good deal of useful work in this direction, and we may hope to see more accomplished in the near future. The Co-operative Institute Society, at the depôt for co-operative productions, 19, Southampton Row, Holborn, sell boots and shoes, hosiery, shirts, dress goods and

china, and do tailoring on their own premises. By purchasing from them one may be sure that one is buying goods which have not been made by sweated labour and that one is aiding the co-operative movement besides.

In investing money, again, one should choose such companies as are said to treat their employees well, and one should then use one's influence as a shareholder to secure this being done. Strikes for better pay and shorter hours, such as those of the dockers and the great strike against sweating in the boot and shoe trade, should be aided by every social reformer. Anyone who employs labour has, of course, greater possibilities of giving direct aid in the abolition of sweating. He should see to it that all in his employment work no longer than the legal hours, are well paid, and work under sanitary conditions. The Bishop of Bedford, when examined before the Sweating Commission, pointed out that if men of business "were content with less returns and attended more directly to the business themselves" they might effect a considerable change. The answer often given when attention to the sweating of their employees is, he added, "Oh I cannot interfere with that department, that is Mr. Such-and-Such's. Mr. Such-and-Such knows that though he may be told to treat all that are employed fairly, it will go hardly with him at the time of stocktaking if he does not produce as good a balance as he had last time. And those who in my judgment very sadly neglect their duty are, many of them, those that we all honour as most philanthropic and charitable people. I would rather that their earnings were a little less, and they had less to give away and so this evil was reduced."

Members of philanthropic and zoophilist societies should use their influence to prevent their society from employing

sweated labour for their printing, clerical, and other work. This is frequently done by such societies in order to save money for their special work, and thus sweating is promoted by the very people most anxious to lessen suffering or remove oppression.

It does not appear that we can do much more by *direct* action as individuals. We must look to collective and State action to do the greater part of the work of mitigating and destroying sweating.

Collective Action of the Workers.

If the isolated action of the individual becomes more insignificant as society grows more complex, the union of individuals becomes increasingly possible, and the power of such union greater. This being the case, many have seen in co-operation of the workers the true remedy for sweating. Much has undoubtedly been done by a portion of the upper section of the working classes to better their condition by co-operation in distribution, and of late years in production also, and the movement seems now to be progressing at an accelerated speed. But the lowest section of the workers, whom it is most imperative to help, seem at present beyond the reach of its influence. Ignorant, overworked, underfed, and often working in isolation, it is almost impossible for them to effectively co-operate.

There is more hope in the endeavours which have lately been made to band the unskilled workers together in Trade Unions. Yet many of the reasons which have rendered Trade Unionism such a potent force among the skilled workmen are absent in this case. The earnings of the unskilled are so small that great difficulty is experienced in regularly contributing even the smallest

sum to the Union fund; their numbers are practically unlimited, so that their places are easily filled if they strike, and this fringe of unskilled labour is added to by the very success of the skilled artisans since their Unions are necessarily confined to good workmen, and the less competent men are added to the already swollen ranks of the unemployed or the sweated. Yet in spite of such enormous difficulties something has been gained by union of unskilled labourers. The Union gives some additional strength to the worker by the collective bargain with the master; it strengthens the individual in resisting deductions, fines, and other forms of petty tyranny, and it helps to develop a feeling of solidarity among the workers, and to keep their grievances before the public eye. It is to this publicity, and to the growth of a healthy public opinion, that we must look to bring about the adoption of the only means which is strong enough, and far reaching enough, to give really effective aid to the sweated class—viz., Legislation for the Protection of Labour.

Economic Evolution.

One of the most potent forces which are making for the elimination of sweating is the growing consolidation of capital and the consequent tendency for work to be carried on in large factories; for large shops and warehouses to supersede smaller ones; and for transportation to be under the control of large companies—such as the L. and N.W. Railway (employing an army of 60,000 men) and the P. and O. Steamship Company. The growth of these large concerns favours the abolition of sweating, because it tends to abolish "domestic workshops," the giving of outwork and sub-contracting, and to eliminate the small

master, shopkeeper, and dealer who had not the means to carry on his business in such a way as to secure proper conditions for his employees. In regard to "domestic workshops," Mr. Lakeman said in 1894: "I shall hold to the opinion that these domestic workshops are great evils, for *we cannot apply the law to them as we can to other workshops;* they are occupied by persons of such varied habits, who are *recipients of a wage from the employer which would not be offered to a worker on his premises*, that wages are kept down, the elevation which one looks for in a London factory worker, both as to character and position, is lost, and the factory laws, which ensure regularity, due time for meals, and strict leaving off, so valuable to young persons, are *never before a domestic worker*." It is, of course, quite possible for sweating to go on in a large establishment, especially in such trades as have not yet been brought under the Factory Acts; but the workers in such places have more opportunities of organising themselves: the business is carried on publicly and not in holes and corners, it is much easier to bring the influence of public opinion to bear on the employers, and, finally, the growth of these large concerns renders necessary the extension of the Factory, Sanitary, and Truck Acts, and their more efficient enforcement.

Legislation for the Protection of Labour.

At the end of the last and the beginning of the present century sweating was well nigh universal. The movement for the liberation of the worker from Feudal restrictions and outgrown forms of association had ended in throwing him helplessly into the power of the rapidly growing capitalist class, with the result that he became a slave in everything but the name. Long hours were toiled by

men, women, and even little children, who often worked under the most degrading conditions and in the most horrible and insanitary surroundings. "Freedom of Contract" was not then interfered with, and *laissez-faire* was the motto of the Government, excepting when the working classes ventured to meet and discuss their almost intolerable wrongs, or to combine to better their condition, when they were mercilessly suppressed. But in 1802 the first timid attempt was made by the State to protect little children from the horrible sufferings of overwork, and from that time onward a series of Acts have been passed for the protection of women and children, and the regulation of hours of labour in factories and workshops, culminating in Mr. Asquith's Act of last year. By this Act protection has been extended to young persons, and, in some degree, to women working in laundries where sweating had formerly prevailed. Outwork has at last been forbidden for children, and for any women and young persons who are employed both before and after the dinner hour. Registration of workshops has been made compulsory. More stringent regulations have been made as to sanitation, and henceforth 250 cubic feet of space (400 during overtime) must be allowed for each worker, to prevent overcrowding. What is now required is the further extension and development of this legislation, and the enforcement of the Acts by an adequate staff of competent inspectors with power to levy penalties for the infraction of the law. Work taken home by women to be finished at night, after long hours of toil at the workshop or factory, has been one of the most common and most oppressive forms of sweating. The following incident will show how a resolute enforcement of the Act would eradicate this form of oppression.

"In a London workshop some half-dozen girls were employed in making certain articles of apparel. They were paid on a piece-work scale, and constantly received a considerable quantity of work to take home at night, which they were to bring back finished in the morning. The latest Factory Act has, since the beginning of this year, declared that practice illegal, and the circumstances coming to the knowledge of the Women's Industrial Council, the Factory Inspector was communicated with. An inspector called on the employer and informed him that the practice was illegal. The employer drew up a statement for signature by each employee, declaring that the work was taken home to be done not by herself but by her relatives. The Council again informed the inspector. The inspector visited again, and arrived just as the girls were going home at night with work. What the inspector said to the employer on this occasion is of course unknown to the Council, but the practice of carrying home work was stopped at once. The girls working now only the legal hours found their wages much diminished, and went to the employer to complain that they could no longer live on what they earned. The employer raised their wages in a proportion that seems to be from 40 to 50 per cent. He also engaged six new workers in order to get the work done which had previously been done at home, and is enlarging his work-place to accommodate them."

THE REFORMS MOST URGENTLY NEEDED.

1. The employer should be made responsible for the condition of the places to which he sends his outwork, and should be subject to a penalty if it is performed in insanitary places or by sweated workpeople; or, better

still, as was suggested to the Labour Commission by Mr. Inskip, the employer should be compelled "to find healthy and convenient workshops for all working at trades that are done indoors."

2. The landlord should be held responsible for the condition of any house or part of a house in which any process of manufacture is carried on. Miss Potter (Mrs. Sidney Webb), in her examination before the Committee on Sweating, said that the landlord should be "responsible for giving notice to the Factory Department that such-and such a manufacture is being carried on, and then he becomes liable by that notice to certain penalties, supposing certain sanitary conditions are not carried out." "I would rather make him liable to the penalty," she added, "than have the inspector come down and tell him 'this ought to be put right and that ought to be put right,' because he never does it; but if he is liable to a penalty his rent collector takes pretty good care that nothing is going on that is wrong." By these means it might be possible to secure that, if out-work continued, it was at least performed under tolerable conditions; but they would undoubtedly tend to the abolition both of out-work and of the small workshop, and would hasten the growth of large factories, which could be dealt with in a more satisfactory manner.

3. The passing of an Eight Hours Bill would do much to render sweating impossible, especially sweating in the wider sense, in the lighter trades, and in the transport industries.

4. But not only should eight hours be the legal working day, but overtime, unless in very exceptional cases, should be abolished. Mr. Lakeman insisted above all things upon the abolition of overtime. He told the Lords' Com-

mittee: "I would allow no overtime to be worked in the kingdom by any trade if I had my way. If overtime were done away with sudden demands would need more hands and larger factories and machinery;" and in his last report before his retirement he reiterated the same opinion: "As I said to the Lords' Committee, so I repeat here, that overtime is an evil, socially, morally and commercially." It has been objected that in seasonal trades and such trades as millinery and dressmaking, where orders come in suddenly, it would be impossible to prevent working overtime. The answer to this lies in the fact that if overtime were forbidden by law it would apply equally to all engaged in the particular trade, and the result would be that the customers would merely be compelled to give their orders for goods or make their purchases in advance. Inspector Cramp, as the result of his experience, declares: "There is no necessity for this overtime; the season trade work and the press of orders would be executed just the same if it were illegal, and only mean the employment of more hands." Long hours of regular work and sudden stretches of overtime are found in the same trades, whereas those trades in which only the hours allowed to women by the Factory Acts are worked—such as the textile industries—are free from these rushes. "In 1893, before the Royal Marriage, large orders were received for fabrics in special patterns. The textile trade, which had both to design and weave these, succeeded by dint of organisation in putting these goods on the market within the time required without working an hour extra, while the dressmakers who made up the stuff sent in a special appeal for extension of hours."[1]

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[1] Miss E M. Phillips, *Fortnightly Review*, May, 1895.

5. Shop assistants as well as operatives would benefit by the amendment and enforcement of the Truck Act, rendering all fines, other than those of a strictly disciplinary nature, entirely illegal and subjecting the master who should impose such fines to a penalty.

6. The Employers Liability Act should be made more stringent, and no contracting out allowed under any pretence whatever.

7. The Factory Acts should be amended so that their provisions should apply to men, as well as to women and young persons, and the protection which they afford to the operative should be extended to other workers.

8. The Acts for the protection of labour should be consolidated into one new Act, and all previous Acts repealed; and, above all, the *enforcement* of the Acts should be made really effective. "In England," said Victor Hugo, "they venerate so many laws that they never repeal any. They save themselves from the consequences of their veneration by never putting any of them into execution." The history of the Factory Acts goes far to justify the gibe of the great Frenchman. Though the first Factory Act was passed in 1802, no effort was made to enforce either it or the three following Acts. It was not till 1833 that any serious attempt was made to enforce the law. The inspectors were, however, so few in number and so hampered in their action that the law remained largely inoperative. When Mr. Arnold White was asked by the Lords' Committee in 1890 for his opinion upon the administration of the Factory Act, he replied: "I think it is a farce." "Your opinion is that the staff is too small?" he was asked. "I think it is so small as to be a travesty," he answered; "that is to say, we have an Act of Parliament which provides so-and-so,

and the Act of Parliament is substantially a dead letter." At that time forty-eight inspectors, with one or two juniors, had to look after all the factories and workshops in the United Kingdom. The district of Mr. Lakeman, that most conscientious and hard-working of inspectors—the Central Metropolitan—included the whole of central London east of Farringdon Road, and extended to Hertford! In the inspection of this vast district, containing nearly 6,000 factories and workshops, he had the help of Mr. Birtwistle, of the West Metropolitan District, and was so overworked that he told the Committee that he never got through his work till 12 o'clock at night, and had "no amusement or recreation in his life." In fact, sweating was so much a matter of course that the Government even sweated those whom they charged with its prevention.

The three Metropolitan districts, which included the major part of the Home Counties, as well as the Metropolis, and in which there were 6,479 factories and 12,698 workshops, were supposed to be looked after by six inspectors; five inspectors struggled with the difficulties of "inspecting" the 6,518 factories and the 6,166 workshops scattered over the whole of Scotland, whilst neglected Ireland was divided into two districts, one of which — the Dublin district—including all Ireland, excepting Antrim, Londonderry, and part of North Donegal, and containing more than 5,000 factories and workshops, was intrusted to one inspector! Later on the workshops in the County of London, numbering 12,520, were separated from the factories, and were placed under Mr. Lakeman's supervision, aided by a staff of assistants.

Things are somewhat better now, yet we learn from the

"Report of the Chief Inspector of Factories for 1895"—just issued—that the total staff for the whole of the United Kingdom consists of one chief and six superintendent inspectors, forty-four inspectors (aided by sixteen juniors and twenty-five assistants), and the four peripatetic ladies appointed by Mr. Asquith, who have worked very hard trying to protect the women workers all over the country. A backward step seems to have been taken on the retirement of Mr. Lakeman, for the registered workshops in the Metropolis which had been placed under his care are now distributed among the four Metropolitan districts. These four districts comprise the whole of the county of London, together with the counties of Middlesex, Kent, Surrey, and Sussex, the larger part of Essex, Hertford, and Buckingham, and portions of Berks and Oxford. In this large area there are 10,664 factories and 18,320 registered workshops, looked after by six inspectors and four juniors, aided by ten assistants! It is evident that with the best will in the world it is impossible for these men to properly inspect all these registered places of work, to say nothing of the time and labour involved in seeing that work is not illegally carried on in workshops which escape registration, and that in the vast numbers of "domestic workshops" young persons are not worked beyond the time allowed by the Act.

Another great evil is the division of responsibility between the factory inspectors and the sanitary authorities. In very many cases the inspector possesses no direct power of enforcing proper sanitation, but has to inform the local sanitary officers of the case, who, as Mr. Hart of Norwich reports, "dare not, in many cases, be too energetic where shops, warehouses or factories belong to, or are occupied by, men under whose authority they work

and by whom they are appointed." Very often these officers are quite ignorant of the sanitary provisions of the Factory Acts. We learn from the inspector at Walsall that "after the usual notices have been sent to the Medical Officer of Health, or to the clerk of the Local Sanitary Authority, they are in some cases sent back with the request to be informed why such notices are sent to them, and under what Act power is given to them to act in cases of contravention."

In fact, great confusion results from the over-lapping of the Factory, Public Health, Truck, and Employers' Liability Acts, and through each new Act being merely an Act to "amend and extend" previous Acts, which have to be referred to. Mr. Knyvett, an inspector, speaking of the new Act, says it "is full of great possibilities, which I feel sure I am not alone among my colleagues in hoping will be welded into shape by a Codifying Act. And realising the importance of and the widespread good resulting from the tempered Socialism of English legislation, I am convinced that the sooner the welding of the four Acts takes place the better it will be for the manufacturers, artisans, and lastly, for that most puzzled body, Her Majesty's inspectors."

In this Report the lady inspectors insist on the necessity of so altering the Truck Act as to make it really what it professes to be. Women workers are great sufferers by all kinds of arbitrary fines and deductions from their wages. Examples are given of deductions from working women's wages such as the following: "4d. per week for 'room' (*i.e.*, cleaning); 2½d. a reel for thread; 1d. per needle; ½d. in the shilling earned for power; and 3d. per week for the gas used in the gas irons." Miss Anderson finds that very frequent complaints

are made to her about these matters, and says: "What is further required, if fines are to be admitted at all as anything but a violation of the principles of the Truck Act, is (1) publicity in the system of levying them; (2) strict limitation of their amount; (3) that subordinate officials shall have no power to levy them or determine their amount." She also points out that the exclusion of the smallest laundries from the Act is a great evil, and will lead to the multiplication of domestic laundries and of those in which not more than two persons are employed, and to excessive toil in these. Only such shop assistants and laundry workers as are under eighteen are protected by the Act from excessively long hours, and a number of complaints are made in the Report of girls employed in workrooms attached to shops being brought into the shop to serve customers after the workrooms are closed.

In spite of these and numberless other defects in our factory legislation, one is glad to find a tone of hopefulness running through the Report, and to learn that notwithstanding the inadequate number of the inspectors, and the difficulties they have to contend with in enforcing the Act, they have secured 3,038 convictions for infractions of the law in 1895.

Though the difficulties attending the efficient inspection of the vast numbers of factories and workshops scattered about the country are very great, and a largely increased staff of inspectors would have hard work in coping with them, even if their work was lightened by the codification of the Acts for the protection of labour; yet it should never be forgotten that the largest employer of labour in the country is the Government itself. Here it would be easy to effect such changes as would greatly benefit the workers and entirely prevent the possibility of sweating

of any kind. Sanitary conditions for the workers, eight hours for all employees, a living wage, abolition of overtime and of out-work, should be enforced and an example afforded, and a standard fixed for the whole country. This would be especially useful in raising the tone of the municipalities, which are also large employers of labour. In such wise, as one branch of industry after another passed under the control of the municipal bodies or of the central government, sweating would disappear, and the work would be carried on in a manner consonant with justice and social well-being.

The Ultimate Causes of Sweating.

Sweating is a disease of the body politic, arising from arrested development, both economical and moral. The sub-division of labour and the introduction of machinery moved by steam power have given us the great factory, with its cleanliness and thorough organisation of labour. In these factories adequate inspection and efficient public control are possible. The ever-increasing concentration of capital and organisation of labour is fast preparing the way for the municipalisation and nationalisation of industry generally.

Though sweating—in the wider sense—may still exist to a greater or less extent in the large factory or establishment, yet the trades in which it is rampant are, as has been pointed out, those which have not shared to any considerable degree in the economic development of the century but have remained in the undeveloped condition of earlier times. The really efficient economic cure for sweating is to hasten the evolution of these backward industries and secure their organisation under public control.

But sweating is also due to the imperfect moral development of the people. In the purely animal condition the struggle for life has full sway, and the weakest does not fail to go to the wall and to be effectually crushed out. From this condition we are moving upwards towards a human life in which reason shall prevail; in which we shall recognise the Brotherhood of Man, and competition and anarchy be replaced by rational organisation and co-operation. We have now reached a stage where the sense of a common good is still but weak, and the control of the individual by the Whole, which is necessary for its realisation, prevails only in a few departments of social life. By our laws we guarantee to the few a share in the material inheritance of the nation, which has been slowly gained for us through the ages by social co-operation, whilst the mass of the people are obliged to obtain leave from these favoured few to work that they may earn a more or less precarious and insufficient livelihood. If any of them have been allowed access to the spiritual inheritance of the race—to the stores of knowledge painfully acquired in the course of centuries—they have a great advantage in the struggle. Of such are the professional and trading classes and the skilled workers. Below them lie the completely disinherited, condemned to strive for the crumbs which fall from the tables of the classes above them, and even these they can only get by long hours of monotonous and exhausting toil. The misery and suffering endured by this class, and especially by the women, is indeed simply appalling. Did not use and wont, and the feeling of the powerlessness of the individual to alter the working of the great economic machine, in which each of us is a mere wheel or cog of a wheel, make us despair, it would be impossible for such of us as have any knowledge of the

facts and any human feeling to endure these things longer. As it is, the thought that many of the necessities and comforts of our life are bought at the expense of the very heart's-blood of our fellow creatures embitters our existence and poisons all our joy.

It is not possible for the most callous wholly to ignore the solidarity of mankind, and the very growth in sensibility and refinement of feeling which is the highest gift of civilisation renders us more susceptible to the sufferings of others and more capable of sympathy with their wretchedness and woe. This sympathy, indeed, is ever extending and deepening in intensity, yet it is at present but slightly developed, and its action is for the most part occasional, spasmodic, and not seldom irrational. We erect vast hospitals and spend large sums of money yearly for their support. In these the poorest may have good nursing and the best treatment which medical science can furnish. The most wretched victim of sweating, if knocked down, or stricken by illness, can be taken to one of these hospitals and be treated as a human being and skilfully nursed. Should he recover, however, he is again thrust forth into the abyss of destitution to continue his desperate struggle, and society troubles itself no further about him till he once more becomes ill or commits some crime.

Surely this is irrational! Let us have, we are tempted to exclaim, either the pitiless struggle of the animal world—which, just because it is pitiless and thoroughgoing, leads to the survival of young, vigorous, and therefore happy life—or such an organisation of society that the struggle of man against man may be replaced by co-operation, and the pitiless extermination of the weaker by loving care, aided by the rational use of those means which would prevent disease and destitution.

For the full solution of the problem of sweating, as of all the other problems of social life, we must look forward to the growth of sympathy, guided by reason, which shall not merely shudder at tales of injustice and suffering, but shall vigorously work to discover their causes, and, having discovered these, shall intelligently organise the whole of life in accordance with Insight and Love.

THE GALLOWS AND THE LASH.

THE GALLOWS AND THE LASH.

I.—THE GALLOWS.

Capital Punishment either Right or Wrong.

A short time ago I brought a motion before a committee meeting of a little society with which I am connected, praying Her Majesty's Government to abolish Capital Punishment. Somewhat to my surprise I did not find a single supporter. One member, at least, was actively in favor of death as a punishment for murder, and the rest dismissed the matter by agreeing that it was a question which they had not studied sufficiently to be able to express an opinion.

As there may be many who have not "sufficiently studied" this important subject, the Criminal Law and Prison Reform Department of the Humanitarian League has requested me to prepare this pamphlet. In embarking my confiding readers upon what the old *Quarterly Reviewer* called "the perils of that vast speculation whether death might not be left out of the penal code altogether," I do not intend to make any attempt to convince by appealing to the emotions, but what I hope to do is, to induce them to convince themselves by a calm and dispassionate study of the facts I shall bring before them.

Sixty or seventy years ago—nay, thirty or forty years ago—England was much agitated upon this subject. In those times there were large and influential societies work-

that respect had a redeeming quality; but, for all that, it was an essentially unjust privilege. It arose in this way: The clergy, at an early period, made a very convenient claim to be free from the jurisdiction of lay courts, and subject only to the ecclesiastical. The clerk apprehended as a criminal was therefore delivered to his ecclesiastical superiors and tried by the bishop, or his deputy, and a jury of twelve clerks. First, he made oath of innocence; then he called twelve compurgators who swore they believed he spoke the truth; and then witnesses were heard on his behalf only. The accused was thereupon acquitted; or if convicted, degraded and required to do penance. At worst a very mild substitute for death.[1] Later on Henry VI enacted that the accused must be convicted before he claimed his "clergy."

At the outset this privilege was confined to those who wore clerical dress and the tonsure, but under Edward III it became so extended as to include every male person who could read, except bigamists—not a bigamist as we

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[1] How inequitable this distinction between clerk and layman was may be realised from the following case found—with many similar records—amongst the early archives of the City of London: In 1345 (Ed. III.) Thomas Harmere of Sussex and Thomas de Blurtone of Roberdsbrigge were tried before the Mayor for highway robbery. "The said Thomas and Thomas, being asked as to that felony how they will acquit themselves, the aforesaid Thomas Harmere says that he is a clerk, etc. [and therefore claims benefit of clergy, as being able to read]; wherefore he is sent back to the prison of our Lord the King at Neugate, until, etc. [until the fact is certified by the Ordinary, and he claims his release]. And the said Thomas de Blurtone says that he is in no way guilty thereof. The jury appears by John de Waltham and eleven others, who say upon their oath that the said Thomas is guilty thereof. Therefore he is to be hanged." Charged jointly for the same offence, the layman is hanged, the clerk released.

understand the word to-day, but a man who had twice married, or had married a widow. Save professed nuns, all women were excluded from "benefit of clergy."

In 1487 Henry VII made some effort to restrict the privilege, by enacting that a man convicted of a clergyable felony should be branded on the thumb, and this enactment shows us how light the ecclesiastical penalties must previously have been.

As the law stood, until 1487, any man who could read might steal, or commit a murder, almost with impunity, and for long afterwards all he had to fear was a T or an M branded on his thumb. Elizabeth in 1576 abolished purgation and enacted a term of imprisonment, not to exceed one year, for the convicted clerk. James in 1622 allowed "clergy" to women for larceny of goods under 10s. in value, and William and Mary (1692) put women altogether on the same footing with men in this respect. Anne, in 1705, extended the privilege of "clergy" by abolishing the necessity for reading. George I (1717) made an alternative of seven years transportation for branding, and George III, in 1779, abolished branding, thus leaving the penalty as seven years' transportation without alternative. This was the statute law, but at common law there were many capital offences which were not clergyable, *e.g.*, high treason, highway robbery and arson; then later, murdering his lord, murdering in churches, robbing churches, theft from the person above the value of 1s., rape, abduction without intent to marry, stealing clothes from racks, or stealing from the king's stores. It is curious to note, in this connection, that according to the doctrine and practice of our legislators, the greater the facility for the crime the greater must be the punishment.

George IV, in 1827, abolished "clergy" altogether, and

thus left death, without alternative, the punishment for nearly every crime, great or small.

The Blood Sacrifice.

The number of lives sacrificed to the law in England has been tremendous. It is said by Holinshed, an Elizabethan writer, that during the reign of Henry VIII —a period of not more than 38 years—upwards of 72,000 persons were hanged as thieves and vagabonds. This statement is not very reliable, as there were no complete statistics of that time; but that there should be even a tradition of such a large number of executions, will give us some idea of what went on in those "good old times," which some people profess to be so anxious to bring back again. From a history of the Quarter Sessions (Elizabeth to Anne), compiled by Hamilton from records preserved at Exeter Castle, Sir James Stephen took the figures for the single year of 1598, and out of 390 convicted prisoners in the one county in that year, he found that 74 were actually hanged. If however, he said, we take only twenty as the average number hanged in each county, this would mean a total of something like 800 executions yearly in the forty English counties. And that, of course, was at a period when the whole population of England was less than that of greater London to-day. To take an example from later times, at the Lent Assizes of 1785, 242 persons were sentenced, and of these 103 were hanged. In 1816, Townsend, a well-known Bow Street officer, gave evidence before the Royal Commission that he had seen batches of twelve, sixteen, and twenty hanged at one execution, and once after an Old Bailey Sessions of 1783 he had seen forty hung in two batches of twenty each.

In regard to the manner of execution, hanging was not the only method of legal murder. Henry VIII enacted that the punishment for poisoning should be boiling to death, but this law was repealed under Elizabeth; men were usually hung; or hung, drawn and quartered; women were burned; and heretics also were burned, irrespective of sex. As late as 1777, a girl of 14 lay in Newgate under sentence to be burnt alive on a charge of false coinage; a reprieve came, but only just as the cart was ready to take her to the stake. It was thirteen years later before the Act was repealed under which that sentence was passed.

For six centuries, therefore, from about 1230 to about 1830, the chief punishment for crime in this country was deprivation of life, with or without accompanying torture.

One hundred years ago there were 160 offences punishable by death, but by 1810 this number had risen to as many as 222, and a story is told showing how lightly these enactments were made. It is said that on one occasion Edmund Burke thrust his head into a Committee Room of the House of Commons, and asking what the members were doing, was answered "Oh! almost nothing; we are merely creating a new felony—death without benefit of clergy."

Beccaria's Influence.

But by 1810, when our capital offences numbered 222, we were approaching an important point in the history of the death punishment in this country, for it was shortly after this, that we saw the first practical results of Beccaria's influence in England; although even then it took many years of persistent work before anything like a thorough-going alteration in the laws was made. Before

1810, signs had not been wanting to show that public opinion was setting against capital punishment, but the great bar to public opinion becoming public law was then, as so often happens now, the House of Lords; and foremost amongst the obstructionists in the House of Lords, was the Bench of Bishops.

In 1764 Beccaria wrote his treatise condemning the death penalty, torture and excessive punishments of all kinds. This little book created a profound sensation; it was translated into many different languages and read everywhere. Blackstone in the following year frequently referred to Beccaria; and Blackstone has the honorable position of being the first professional lawyer to find fault with the frequency of the death punishment in England. In 1770 a committee of inquiry, moved for by Sir W. Meredith, reported in favor of the repeal of two or three Acts which punished certain offences with death—one of which was the crime of belonging to people who called themselves Egyptians[1]—but, although the Commons consented to these repeals, the Lords refused to agree to them. As the opponents of capital punishment, inspired by Beccaria's work, grew bolder and stronger, those in favor of it became more active and more determined, and in 1784 and 1785 books were written, advocating the unflinching carrying out of the laws as they stood. The immediate consequence of this was, that in the year following the issue of the first of these books (Madan's "Thoughts on Executive Justice") the number of executions was nearly doubled, and it is recorded that, about this time, an English Chief Justice, in charging the Grand Jury for Hertford,

[1] Sir S. Romilly quotes Lord Hale as speaking of thirteen persons who were actually executed at one assize for the offence of associating with Egyptians for one month.

warned them that it was his intention during the circuit, to leave for execution every person convicted of a capital offence. He kept his word and spared no one; what this meant may be guessed from one case, where he caused four men and three women to be hanged outside a house, in which they had committed a robbery.

Sir Samuel Romilly and Archdeacon Paley.

The man, who above all others, was chiefly responsible for delaying any alteration in the laws was Archdeacon Paley. The year after Madan's book appeared, he wrote his "Moral and Political Philosophy," dedicated to the Bishop of Carlisle, father to Lord Chief Justice Ellenborough, in which he defended the existing state of things. Paley condemned "the overstrained scrupulousness or weak timidity of juries" who hesitated to send a man to a disgraceful death, and seemed to think it of little importance if even an innocent person should occasionally suffer. The issue of Madan's book, however, had aroused a powerful advocate on the other side, Sir Samuel Romilly, who commenced his long war against capital punishment by writing an answer to Madan's arguments. This, in the course of time, he followed up by an endeavor to obtain from Parliament a reform of the criminal law. Here he found himself constantly confronted with the influence of Dr. Paley, and the only measure of alleviation he was able for some time to win, was the repeal of the law which made it a capital offence to steal from the person anything of the value of 1s. or upwards, and even to this the alternative punishment, proposed by the mercy of Lord Ellenborough, was transportation for life. This offence of stealing from the person anything of the value of thirteen

pence, was the only one for which Archdeacon Paley seemed to think death too severe a penalty, and so it was allowed to pass. Other Bills repealing the death punishment for stealing 5s. worth of goods from a shop, for stealing from a bleaching ground, and for soldiers and sailors found begging, were brought forward in 1810, 1811, 1813 and 1816, but although passed by the Commons, they were thrown out in the Lords, Lord Ellenborough arguing against them in Paley's own words.

THE HOUSE OF LORDS CONQUERED.

Sir James Mackintosh, following Romilly, got six measures passed through the Commons, but the Lords only agreed to repeal the law in cases of minor importance which affected comparatively few persons—*e. g.*, the law against the Egyptians. It was not until the passing of the Reform Bill that our hereditary legislators were conquered, and then the march of progress became a veritable gallop. Between 1832 and 1837 so many repealing measures were passed that in 1837 only thirty-seven capital offences were left.

It is not to be supposed, however, that public opinion could await the pleasure of the Lords. The feeling of the iniquity of the death punishment, in the vast majority of cases, was so strong and so widespread, that, although many were sentenced to death for the most trivial offences (as, for example, a child of nine in 1833, for breaking some glass and stealing 2d. worth of paint), yet the sentences were not carried out. In the year 1831, for instance, 1,601 persons were sentenced, but of these only fifty-two were executed. The law was, in fact, in most cases a dead letter.

Until 1861 there were still a considerable number of capital offences left on the statute book, but the practice grew up, as we have it to-day, of hanging for murder only. In fact, from 1837 onwards, there are only five cases of executions for any other offence than that of murder, one in 1837, one in 1839, one in 1841, one in 1851 and one in 1861. Murder, treason, piracy with violence, setting fire to dockyards and arsenals, are all capital offences, but practice confines the death penalty to murder only, and in a large proportion of cases it is not carried out for that.

Executions and Hangmen.

At one time the executions were held in public, but they occasioned such scandalous scenes that a Royal Commission was issued to inquire into the provisions and operation of the laws, under which the punishment of death was inflicted, and the manner in which it was inflicted. The Commission reported against public executions, and they were discontinued by Act of Parliament in 1868.

The Judge orders the place and time of the execution, which must be not more than twenty-one days, and not less than seven from date of his order. The king's signature was formerly required to every death warrant; on the accession of the Queen, however, it was felt that there were many cases not pleasant to discuss with a young woman, and an Act of Parliament was accordingly passed to render her signature unnecessary.

Formerly the hangman was specially sworn in to do his duty. The office was held in such disrepute that a decent respectable man was unwilling to take it, and it was usually filled by some criminal. He was not even allowed

to enter the gaol to receive his wage, but was paid over the gate.

Calcraft—up to 1874—was paid by the Corporation of London a guinea a week retaining fee and a guinea for each execution, he was also paid 2s. 6d. for each flogging, with an allowance for implements. The County of Surrey further paid Calcraft five guineas as retaining fee, with a guinea for every execution; he was also paid £10 for every execution in the country.

The hangman's office was held in disrepute when capital offences were many; it is still held in disrepute now that they are few. In February, 1895, a paragraph appeared in the papers to the effect that Berry, the ex-hangman, was unable to obtain employment; nor could any of his children get work on account of the office their father had held. And, indeed, I think that most people would instinctively shrink from numbering a hangman amongst their personal friends. His office is generally regarded as a shameful one.

The Object of Punishment.

So far, I have limited myself strictly to the ***history*** of capital punishment in this country. I have traced—as briefly as possible—the rise and the decline of this particular penalty in England, not merely to relate more or less interesting details in our history, but to make our past experience form a ground on which we can base reasons for our future conduct.

Before we discuss the merits of death as the penalty best suited to the most serious of all offences, it will be well to get a clear idea of what we look upon as the object of punishment. I may have one notion, you may

have another, and Jones in the street may have a third; or, on the other hand, Jones in the street might be simply astonished if he were asked what he thought should be the object of punishment. "Object? Why *punishment* of course," he might say. "Wicked people *must* be punished." This vagueness, this want of agreement is, after all, extremely natural; there is so much confusion between theory and practice, that the mind is distracted from what *should be*, by what *is*.

Bentham, in his "Rationale of Punishment," puts it that the main purpose of punishment should be the general prevention of crime, *i.e.*, that the object of punishment should be to prevent future crime in the criminal and to prevent, or deter, others from becoming criminals. It was Hobbes, I think, who added to that that there should be no other design in punishment than the correction of the offender and the admonition of others. Other writers we find putting the same idea in different words, and I think we may take it, that the generally received theory is, that the main purpose of punishment is the security of society by the general prevention of crime. I will go a step beyond this, and urge that the prevention of crime should be not merely the *main* purpose but the *only* purpose of punishment.

The *Lex Talionis*.

I once heard a gentleman, who spoke with the authority of many years' experience of prisons and prisoners, put the objects of punishment as four, (1) judicial punishment, (2) deterrence of crime, (3) protection of society (4) the reformation of the criminal. Now, such an enumeration is more confusing than helpful, and, in fact, showed that, in

spite of his experience, his mind was still in a very vague and hazy condition on the subject upon which he was speaking. His four objects were not really four, but two; for the third, the "protection of society" is achieved when you have succeeded in the second and the fourth—"the deterrence of crime" and "the reformation of the criminal." In regard to "judicial punishment," if by that, is meant some penalty put upon the criminal other than that which is necessary to promote the security of society, then it must be in the nature of retaliation or revenge. And this is the point I have been leading up to, because it is just here that theory and practice clash. Enlightened theories of punishment disclaim the idea of revenge—punishment which is mere revenge is itself a crime. As a matter of practice, however, our penal system is not content with seeking only to deter, and to reform; the old law of retaliation (*lex talionis*) may be seen in its enactments and its administration every day. Unhappily, our efforts at reformation and deterrence have not so far resulted in any marked success, and there are writers like Farrer who argue that, as punishment is a complete failure, both as a reformative and a deterrent, we must look upon it as an adjustment of natural vindictiveness; in other words, the regulation by society of the vengeance of individuals. I must admit that I cannot regard this as a very elevated idea of punishment; yet, at the same time, I am also bound to admit that it is in harmony with the actual state of things. It is, in fact, what *is*, instead of what *should be*.

Death as Punishment for Murder.

We will now proceed to consider the propriety of death

—whether by the gallows, as in England; the guillotine, as in France; or the axe, as in Scandinavia—as a punishment for murder. We can look at it from both the humane and the barbaric points of view. We can ask ourselves, is the execution of murderers necessary for the protection of society? and we can also ask ourselves, is the execution of murderers necessary to satisfy the natural vindictiveness of society? To each of these questions I shall emphatically answer "no."

In order to promote the security of society, a punishment should aim at working such a change in the criminal as will restrain him from committing further crimes, and it should also be of such a nature as will deter others from crime. Death certainly fulfils the first requisite in the most effective way, for at one and the same moment it removes from the criminal both the will and the power for further crime. But life imprisonment would be found an equally forcible restraint, if forcible restraint is all that should be aimed at.

In regard to the second and more far-reaching quality of punishment—the deterrence of others—I think I can show that in this respect the death penalty has been a failure wherever and whenever it has been practised.

Results in England.

We will take our own country first. It is a matter of common notoriety that when theft was a capital offence, pockets were picked at the gallows' foot. In his address to the Middlesex Grand Jury in December, 1811, Mr. Mainwaring (the chairman) plaintively remarked that "the severity of punishments ordained for particular crimes acts very feebly on the minds of hardened thieves," and later on

he deplored that "the peaceful inhabitants of the great Metropolis cannot lie down to rest without the apprehension that his house may be ransacked." This was at the time when to steal anything above the value of 40s. from a dwelling house was a capital offence.

Where death was the penalty for non-surrender or concealment by a bankrupt, fraudulent bankruptcy and concealment of property were of daily occurrence. When death was the penalty for forgery, the bankers of England petitioned Parliament for the repeal of the law, on the ground that a milder punishment executed with greater certainty would prove more of a deterrent than the death penalty with its uncertainty.

But I will not dwell upon the non-deterrent effect of capital punishment in the years prior to 1840. You may think, as I was told the other day, that those were lawless times—those times when our fathers were young.

If we turn to the statistics of executions since 1840, we shall find that the number of persons executed during the twenty years 1840-1859 averaged 10·2 per annum; the number executed during the ten years 1860-1869 averaged 13·4 per annum; during the ten years 1870-1879, 14·5; during the ten years 1880-1889, 14·9.

From these figures, we see that there has been a steady rise in the number of executions in this country since 1840; not an unnatural rise in view of the increase in population, but there should be no rise at all, if the fear of the gallows has the deterrent effect claimed for it.

But it may occur to someone to think he can account for this increase, by urging that the proportion of executions to sentences is greater now than it was formerly, that the law is enforced with greater stringency than heretofore. This argument will not bear investigation, however, for,

although it is quite true that the proportion is greater to-day of executions to sentences for *all* offences, in respect of murder the difference is not very great, and such difference as there is, is in favor of *increased leniency*. Still keeping within the past sixty years, we find that the proportion of executions to sentences for murder in the twenty-five years, 1840-1864, was 58·2 per cent., and in the twenty-five years, 1865-1889, it was 52·9 per cent.

These figures, if they have any value at all, strengthen the view that there is no decrease whatever in that class of murder which ultimately receives the legal penalty in spite of all possibilities of escape.

As far then as our own country is concerned, statistics show that the fear of a disgraceful death by the hangman's cord did not prove a deterrent when there were a couple hundred capital offences on the statute book, and it does not prove a deterrent now that there is only one.

In other European Countries.

Let us next inquire into the deterrent effect of capital punishment in some of the other countries of Europe.

Italy, Roumania, Portugal, Holland and certain of the Swiss Cantons have entirely abolished the death penalty. In Italy it was abolished by law in 1889, but there have been no executions since 1874. Italy is a country where, for some reason, homicidal crimes are very frequent, but according to official reports, so far from there being an increase of serious crime since 1874, there has been a diminution.

In Portugal the last execution took place in 1846, and in 1867 capital punishment was abolished by an almost unanimous vote. It is stated that there has been a di-

minution since 1867 in the number of crimes which before that period would have been punished by death.

In Holland the death penalty was abolished in 1870. The number of serious crimes is said to be in no way augmented since that time, and public security is completely assured under the present system.

In the Swiss Cantons the subject of capital punishment has been made a party question, and the matter was settled in 1879 by the penalty being retained in some Cantons and abolished in others; but in the eight Cantons which retain it there were between 1879 and 1891 only three condemnations to death, *all* of which were commuted.[1]

In Roumania the death punishment was abolished in 1866; but in that country, I am informed, through the kindness of Mr. Tallack, the crime of murder has shown a tendency to increase. This however may be, and almost certainly is, due to causes entirely unconnected with the nature of the punishment.

There are countries in which death is still the legal penalty, but where it is rarely carried out; such for instance as Finland, where the law has been suspended since 1826; Belgium, where it has been suspended since 1869; and Norway, where there has been no execution since 1876. In none of these countries has any increase in the crime of murder been recorded. Then there are those other countries, such as France, Germany, Austria and Spain, where executions are more or less frequent; but these countries cannot, on that account, boast any special diminution in homicidal crime. Murder has not been a capital offence in Russia for more than a hundred

[1] I am told that there have been executions since that date.

years, yet the crime is not more frequent there than in other countries.

England, by the retention of the death penalty seems to claim for herself a lower moral standard than that of those countries who have abolished it. While they find imprisonment answer every purpose, she uses the threat of the hangman's cord in order to restrain the murderous propensities of her sons.

Uncertainty.

Having shown, as I think I have, that the death penalty does not deter either in England or abroad, we will now proceed to inquire into the causes of its failure.

It is commonly laid down that for a punishment to be effective (i) it should promptly follow the offence; (ii) it should be certain; (iii) it should be proportional to the crime; (iv) it should not be excessive.

(i) We need not discuss this, as capital punishment follows neither more nor less promptly than any other.

(ii) That an allotted punishment should follow its crime as certainly as the day the night, is a principle generally recognized by all writers on penology throughout the civilized world, and as generally neglected in practice. In the first place there is an uncertainty which is unavoidable; many crimes are committed for which the criminals are never apprehended, and there are undoubtedly many crimes committed of which we remain in entire ignorance, perhaps for ever, or perhaps until some chance reveals them after many years. But, apart from these last, an enormously large proportion of recorded crimes goes unpunished. Gordon Rylands puts it in this country at 3:1, other writers put it still higher; but taking Gordon

Rylands' as a fair estimate, the criminal has three chances of escape to one of being punished. If this is true for the average criminal, the chances for the murderer to escape the death penalty are still greater. It has already been pointed out that the number of sentences is always greatly in excess of the number of executions. Between 1863 and 1889 there were in this country 1,785 persons charged with murder; of these 713, or less than one half, were sentenced; and 386, or less than one fourth, were executed. If we take the single year of 1892, in that year 155 murders were reported to the police. Fifty persons were tried for murder, twenty-two were sentenced and eighteen were executed. If we average one person to one murder, this means that more than seven out of eight murderers escaped the legal penalty, and six out of seven escaped punishment altogether. We see, then, that not only is there a large number of criminals who escape conviction, but there is a still larger number who escape the legal punishment. This is especially so if the criminal happens to be a woman; in the case, for instance, of a pregnant woman, the execution is postponed until after the birth, but as a matter of practice the sentence is never carried out.

What is true of England as to the uncertainty of the death punishment, is true in even a more marked degree in the other countries using this penalty. In some countries not only is there a large proportion of sentences commuted, but there is also, as in France, a strong disinclination in juries to find a verdict of guilty in murder cases. This disinclination is also growing in Scotland to such a degree, that the meaning of "culpable homicide" —the equivalent to our "manslaughter"—is now so strained that it is sometimes difficult to see in what respect

it differs from "murder." In the five years 1891-95 only four persons were sentenced to death in Scotland; that is to say, one in 1891, three in 1892, and none in the three remaining years. The same disinclination is seen in England in the one particular case, at least, of illegitimate infanticide. Here the juries and all concerned are so convinced of the frightful injustice of death as a suitable penalty for the offence of the miserable girl—for, unhappily, the criminal too often is a girl—that they evade the law, and ease their consciences, by trying her, not for murder, but for concealment of birth, an offence which is expiated by a term of imprisonment. From all this we observe that, if certainty be a necessary quality of punishment, it is absent from the whole of our penalties, and from the death penalty more than any other.

Punishment and Offence.

(iii) It is urged that punishments should be proportional to the crime. To me, it seems altogether an impossibility to nicely proportion punishments so as to meet every degree of criminality; but as we are not concerned with the general punishments the question we have to consider is a comparatively simple one. Is hanging a punishment proportional to the crime of murder? Consider the cases of Fowler and Millsom, hung for the crime of murdering an old gentleman; of Neill Cream, hung for enticing and poisoning ignorant girls; of Deeming, hung for murdering an inoffensive wife and children in England, having already disposed of another wife and children elsewhere. In the case of such criminals, I cannot regard the three weeks' agony (to put it at its longest and its worst) endured in anticipation of the

hangman's cord as at all proportionate to their offences; nor will the taking of one man's life in any way compensate for the taking of another's. On the other hand, there are other cases where the disproportion is just as extreme in the other direction—such, for instance, as that of the Manchester Martyrs, where three good lives paid for one.

(iv) Lastly, it is justly urged that punishment should not be excessive. How shall we form a judgment on this point? What guide shall we take? Beccaria says "The limit which a legislator should affix to the severity of penalties appears to lie in the first signs of compassion becoming uppermost in the minds of the spectators." If we take this as a fair indicator, then surely capital punishment must at once stand condemned as excessive. In almost every case, after a death sentence is passed, a feeling of compassion begins to leaven in the mind of the public; the iniquity of the crime is lost sight of in pity for the criminal, and petitions are got up, signed by thousands of persons, praying the Home Secretary to re-try the case in his study, and find the prisoner less guilty than he was found in open court. Not only is the public moved to compassion, but it is not infrequent to read in reports of murder cases that the judge and other officials of the court were "visibly affected." If, then, the awakening of feelings of compassion for the criminal be regarded as a test of the undue severity of a punishment, then the gallows is undeniably too severe.

Less Severe than Life Imprisonment.

Yet I shall argue—somewhat paradoxically it may seem—that, although hanging is thus to be condemned as too severe, yet very often—looked at relatively—it is

not severe enough. The whole punishment is compressed into three weeks; the three weeks of anticipation, and a considerable portion of that time will be absorbed in the hope of remission. The agony of awaiting a shameful death may be great, but it is short; and a great pain for a short time is much more easily borne than a less pain extending over a longer period. Death in respect of severity stands far below life imprisonment. To quote Bentham once more, if death deprives of all pleasures, it equally deprives of all pains. How many a man intentionally risks his own life! Often, it is true, he risks it for a great purpose, or driven by the need of earning a livelihood; but often also, for a trivial purpose, to satisfy a mere passing fancy. How many a man, not merely risks his life, but voluntarily seeks death! How many more, with more or less sincerity, wish for death to put an end to their woes and sufferings! But I never yet heard of the man who wished for life imprisonment, nor can I conceive of the possibility of such a wish. The daily endurance of the unutterable monotony, the servitude, the hardships of prison life; the daily anticipation of hardships to come; the daily regret for past pleasures; must surely outweigh the short agony endured in the anticipation of death.

Therefore I should urge that the death penalty is at once too severe in appearance, inasmuch as it provokes compassion, and not sufficiently severe in fact, inasmuch as, while we let the lesser criminal go on and suffer his daily round of pain, we step in and cut off all that would accompany the life of the greater criminal in confinement. Even the pain of disgrace is left to be borne by his kindred.

Not Remissible.

But outside and beyond all this, there are two arguments against capital punishment which were good when Bentham wrote them, are good to-day, and from their very nature will be good for all time. Were they all that could be said against it, to me they would be conclusive. The arguments are not of equal importance, but I will take them together. First, the death penalty is not remissible; and next, it destroys one source of testimonial proof. As Fagin says in "Oliver Twist":—

> "What a fine thing capital punishment is! Dead men never repent. Dead men never bring awkward stories to light. Oh! it's a fine thing for the trade! Five of 'em strung up in a row and none left to play booty, or turn white-livered."

That human judgment is fallible is a simple truism; and there are many well-authenticated cases of the conviction of innocent persons. If these persons are alive, the injury of a wrongful conviction can be to some extent repaired; if they are dead, the wrong done them is wholly irreparable. The case of the young man Habron will be known to most of you; the judge and jury were perfectly satisfied that the evidence proved him guilty of murder. He had friends, however, and most energetic efforts were made to obtain a commutation of his sentence. These efforts were successful, and then, after he had passed three years in prison, happily for him, Peace confessed to the murder. If private individuals had not interposed and the law had been allowed to take its course, Peace's confession would have been useless. There is also the case of Jonathan Bradford, who was executed, but was afterwards proved innocent.

In 1893, as many as seven persons were granted a free

pardon on grounds affecting their original conviction—*i.e.*, that fresh evidence was forthcoming, which either established their innocence, or afforded reasonable doubt of their guilt. These were not murder cases, but judges and juries are no more infallible when they are trying men on a capital charge, than they are when trying them for burglary.

Dr. Paley thought that innocent people who were executed in this way ought to be considered as victims to the system necessary to secure the safety of the community;[1] but I can hardly imagine that this thought would carry much consolation to the relations of the dead man.

So far, then, I have argued that capital punishment fails to justify its position as the extreme penalty of the law, on the ground that it is not deterrent; that it is not certain; that it is seldom proportionate to the offence, being sometimes too mild and at other times excessive; that it is too severe in appearance and—looked at in relation to other punishments—not sufficiently so in reality; and, finally, that it is not remissible.

Are Murderers the Worst of Criminals?

But we must look at this question in still another light. In this country we award death as the penalty for murder; but are murderers just the people who, beyond all others, should suffer the extreme penalty of the law? In a very large number of cases, murderers are not the worst of criminals. Often the fatal blow is struck in some moment

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[1] "He who falls by a mistaken sentence may be considered as falling for his country" ("Moral and Political Philosophy," ch. ix).

of passion, or is the outcome of passion, and is not the work of the recidivist, of that class of men of clearly marked criminal tendencies, called by some writers instinctive criminals. Often, too, what a hair's-breadth difference of force or direction divides the mere assault from murder—but what a difference in the penalty. A paragraph I saw some time ago in a daily paper gives a case in point. A young man, Arthur Branson, was charged with brutal cruelty to his child. He had flung the baby at its mother and broken its thigh; he had so beaten the little thing that its body was badly bruised and its eyes blackened. The child was only eight months old. The prisoner was sentenced to two month's imprisonment. Had the blow struck the child in a vital part the sentence would have been death; as it was, despite the murderous intent, two month's imprisonment was considered a punishment proportionate to the offence.

Murder is often the result of great provocation, but the legal penalty is always death. Again, take the case of two persons who agree to commit suicide together; one dies, the other survives—is brought back to life, perhaps with great difficulty, and being brought back to life is liable to be tried, and put to death for the murder of his companion. If both die they are "temporarily insane;" if one survives, he is a criminal.

Prince Kropotkin, writing of Eastern Siberia, whither murderers are deported after having completed their term of imprisonment, says that there is scarcely another country in the world where you could travel or stay with greater security.

As a matter of fact it is necessary that we should revise our opinions, and cease to look upon murderers as the

vilest class of criminals, and as such, deserving of the most severe punishment.

The Argument of Economy.

Let us turn for a moment to the arguments in favor of the retention of the death penalty.

First, that it is a deterrent. I have already shown by facts and figures that this is a fallacious idea, and will therefore not further labor the point.

Next, that it is economical. The readiest objection of the average Englishman to any reform comes from the pocket. He is a curious person, this average Englishman, he does not mind spending four or five millions on such a piece of stupendous folly as the fortification of London, he does not mind spending thousands on the preservation of homicidal lunatics, but he "must draw the line somewhere," and he draws it here. Anyone might think that this particular reform involved a tremendous outlay; an outlay which might be indulged in by wealthy countries such as Italy, Portugal, Holland, Finland and Switzerland, but which is altogether beyond the means of poverty-stricken England. As a matter of fact it would involve an additional expenditure of £300 or £400 per annum. The cost of an ordinary criminal is about £25 a year—much less than the cost of a criminal lunatic—multiply this by fifteen and we get a total of £375; a sum which may be further reduced by deducting the hangman's salary.

Mr. Justice Stephen was in favor not only of the retention of capital punishment, but of its extension. What, he asked, is the use of keeping a wretch alive at the public expense? But to carry this argument to its logical conclusion you must conduct the criminal lunatic and the

habitual thief to the lethal chamber side by side with the murderer. I will not say that this would not be a more merciful fate than a succession of sentences of imprisonment, going right through a man's life, from the early years of his boyhood until his old age. I will not say that it would not be wiser in the interests of the community generally. But such a course would probably involve some hundreds of executions yearly, and that I take leave to say is an idea which is difficult to contemplate with equanimity.

The Alternative Punishment.

I may be asked, If the death penalty is abolished what should be the alternative punishment in cases of murder? I think that a term of imprisonment longer or shorter according to the degree of criminality would be sufficient. Henry Romilly urges an unalterable life sentence, but under our present system I would not wish perpetual imprisonment to anyone. And, in spite of all our failures so far, I should be very sorry to see the law itself shut the door on all chances of reforming the criminal; and without hope of liberty, there can be little real reform.

At some time, in the not too distant future, I am hoping to see an experiment tried in this country of indeterminate sentences for first offenders; this would probably include—at the very lowest estimate—one-half the murderers. This, however, is only a hope for the future; for the present the penalty I would assign to murderers would be imprisonment for a term in the discretion of the judge. This alternative is not without objection from the humane point of view, but it is a thousand times better than execution or perpetual imprisonment.

If it should be considered impossible to persuade that House of Compromise, commonly known as the House of Commons, to agree to so downright a measure as the total abolition of the death penalty—thus giving to England, in common with those other countries I have mentioned, a bloodless code of laws—still it might perhaps be not so difficult to persuade the House to suspend the operation of the penalty for a given period. Such a course would put it to the proof, whether would-be murderers are so much more numerous and so much more desperate in England than they are in other lands, that they can only be restrained from laying violent hands upon their fellowmen by fear of the gallows.

II.—THE LASH.

A Degrading Punishment.

From the discussion of capital punishment, one naturally turns to the question of flogging, the only other form of corporal punishment now practised in England. Many of the arguments against the use of the gallows are equally sound against the use of the lash. Both are brutal punishments, legacies from a barbaric age, which seek to intimidate the criminal from further crime rather than to work any real reform in his moral nature. In both cases the State hires an official to do that within the prison gates which, if done by the individual outside, would be a crime punishable by the utmost rigor of the law.

In England a man convicted of garotting or of robbery with violence may be sentenced to so many lashes with the cat. Flogging is also a prison punishment; that is, a punishment which may be ordered by the prison authorities to be inflicted upon a prisoner for some violation of the prison regulations.

What flogging is like in prisons may be learned from a description, written by Mr. Owen Pike, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, of a case he witnessed in Newgate thirty or more years ago, but which is a perfectly fair description of a flogging to be seen in any of our prisons to-day.

"The prisoner," says Mr. Pike, "is fastened to a triangle so that he can move neither hand nor foot. His back is bare. The man who wields the lash shakes out its nine thongs, raises it aloft with both hands and deals the criminal the first blow

across the shoulders. A red streak appears on the white skin. Again the thongs are shaken out, again the hands rise, again the whips are brought down with full force, and the streak on the skin grows redder and broader. A turnkey gives out the number as each stroke falls; and the silence is broken only by his voice, by the descent of each successive blow and by the cries and groans of the sufferer. . . . . [But] the man who has been guilty of the most atrocious cruelty will do his best to conceal the smart which he is made to feel himself; and if any sound is heard at all it proceeds from an involuntary action of his vocal organs which he strives his utmost to check. After twenty lashes he will retain a look of defiance, though almost fainting and barely able to walk to his cell.

"Any one who has witnessed such a scene may be permitted to ask to what good end it is enacted; anyone who has not witnessed it can hardly be competent to judge its good or ill effects."

To this Mr. Pike adds these significant words:

"It is far from an agreeable task to watch the face and figure of the flogger as he executes his sentence."

It is a point that should not be lost sight of, that the use of the lash as a punishment is irredeemably debasing to all who have to take part in it; to him who receives it, to him who administers it, and to those whose unfortunate duty compels them to witness it. I am told that it is an absurdity to talk of "degrading" the criminal, that he is past that, he is already so degraded. If that unfortunately be true in some cases, it is not true in all. And the worst of it is, that you cannot possibly confine the degradation of flogging to the criminal; besides the one who is flogged, there is also the one who flogs, the one who stands by to see it done, the one who orders the flogging, and, beyond all that, there is society who approves it. The whole moral tone of the community is lowered by violent punishments.

How nauseating the sight is, was testified at the meeting of the International Penitentiary Congress, 1872, by a governor[1] of one of our English prisons, who, obliged to be present whenever corporal punishment was administered in his jail, confessed that the sight always made him ill. But, for all that, he was so accustomed to rely upon it that he could not believe that discipline could be maintained in the prison without the aid of this sickening punishment.

Does it Reform?

Let us proceed to put the test questions in regard to the lash that we have done previously in regard to the gallows. Is the punishment of flogging necessary for the protection of society? That is to say, (i) does it reform the criminal? (ii) does it deter others from crime?

(i) At the International Penitentiary Congress, Sir E. Du Cane defended the use of the cat as a prison punishment, on the ground that it would be impossible to preserve discipline without the fear of it. He defended it as a general punishment by urging that "when criminals abstained from the use of their fists or of deadly weapons, flogging might be remitted, but till then it could not be given up. Moreover, he had known prisoners acknowledge that but for flogging they would not have become tractable and reformed characters." Sir Edmund Du Cane's argument is more curious than convincing. Save in the two instances of capital and corporal punishment, the nature of the penalty is never made to coincide with the nature of the offence; the judge does not order the burglar to be robbed, nor the swindler to be cheated,

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[1] Major Fulford, for 23 years Governor of Stafford jail.

nor false money to be passed on the coiner! Why then should violent men be punished by violence? The confidence shown in the "tractable and reformed" characters of the prisoners, who could ascribe this change in their disposition to the application of the cat-o'-nine-tails to their backs, was worthy of a better cause. Such an acknowledgment has too strong a savor of hypocrisy to altogether commend itself to the unprejudiced mind.

At this same Congress Mr. Clarke Aspinall, of Liverpool, said that wife and woman beaters deserve the lash and in the majority of cases no other punishment has any effect. This argument addresses itself in the first place to the spirit of vengeance. When anyone says that this or that criminal deserves to be hung, or to be flogged, they do not mean that flogging is a punishment calculated to deter him and others from crime, but that they would inflict pain on him in retaliation for the pain he has inflicted upon others. With the second part of the argument we need not concern ourselves, as wife-beating is not punishable by the lash.[1]

A Question of Governors.

Mr. Shepherd, for forty years governor of Wakefield prison, which had an average of 1,000 inmates, stated that for thirty years no corporal punishment was inflicted in that prison. He advocated total remission, and his

[1] Although a judge may not sentence the wife-beater to corporal punishment, he may so sentence a man who has forged the seal or process of the County Court, or a man who has solemnised a marriage without a licence or in an unregistered building. That "the law is a hass" everyone knows, but such legislation goes beyond even asinine stupidity.

experience was that nearly every prisoner who had been flogged returned to gaol again. Mr. F. Hill's experience confirmed Mr. Shepherd's as to the needlessness of flogging as a prison punishment, and remarked that there could not be a better conducted prison than Wakefield. Comparing this conflicting evidence as to the need of the fear of the lash to maintain discipline in prisons, one is bound to arrive at the conclusion that it is all a question of governors and government. Some governors preserve discipline admirably by means of the *suaviter in modo*; others, having only tried the *fortiter in re*, imagine they can not get on without it. The last look only to the immediate visible consequences of the punishment they administer, and do not consider the hardening effect it must necessarily have upon the prisoner's character.

Lord Norton.

(ii) What is the evidence that the fear of corporal punishment acts as a deterrent? A vague and rambling article by Lord Norton, published in the *Prisons' Service Review* for February, 1897, probably represents the view of the "average Englishman" on this matter. I will pass here so much of it as refers to the whipping of juveniles, for although I am against that as heartily as I am against the flogging of adults, it is nevertheless a problem which needs to be looked at from a different point of view. In the case of juveniles it is a choice of evils that is offered us, the stigma of the prison or the degradation of the birch; in the case of adults it is not a choice of one *or* the other, flogging is a punishment additional to imprisonment. Lord Norton says:

"For those of more responsible age, guilty of higher crimes

from motives of violent passion, love of doing mischief, or prurient desire for notoriety, we have recent full experience of the lash's efficacy in the way of counter-motive. It stopped the annual shootings at the Queen; it arrested frequent damages to works of art in the National Museums, it saved old gentlemen from being garotted for their watches; and it might have ignominiously extinguished the heroism of the dynamitards."

Lord Norton makes several statements in the short paragraph I have quoted, but he does not refer to a single fact or a single figure in support of them. Periodic shootings at the Queen, and frequent injury to works of art, could only be the work of persons who were more or less insane, and I do not believe that there is a single lunatic asylum to-day in which the responsible physician would order the patients to be flogged. Disordered brains cannot be whipped into order.

The Garotting Fallacy.

In regard to the garotting fallacy, it always strikes me as curious that those who believe that flogging stopped garotting never pause to wonder why garotters as a class should have been specially amenable to this particular form of punishment. As a matter of fact, garotting was a form of robbery practised almost entirely by a particular gang whose operations were carried on chiefly in the Metropolis in the Autumn of 1862. When the gang of criminals was captured, the crime disappeared. In November, 1862, twenty-seven persons were indicted for garotting at the Criminal Court, and of these twenty-one were convicted and punished. In the following January the Recorder congratulated the jury on the cessation of garotting, and in July, 1863, that is to say, several months

after the suppression of garotting, a Flogging Bill was introduced into the House of Parliament. The late Mr. T. B. Ll. Baker a few years after stated, as though a matter within his knowledge, that the police were instructed to go round to the ticket-of-leave men known to be in London and inform them that if the garotte continued their tickets-of-leave would be cancelled. This, he said, put a sudden stop to garotting save for an occasional attempt by outsiders.[1]

Facts and Figures: The United Kingdom.

Lord Norton gave neither facts, nor figures, in support of his contention that flogging deterred from crime; it is unfortunately only too easy for me to quote both to prove that it is *not* a deterrent.

Since 1890 there has been steady increase in the number of persons sentenced to corporal punishment; the use of the lash had been previously falling out of favor, although there had been judges, such, for instance, as the late Mr. Justice Stephen, who not only approved of flogging but thought it should be made more severe.

The number of adults sentenced to be flogged in 1890, was nine; in 1891, seventeen; in 1892, eighteen; in 1893, forty-six; and in 1894, sixty-five.

Between 1877 and 1894, 418 persons were sentenced to be flogged, of these two only were punished for garotting, the remaining 416 were sentenced for robbery. Side by side with this increase of brutal punishment is a decided and undeniable increase in serious crime, a fact which

[1] Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, 1867.

anyone can verify for himself by referring to the judicial statistics.

This, then, is how the case stands for England: the value of corporal punishment as a deterrent is based on mere vague assertion alone; a careful investigation of the facts proves that it is no deterrent whatever.

In Scotland, corporal punishment is not used. In Ireland, it is legal, but rarely employed.

Facts and Figures: Continental Countries.

Let us next turn to the records of other European countries, and see if we can learn anything from them.

Austria.—The lash was abolished in 1866, "experience having shown that it was demoralising," as Dr. Frey (the Government Representative) told the Penitentiary Congress of 1872.

Bavaria.—Corporal punishment abolished. Dr. Marquardsen (Government Representative) stated to the Congress that discipline had been fully maintained without it, and no prison authority desired the revival of the practice.

Belgium.—No kind of corporal punishment; it is expressly forbidden in prisons.

France.—No corporal punishment.

Germany.—Corporal punishment is used as a prison punishment, but does not form part of the penal law.

Holland.—No corporal punishment. Flogging also prohibited in the schools.

Italy.—No corporal punishment since 1863.

Russia.—Used as a prison punishment, but is not part of the penal law.

Scandinavia.—Used as a prison punishment, but is not part of the penal law.

At the International Penitentiary Congress, Mr. M. S. Pols, the Government Representative from the Hague, spoke eloquently and convincingly against flogging as a punishment. "This was not a sentimental question," he said; "it concerned the true interests of society and the state. It was not out of sympathy with ruffians, but it was out of sympathy with honest people that he urged the total abolition of corporal punishment. It was his conviction that it was wholly inefficient as a means of social defence; that it engendered cruelty; and that it was far more injurious and degrading to society, which imposed it, than it was to the criminal who suffered it. . . . . The popular feeling which called for the infliction of corporal punishment, stripped of all well-sounding phrases, was based on these grounds—horror of crime, fear of its repetition, revenge and the wish to strike terror into others—sentiments which no one dares proclaim as the basis of penal law." Mr. Pols told how flogging, although not formally abolished in the army, yet had not been resorted to for forty years, and its cessation had been followed by a decrease of insubordination. Since the prohibition of flogging in the prisons there had been a sensible diminution of disciplinary prosecutions. Finally M. Pols asked were the ruffians in Holland "less hardened and less dangerous than those of London? Did the latter alone require corporal punishment to keep them down?"

Conclusion.

The result of our investigations into the practice of other countries shows us conclusively that flogging is an

absolutely unnecessary punishment. Garotting is unknown in Ireland; in Scotland prison discipline is maintained without the lash. The Dutch do not require the fear of physical pain to restrain them from annual shootings at their Queen, and in Rome works of art do not require to be protected by the cat-o'-nine tails. It is only in England, in happy England, in the land of a Free Press and a Free Platform, that the criminal classes are so desperate that they must needs be driven by the fear of the whip and the fear of the hangman's cord, and the non-criminal classes are so apathetic that they do not feel that the isolated position occupied by their native country, in regard to brutal punishments is a disgrace to their common humanity.

APPENDIX I.

Statement of the number of persons sentenced to death in England for murder; of the total number executed; in each year from 1840 to 1894 inclusive; with average of the numbers for each 10 years.

Year.	Sentenced for Murder.	Executed.
1840	18	9
1841	20	10*
1842	16	9
1843	22	13
1844	21	16
1845	19	12
1846	13	6
1847	19	8
1848	23	12
1849	19	15
AVERAGE FOR 10 YEARS	19·0	11·0
1850	11	6
1851	16	10*
1852	16	9
1853	17	8
1854	11	5
1855	11	7
1856	31	16
1857	20	13
1858	16	11
1859	18	9
AVERAGE FOR 10 YEARS	16·7	9·4
1860	16	12
1861	26	15*
1862	28	15
1863	29	22
1864	32	19
1865	20	7
1866	26	12
1867	27	10
1868	21	12
1869	18	10
AVERAGE FOR 10 YEARS	24·3	14·4
1870	15	6
1871	13	4
1872	30	15
1873	18	11
1874	26	16
1875	33	18
1876	32	22
1877	34	22
1878	20	15
1879	34	16
AVERAGE FOR 10 YEARS	25·5	14·5

* One person executed for some other offence than murder.

Year.	Sentenced for Murder.	Executed.
1880	28	13
1881	23	11
1882	22	12
1883	23	13
1884	38	15
1885	25	12
1886	35	19
1887	35	21
1888	36	22
1889	20	11
AVERAGE FOR 10 YEARS	28·5	14·9

Year.	Sentenced for Murder.	Executed.
1890	24	14
1891	19	12
1892	22	18
1893	28	15
1894	29	16

The last execution for Coining took place in 1828.
" " " " Forgery " " " 1829.
" " " " Horse-stealing " " 1829.
" " " " Sheep-stealing " " 1831.
" " " " Rape " " 1834.
" " " " Attempt to Murder " 1861.

APPENDIX II.

The number of Adults sentenced to be flogged in England from 1877 to 1894:

1877	8	1886	26
1878	18	1887	35
1879	14	1888	26
1880	8	1889	24
1881	15	1890	9
1882	13	1891	17
1883	36	1892	18
1884	23	1893	46
1885	17	1894	65

Total number 418, of whom 2 were sentenced for garotting and 416 for robbery.

THE SHADOW OF THE SWORD.

THE SHADOW OF THE SWORD.

The man-eating monster of fiction is terrible enough to romantic young minds under the spell of the story-teller, but he is almost genial and harmless in comparison with the real ogre of war. Generation after generation this frightful monster gorges himself on human flesh and blood, solacing his intervals of satiety with the wine of human tears. And every time he prepares for a fresh repast, he demands a larger provision for his ravenous appetite. What struggles in previous history equalled in slaughter the contest between North and South in America, or the later death-wrestle between France and Germany? Or how could the fiercest combats between ancient empires, even that of Rome and Carthage, rival the fight between England and Russia which only a few years ago we were encouraged to begin with a light heart? Such a struggle would have kindled the flames of war from India to the Baltic, and probably set all Europe in an unparalleled blaze. Surely the Devil's cauldron was never before heated and stirred with such levity. A crowd of grinning apes playing with fire in a powder factory were not more grotesquely terrible.

Awful as is the ogre's blood tax, his impositions between meals are even worse. In the palmy days of the Roman Empire, less than four hundred thousand troops

sufficed to preserve the peace of the world; and, if we except petty frontier tussles with barbarians, they often did so for thirty or forty years together. But Europe has now its standing armies whose total is reckoned in millions, and the peace is broken three or four times in half-a-century. Let it also be remembered that the Roman soldier was a worker as well as a fighter, helping to carry the practical civilisation of Rome wherever her eagles floated. Our high roads, the arteries of pedestrian and vehicular circulation through England, were first made by the imperial legions who used the pick and the spade more frequently than the sword. But the armies of modern Europe are all idlers. Their sole business is destruction. In peace they consume without producing, and in war they devour like the locust and the caterpillar. They are not the lame, the blind, the maimed, and the imbecile, but the young flower of the male population, withdrawn from productive industry and the refining influence of domestic discipline, and supported by the labour of others while they "learn the art of killing men." We shall consider this economical aspect of the subject more fully presently; meanwhile let us deal with the causes of war.

"A background of wrath," says Carlyle, "which can be stirred up to the murderous infernal pitch, does lie in every man, in every creature." True, and this fierce instinct may be held to account directly for the combats of animals, for primitive human fighting, for duels among "civilised" peoples, and for street fights and all personal brawls. But it accounts only indirectly for modern warfare. "Civilised wager of battle" is the game, not of peoples, but, to use Earl Beaconsfield's phrase, of "sovereigns and statesmen;" though sometimes, it must

be confessed, the people are egged on by what are perhaps the vilest specimens of the human race—truculent journalists, who gain fame and profit by pandering to the most disgusting hatreds. Cowper long ago remarked that war is a game which kings would not play at were their peoples wise. The fact is, our brute instincts, racial prejudices and national vanities are systematically traded on by our rulers. Nothing is so cheap and easy as a "foreign policy," as nothing is so hard as a domestic one; and nothing so diverts attention from difficult home affairs as the simple expedient of a foreign broil. If declaring war lay with Parliament, the juggle would be more arduous. But it does not. The Government hurries us into war before we can discuss its policy, and when the matter comes up for debate, not only have things gone too far for interference, but the question resolves into one of confidence in the ministry, instead of approval of the particular measure. By that time also the beast in us has tasted blood. The savage thirst for more is upon us. Illustrated papers and daily war correspondence familiarise us with slaughter, and the sane voice of the keepers of reason is drowned in the clamour of the wild beasts of passion, scenting carnage and carrion.

Society is now too complex for the simple rules of interpretation which apply to primitive quarrels. The Crimean war, for instance, was not fought because Englishmen and Russians were animated by mutual hatred. Dynastic and political reasons, as usual, played the chief part in the prelude to that bloody drama. Had Louis Napoleon, after usurping the French throne, not required an alliance with some old European monarchy to rehabilitate his name and veil the fact of his being a *parvenu* emperor, the struggle of thirty years ago might

never have commenced. As for Italy's share in the war, it is notorious that Cavour urged the King of Sardinia into action simply to gain a military reputation for the kingdom, as a first step to the unification of the peninsula under a native sovereign; and the Austro-Italian war naturally followed the success of these tactics. Even before the Franco-German war, notwithstanding the cry of *à Berlin* raised by hired *mouchards* in the streets of Paris, it is not true that every Frenchman was yearning to grasp a German throat. The mass of the peasantry were criminally hoodwinked. They voted "Yes" for the Empire, thinking it meant Peace, and fancying, as they were told, that the Republican opposition wished to drive the country into costly and perilous foreign adventures.

Let us go back still further, and we shall see evidences of the same truth. Eighty years ago Nelson told his seamen that they had but one duty—to love old England and hate every Frenchman like the devil. Such a sentiment was of course loudly acclaimed, but it was after all a cultivated sentiment. When Pitt began operations against France he found it necessary to tune the pulpit, and bribe and intimidate the press in England. In due time his policy was successful. The people were grossly abused, and after a few years' fighting, when their blood was up, they were ready for anything in the shape of war. France merely stood to them as a synonym for enemy. They cursed and hated Frenchmen with the spirit of a bull rushing at a red cloak, the cunning matador who flourished the scarlet having his own ends to serve through the creature's madness.

We may consider it a fact that war is the game of "sovereigns and statesmen." Grimly and strongly, as is his wont, Carlyle has expounded the modern meaning of

war in a famous passage in *Sartor Resartus*. Let us hear him:

"What, speaking in quite unofficial language, is the net-purport and upshot of war? To my own knowledge, for example, there dwell and toil, in the British village of Dumdrudge, usually some five hundred souls. From these, by certain 'Natural Enemies' of the French, there are successively selected, during the French war, say thirty able-bodied men. Dumdrudge, at her own expense, has suckled and nursed them; she has, not without difficulty and sorrow, fed them up to manhood, and even trained them to crafts, so that one can weave, another build, another hammer, and the weakest can stand under thirty stone avoirdupois. Nevertheless, amid much weeping and swearing, they are selected; all dressed in red; and shipped away, at the public charges, some two thousand miles, or say only to the south of Spain; and fed there till wanted. And now to that same spot in the south of Spain are thirty similar French artisans, from a French Dumdrudge, in like manner wending; till at length, after infinite effort, the two parties come into actual juxtaposition; and Thirty stands fronting Thirty, each with a gun in his hand. Straightway the word 'Fire!' is given; and they blow the souls out of one another; and in place of sixty brisk useful craftsmen, the world has sixty dead carcasses, which it must bury, and anew shed tears for. Had these men any quarrel? Busy as the Devil is, not the smallest; nay, in so wide a Universe, there was even, unconsciously, by commerce, some mutual helpfulness between them. How then? Simpleton! their Governors had fallen out; and instead of shooting one another, had the cunning to make these poor blockheads shoot."

Carlyle is right. That is the truth about modern war. Democracy has appeared on the scene of politics, but it has not fully assumed its *rôle*. The drama is still played by the old actors of the upper classes, and will be so, until the new company is properly formed and cast for the various parts. Even in France, although the empire

is gone, the old ruling classes are still in power. They defer somewhat to the Democracy in home affairs, but in foreign matters they treat it with contemptuous disregard. They carry France into all sorts of adventures for their own benefit. The Empire went to Algeria, and the Republic goes to Tunis. Louis Napoleon sent armies to Mexico, Jules Ferry sends them to China, and someone else to Madagascar. The motive is the same in all cases; the French deputies are cajoled and manœuvred in the same way; and the French people are fooled and plundered with the same easy impudence. It requires a Hercules to clean out an Augean stable. When a leader of Gambetta's greatness and force arises again, there may be some hope, if he turns his back on the selfish exploiters of society, sets his face resolutely to the people, and stretches out his hands to them for salvation.

The world's peace will never be secure until the Democracy takes the reins of power into its own hands. Parliaments will be less ready to declare war than Governments. Men will vote against war when the decision lies with them, who would not vote against their party when hostilities have begun, and it is too late to undo the mischief without overturning the Ministry. The formalities of public debate would also allow a pause for reason to assert itself. The first passionate impulse of revenge would have time to subside, and wisdom, justice, and humanity would gain a hearing.

At present we are "rushed" into war. The Sovereign has the power of declaring war, and in many cases it is beyond doubt that royalty is largely responsible for the inception and development of international quarrels. Was it not Lord Palmerston who had to threaten the late Prince Consort for intermeddling with the negotiations

between England and Russia? And was it not the Court party, as well as the bondholders, that incited Mr. Gladstone to begin military operations in Egypt, in order that the Duke of Connaught, safely sheltered under Lord Wolseley's wing, might earn a little cheap glory and win a few bastard laurels? This is the kind of backstairs influence which our effete monarchy now wields, to our perpetual loss and disgrace. The constitutional power of the Sovereign to declare war is, of course, never exercised without the advice and consent of her responsible ministers; in other words, the Queen no more actually declares war than she actually appoints bishops. The Cabinet is really supreme, and these officials take advantage of a constitutional fiction to carry matters with a high hand. In domestic business they are obliged to consult Parliament before they can move a step; in foreign affairs they act first and consult it afterwards. Even then it is only because they need its endorsement for their acceptances. A vote of censure *may* be moved and *may* be passed upon them, as we all know; but what Ministry fears such a contingency? Earl Beaconsfield did as he pleased until the country flung him from office, and he smiled at Parliamentary votes of censure. Mr. Gladstone was just as little terrified by them. He knew that "the party" would stick to him through thick and thin. They do not like the expense of an election; they trust to the chapter of accidents to pull the Government through its troubles before the fateful day of reckoning; and meanwhile they pacify their consciences by a few timid, ambignous speeches, and a trimming side-vote of entirely harmless protest.

All that remains to Parliament is the "power of the purse-strings," which is a ghastly sham, for what Govern-

ment that can defy votes of censure need fear a stoppage of supplies? A few Radicals might challenge a division, and their action might produce a considerable moral effect on the country, but there it would end. They could no more check the Government than a road-stone checks the cart-wheel. There is a jolt, but down comes the wheel again, and steadily revolves its course. The fact is, the "the power of the purse-strings" is one of the worst of the many shams of our boasted constitution. It meant something when the Sovereign really did declare war, and solicited money from the people's representatives to carry it on; but it is absolutely meaningless now that the leaders of those very representatives perform that function under a thin disguise.

Before long this question will emerge into the field of practical politics, and become a burning one indeed. It may be true, as Burke said, that "Statesmen are placed on an eminence that they may have a larger horizon than we can possibly command." But the extraordinary growth of the modern press, and the spread of education and intelligence, since Burke's time, have greatly diminished that advantage. The time has gone by for the "confidence trick" in politics. Secret-service money and old-fashioned diplomacy will soon have to go together. Democracy will demand that all its business be transacted in public. It will not permit a handful of politicians at discretion

"To open
The purple testament of bleeding war."

It will insist on that power being vested in the whole nation, through its elected representatives. And such a wise and just change will be one of the best guarantees of peace.

Following Carlyle, Mr. Ruskin has impeached the governing classes in respect to war. In the second letter of *Fors Clavigera*, he styled the upper classes the great Picnic Party, and inquired what they had done for the "lower orders" they lord it over with such serene audacity. "They have," he said, "spent four hundred millions of pounds here in England within the last twenty years—how much in France and Germany I will take some pains to ascertain—and with this initial outlay of capital they have taught the peasants of Europe—to pull each other's hair."

No doubt the upper classes furnish good fighting men, just like the lower classes, for brute courage is common enough, and, as John Bright said, any quantity of it can be got for a shilling a day. Yet Tommy Atkins dies as well as his officer, only he has nothing to do with the war except risking his life, all the direction and all the glory and profit resting with his superiors.

Go through the Peerage and see what an enormous number of military and naval posts are held by its scions. They command our forces, they get the lion's share of pay, they shine in the Gazettes, and they receive all the honours and rewards worth having. Poor Tommy Atkins dies unannaled and unknown, or, if he survives, has to content himself with the reflection that virtue is its own reward. His wife and children (if the celibate rule of the army *for privates* allows him those luxuries) are left to semi-starvation or vice or crime, unless they gravitate to the workhouse. Tommy had much better be at home earning an honest living, as he himself generally knows; but he goes abroad to fight the battles of the upper classes because their villainous laws have starved him into the able-bodied citizen's last resource.

Those upper classes, from the highest to the humblest member of Society (with a capital S), being divorced from honest industry, are naturally predatory and nomadic in character, and they are ever seeking to gratify their tastes in person or by proxy. They inherit from feudal times the prejudice in favour of fighting men. They love Militarism and hate Industrialism, which has been supplanting it for centuries, and will finally extinguish it. A salient, and in some respects a superior, type of them was the late Colonel Burnaby. This "dashing" fellow slipped off to the Soudan without leave, and fought there without a commission. He had no more business with our troops than the most perfect stranger. He was driven there solely by his love of fighting. His motives were no more respectable than a tiger's. One of his ambitions was to enter Parliament, where the fighting interest is already represented by more than a hundred members. Add to this that a still larger number of members are connected with the Peerage by birth or marriage, and you will easily understand how England is so frequently pushed into war. Remember too that Her Majesty, with what is said to be a feminine weakness, has a passion for soldiers, and that when she breaks the monotony of her seclusion, it is usually to review her troops or decorate a few "heroes" who have distinguished themselves on the battle-field.

Mr. Bright once said that without declaring all wars unjustifiable, he would like to see a single war justified. It was a request very difficult to comply with. Every war we enter upon is perfectly righteous, but somehow the historian afterwards writes them all down as crimes or mistakes. Self-defence is a natural instinct; it never can be eradicated, and it never should. But it implies an

aggressor; and consequently all justification of war on the one side only serves to heighten its guiltiness on the other. A great conqueror is only another name for a great criminal. Nature quietly buries and conceals every trace of his ravages. Would that the world could as soon forget him, or remember him only to condemn.

Priests may consecrate our banners, without regard to the merits of the side on which they are ranged, or the awful scenes over which they float; every regiment may carry its chaplain for ghostly succour; and the Church may solicit God's blessing on every bloody enterprise we engage in. But the teachers of religion cannot decree right and wrong, nor have they any magic to transform crime into virtue. "The primal duties shine aloft like stars" beyond the reach of chance and change, however momentarily obscured by clouds of incense from a thousand altars. And if the ministers of the Prince of Peace cannot see the monstrous wickedness of war, there happily remains enough instinctive justice and mercy in the breasts of heretics to brand it as a capital crime against humanity.

Alas! how few realise the horror of war. The Romance of War is more easily imagined—the glowing uniforms, the shining arms, the prancing steeds, the martial music, and heroes contending for glory! And pulses thrill on reading feats of arms, and blood glows at the record of a "splendid charge." But, as Dickens wrote—

"When the 'splendid charge' has done its work, and passed by, there will be found a sight very much like the scene of a frightful railway accident. There will be the full complement of backs broken in two; of arms twisted wholly off; of men impaled upon their own bayonets; of legs smashed up like bits of firewood; of heads sliced open like apples; of other heads crunched into soft jelly by the iron hoofs of horses; of faces

trampled out of all likeness to anything human. That is what skulks behind a 'splendid charge.'"

Now let us turn from the graphic novelist to the experienced journalist. This is what Dr. Russell, the famous *Times* war correspondent, wrote from the battle-field of Sedan :—

"Let your readers fancy masses of coloured rags glued together with blood and brains, and pinned into strange shapes by fragments of bones. Let them conceive men's bodies without heads, legs without bodies, heaps of human entrails attached to red and blue cloth, and disembowelled corpses in uniform, bodies lying about in all attitudes with skulls shattered, faces blown off, hips smashed, bones, flesh and gay clothing all pounded together as if brayed in mortar, extending for miles. . . . and then they cannot, with the most vivid imagination, come up to the sickening reality of that butchery."

O the glorious Romance of War! Listen! Thirty thousand skeletons of Russian and Turkish soldiers were shipped to England in 1881 *as manure!*

Well does Byron sing of war :

"Lo! where the giant on the mountain stands,
His blood-red tresses deep'ning in the sun,
With death-shot glowing in his fiery hands,
And eye that scorcheth all it glares upon;
Restless it rolls, now fixed, and now anon
Flashing afar—and at his iron feet
Destruction cowers, to mark what deeds are done."

The poet's image is daring, yet how true! Destruction might cower indeed at the atrocities of a battle-field. For they are more than slaughters—they are unspeakable agonies. Happy, thrice happy, are the dead in comparison with the wounded. Imagine the fate of *these* after a "glorious victory." The fallen, not slain, of both sides are mingled in a common hell. They were enemies a few

hours ago, but now how fearfully akin! A young husband—as his life-blood ebbs away, and cold steals upon the citadel of his heart—sees a vision of eyes and lips that he will never kiss again. A son thinks of the old mother, whose dwindling life is wrapped in his, who will never more lean upon his strong arm, but falter downward to the grave. A father wonders what will happen to his brood at home—how the mother will support them—what future is now in store for the bright boy who was his pride, and ah! what future for the baby girl, whose delicate soft flesh he seems to feel as when he took her from her mother's arms in that last embrace. These are the real tragedies of a battle-field—soul-tragedies, as Browning would call them. And if we multiply them a thousand fold, and add every conceivable circumstance of physical suffering, we shall be able to estimate the true value of that fatal "glory."

War is just in self-defence, or in defence of a neighbour unjustly attacked. We are not of those who believe in the refusal of aid between nations in all circumstances. The sword may be, for some time yet, as necessary as the lancet, but it should never be drawn except against the enemies of mankind. "The blood of man," said Burke, "should never be shed but to redeem the blood of man. It is well shed for our friends, for our country, for our kind. The rest is vanity; the rest is crime."

When any of these great duties call us we should be ready to defend them; and if ever England were menaced by a brutal invader, the most peaceful citizen might well wish her to be animated by the same brave spirit that whipped the pride of the Armada and drove the hectoring Dutch fleets from the English seas. Nay, to defend the nation's liberties in the dark hour of extreme peril, one

might hope that her sons would make ramparts of their bodies, and if they could not make a pact with victory, make a pact with death; that her daughters would gladly resign their dearest in the spirit of the Spartan mothers of old; and that the very children might, like Hannibal, be dedicated to a righteous revenge.

We are then far from loving peace at any price. But there is little need to denounce such an impossible doctrine. It is not that way our danger lies. Our fighting instincts, inherited from savage ancestors, are too strong for us to submit tamely to aggression, even if the law of self-preservation did not prompt us to defend our own.

National defence was not the origin of our modern standing armies. They are legacies from Feudalism. The retainers of feudal nobles became the king's soldiers as the power of the Crown strengthened over its vassals. Disguise it how you will, the institution of standing armies still savours of its origin. The military forces of Europe are the instruments of tyranny and the support of privilege. During the last fifty years they have been as often employed in suppressing liberty at home as in fighting the foreigner abroad. Perhaps England and Switzerland are the only exceptions to this rule. The notion that armies are the servants of the *people* is extremely recent. Fighting for his *king* was the soldier's recognised vocation. That spirit still half animates our British troops, as it wholly animates the troops of Russia. In Germany the idea of the Fatherland may have overshadowed that of the Emperor, though he still talks consumedly about "my army"; but little more than a century ago Frederick the Great's army fought at his absolute command; and Prussia, like every other German State, was ruled on the same patriarchal principle.

Democracy is very recent, and has not had time to mould its own institutions. Those who are not conversant with history do not understand that the institutions which exist are relics of monarchy. And of these the worst is a standing army.

This fact has some bearing on the morality of a soldier's profession. A French Radical said the other day, in the epigrammatic way of his nation, that the business of an army is to defend the frontier. An admirable sentiment! But that is not the soldier's view. He goes with cheerful alacrity wherever he is sent, and if he is ordered to the other side of the globe he feels that brisk stirring of the blood which accompanies novel adventures. French soldiers, drafted from the citizen army of a Republic where the conscription is universal, set sail without misgivings for Algeria, Tunis, Madagascar, or China. "Theirs not to reason why, theirs but to do or die." Does not all this show that Democracy has had but little if any effect upon the army? When men enter it they become possessed by its spirit. And that spirit is military, authoritative, monarchical.

The English army is composed of volunteers, and is in a sense mercenary. And what are the motives that impel men to join it? "Generally," says Bacon, "all warlike people are a little idle, and love danger better than travail." The description applies admirably to our upper classes who supply the army with officers, and no doubt it fits some of the lower classes who supply it with privates. For the rest, men enter the army as they engage in other professions, for a living; and, after a certain allowance for ties of blood, they care as little on which side they fight as a lawyer cares on which side he pleads. It is hardly fair to define a soldier as a man who

engages to kill anybody for a shilling a day, for this loses sight of the fact that he undertakes to be killed as well as to kill for that figure. But the definition, although not accurate, contains a dreadful element of truth. It would be unfair to visit on the individual soldier the whole odium of the institution to which he belongs. True, and the hangman is scarcely responsible for capital punishment; yet we should shrink from his company at our tables. Perhaps the wisest plan is to hate the institution and pity its members.

Mr. Ruskin, many years ago, justified the soldier's trade, or at least exalted it:—

"Philosophically, it does not, at first sight, appear reasonable (many writers have endeavoured to prove it unreasonable) that a peaceable and rational person, whose trade is buying and selling, should be held in less honour than an unpeaceable and often irrational person, whose trade is slaying. Nevertheless, the consent of mankind has always, in spite of the philosophers, given precedence to the soldier. *And this is right.* For the soldier's trade, verily and essentially, is not slaying, but being slain. This, without well knowing its own meaning, the world honours it for. A bravo's trade is slaying; but the world has never respected bravos more than merchants; the reason it honours the soldier is, because he holds his life at the service of the State. Reckless he may be – fond of pleasure or of adventure—all kinds of bye-motives and mean impulses may have determined the choice of his profession, and may affect (to all appearance exclusively) his daily conduct in it; but our estimate of him is based on this ultimate fact—of which we are well assured—that put him in a fortress breach, with all the pleasures of the world behind him, and only death and his duty in front of him, he will keep his face to the front; and he knows that this choice may be put to him at any moment, and has beforehand taken his part—virtually takes such part continually—does, in reality, die daily."

The element of truth in Ruskin's eloquent defence of the

soldier we have already acknowledged; the rest we deem fanciful and mistaken. Miners and colliers risk their lives daily, but who calls them heroes? Policemen often carry their lives in their hands, but who worships them? Sailors incur on the average greater danger than soldiers, but who chants their praises? The fact is, they have no share in the pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war. It is our fighting instincts that throw a glamour round the soldier. Our intellects approve industry, but our inherited feelings consecrate militarism. In the same way, long after the Jews had settled down to agriculture, they instinctively adored the nomadic character, and all their legendary heroes came from the pastoral state.

A soldier holds not only his life, but his conscience, at the service of the State. Ruskin does not notice that. But, as civilisation advances and morality refines, the fact will become more obvious. Hosea Biglow is not so eloquent as the author of *Unto this Last*, yet he utters many a sound truth in quaint language.

> "Ef you take a sword and dror it,
> An' go stick a feller thru,
> Guv'ment ain't to answer for it,
> God'll send the bill to you."

What does Ruskin say to that? We fancy it would grate harsh truth through his most melodious eloquence.

Our inherited fighting instincts account also for the applause with which we greet the upper classes when they reward successful generals at our expense. Sir Beauchamp Seymour was made a lord for bombarding Alexandria, and received a present of £25,000. Lord Wolseley had a grant of £25,000 for the Ashantee war, the only remaining trophy of which is King Coffee's umbrella; and another £30,000 for his Egyptian victories.

Oh for another Swift to satirise this monstrous absurdity! In the sixteenth number of his *Examiner*, that splendid wit compared the rewards, amounting to over half-a-million, heaped on Marlborough, with the reward given to "a victorious general of Rome, in the height of that Empire." Nearly a thousand pounds might have been spent on a triumphal arch, a sacrificial bull, and other features of public celebration in honour of the general; but the only *thing* he actually received was a crown of laurel worth twopence, and perhaps an embroidered robe. The laurels of a modern general are more costly. He fights for solid pudding, not for empty praise.

Before we leave the morality of war let us print the last century's butcher's bill. It is an edifying document:

YEARS.		LOSS OF MEN.
1793 to 1815	England and France	1,900,000
1828	Russia and Turkey ..	120,000
1830 to 1849	Spain and Portugal	160,000
1830 to 1847	France and Algeria..	110,000
1848	Civil Strife in Europe	60,000
1854 to 1856	Crimean War	784,000
1859	Franco-Austrian War	63,000
1863 to 1865	American Civil War	800,000
1866	Austro-Prussian War	51,000
,,	France and Mexico	65,000
1864 to 1870	Brazil and Paraguay	330,000
1870 to 1871	Franco-German War	290,000
1876 to 1877	Russo-Turkish War	180,000
	Total	4,913,000

This prodigious slaughter-bill does not include those killed in the various English and French expeditions. M. Beaulieu estimates French losses alone in these at 65,000. *Over five millions of men* sacrificed to the Moloch of War in less than a century! Imagination shrinks appalled.

What a hecatomb of victims to "low ambition and the pride of kings."

If this sort of thing must go on for ever, one might feel inclined, with Huxley, to welcome the approach of any comet that could sweep this earth, and its millions of pestilent cutthroats, into eternal oblivion. No wonder the great, strong, implacable genius of Swift brought in war as one of the worst vices of the Yahoos. Gulliver's master, among the Houyhnhnms, thought he must be saying the thing that was not, when he counted the number of those who had been killed in battle. And when he described the weapons and manœuvres of warfare, and related such incidents as "plundering, stripping, ravishing, burning, and destroying," the Houyhnhnm commanded him to be silent, and expressed belief that the Yahoos did not really possess any reason, but only "some quality fitted to increase their natural vices."

The wickedness of war is only exceeded by its folly. Of the Crimean War, Mr. Kinglake says that "it brought to the grave a million of workmen and soldiers, and consumed a pitiless share of the wealth which man's labour had stored up as the means of life." Yet what advantage did it bring anyone? The treaty of peace which closed it has been torn to shreds; every provision in it is a dead letter. What a glorious result after sacrificing a million lives and wasting three hundred and forty millions of money! The myriad graves in the Crimea are tenanted by murdered victims of *la haute politique;* and the churchyard of Sebastopol is as great a monument of criminal folly as the pyramid of skulls erected by a Tamerlane or an Attila.

What should we think of a man in private life who whipped out a sword every time he quarrelled, and tried to cut his opponent's throat? He would soon be relegated

to the prison or the asylum. What, also, do we think of a man who sticks to his opinion, however rash it may be, and refuses to abandon it because he has once taken it up —as though his infallibility were the chief thing in the universe, to which all else must be subordinated; and who would sooner be ruined than confess to a mistake? We consider him a dolt, a mule, a vain idiot. And if he refuses to submit his differences with others to friendly or legal adjudication, we regard him as still worse; for we naturally think with Grotius that "the party who refuses to accept arbitration may justly be suspected of bad faith."

Now, what peculiar logic is there that can render the folly of an individual wisdom in a nation, or transform private wickedness into a national virtue? We have not the slightest doubt that quarrels between nations will eventually be settled as quarrels between individuals are settled now, by appeal to an acknowledged tribunal. That is the certain tendency of our age. Even Prince Bismarck, the man of blood and iron, assisted it by playing the part of "the honest broker."

Tho Geneva Arbitration of 1872 on the "Alabama" dispute was the inauguration of a new era. The arbitrators' award mulcted England in £3,000,000, but that sum is trivial to what the dispute might have cost us had it rankled into a war. Since then a score of international disputes have been settled in the same way.

Napoleon himself, in the solitude of St. Helena, dreamed of "the application to the great European family of an institution like the American Congress, or that of the Amphictyon in Greece;" and he asserted that "this agglomeration of European peoples must arrive, sooner or later, by the mere force of events." How many

eminent men have since expressed the same view. Victor Hugo uttered the right great word "The United States of Europe." A recognised international tribunal, a high court of nations, would allow of a great reduction in the armies of Europe. Public opinion would restrain the fractious; or, as Tennyson says, "then the common sense of most would hold a fretful realm in awe." Even the most selfish State, in its moment of intensest excitement, would shrink from violating international law if the outrage brought upon it swift punishment by the armed comity of Europe. Gradually, with the cessation of war and the growth of peaceful sentiments, Europe would become ashamed of its barbarous past; and we might reasonably hope that the benign process would continue

> "Till the war-drums throbbed no longer, and the battle-flags were furled
> In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world."

We promised to say more on the economical aspects of war. Take the following (1885) list of European States,[1] with the cost of their armies and navies, and the interest on their national debts:

COUNTRY.	ARMY AND NAVY.	INTEREST ON NATIONAL DEBT.
Austria	£13,400,000	£21,400,000
Belgium	1,900,000	4,100,000
Denmark	1,000,000	500,000
France	35,500,000	47,000,000
Germany	18,200,000	13,400 000
Great Britain	28 900 000	30,000,000
Carried forward	£98,900,000	£116,400,000

[1] The figures for 1885 may stand, as they were taken *en bloc* from a trustworthy source—the "Financial Reform Almanack." I have gone through the current "Statesman's Year Book," and I find that there has been an increase of *thirteen millions* in the European war budget.

COUNTRY.	ARMY AND NAVY.	INTEREST ON NATIONAL DEBT.
Brought forward	£98,900,000	£116,400,000
Greece	1,000,000	875,000
Holland	2,700,000	2,700,000
Italy	19,000,000	20,000,000
Norway	450,000	270,000
Portugal	1,400,000	2,900,000
Roumania	1,100,000	2,000,000
Russia	33,000,000	28,500,000
Servia	350,000	310,000
Spain	7,500,000	10,750 000
Sweden	1,200,000	600,000
Switzerland ..	700,000	78,000
Turkey	4,500,000	12,330,000
	£171,800,000	£197,713,000

Here is a grand total of *three hundred and seventy millions* spent every year on war preparations and on account of past wars.

Let it also be noted that the annual war-bill of nearly every country goes on *increasing*. England is no exception. Mr. Gladstone started well when he took the reins from Earl Beaconsfield, but his military and naval expenditure went up year by year, until his twenty-six millions grew to thirty, to say nothing of the £9,451,000 vote of credit he obtained to put him in a position to play the game of brag with his old friend the Czar of Russia.

Now take the cost of a few great wars during the last thirty years:

Crimean War	£340,000,000
Italian War (1859)	60,000,000
American Civil War[1]	1,400,000,000
Carried forward	£1,800,000,000

[1] This was the cost to the Northern States alone. The cost to the Southern States would probably bring the total bill up to £2,000,000,000.

Brought forward	..	£1,800,000,000
Austro-Prussian War	..	66,000,000
Franco-Prussian War	..	500,000,000
Russo-Turkish War ..	..	210,000,000
Zulu and Afghan Wars	..	30,000,000
		£2,606,000,000

This would allow £2 for every man, woman, and child on the globe. It would make two railways round the earth at the rate of £50,000 a mile. It would provide every adult male in Europe with a freehold farm of 100 acres in the United States of America.

During the present century England alone has spent on her army and navy, and the interest of her national debt, *nearly six thousand millions*. A third of that sum would buy up her whole soil from the landlords, restore it to the people, and settle the Land Question for ever. Out of every pound of taxes we now pay, 16s. 1½d. goes for War, War Debt, or preparation for War, and only 3s. 10½d. for all other purposes. And as the chief part of our national income is raised by indirect taxation, it follows that the main burden of war falls upon the shoulders of the PEOPLE.

Compare with the colossal sum we spend on War the paltry amount we spend on Education,[1] and then ask whether we are not afflicted with insanity. Ruskin once inquired what was the proper view of a rich householder who expended ten pounds a year on his library and five hundred on policemen to guard his shutters.

England's National Debt is over *seven hundred millions*, and nearly every penny of it has been contracted by our

[1] Our own annual expenditure on Army and Navy is, roughly, £32,000,000; our expenditure on National Education is less than £9,000,000.

class-government since the "glorious revolution" of 1688 solely for the purpose of maintaining "the balance of power" in Europe, which simply meant interfering with other people's business, or sharing in their quarrels. We began, at the accession of William III., with a paltry debt of £664,264; but small as the sum was, it acted like a vital germ, from which was developed a huge system of financial corruption. When the taxes of the country were once pledged, it was easy to draw further drafts on posterity for the conduct of enterprises that would never have been undertaken if their expenses had to be borne at the time. Accordingly, we find that, at the accession of Queen Anne, the Debt amounted to £12,767,225. Marlborough's campaigns nearly trebled it, for at the accession of George I. it had increased to £36,175,460. Under that imported monarch it rose to £52,523,023; and under his successor to £102,014,018. Then came George III., who was for a long while mad and always blind; and under his perverse and foolish rule the Tory government involved us in a wanton war with our brethren in America, and afterwards in a mad war with the French Republic. The result was that, when George III. departed to whatever place is reserved for his like, the Debt amounted to the prodigious sum of £834,900,960.

At this moment the male population of England—that is, every actual or potential head of a family—is indebted £85 4s. 8d. to the national bondholders, because preceding governments, without obtaining or soliciting the people's consent, went fighting at large in Europe and America wherever an opportunity for a scrimmage presented itself.

This National Debt handicaps us with an initial burden of over twenty-two millions a year in the shape of interest. Our fathers danced to a sorry tune, and we have to pay

the exorbitant piper. And as most of our taxation is raised *indirectly*, it follows that this yearly interest is a perennial burden on our national industry. During the present century, to go back no farther, we have paid *in interest alone* the terrific sum of nearly *two thousand five hundred millions*. Surely a visitor from a distant planet (say Voltaire's Saturnian) on learning these facts, would suppose that he had lighted on a race of madmen.

Who can point to a single particle of good which our lavish expenditure on war and warlike preparations has conferred on any human being, except generals, army contractors, and bondholders? When the little boy, in Southey's poem, wants to know what the battle of Blenheim was all about, and what benefit resulted from the rival armies leaving their empty skulls as memorials to future ages, old Kaspar is nonplussed.

> "Why, that I cannot tell," said he,
> "But 'twas a famous victory."

A *famous* victory! Yes, the adjective is thrown over it to hide the misery and folly. "Glory" is the bait on the despot's hook; the gilded fetter on a strutting slave; the plume in the helm of a mailed freebooter. True and lasting glory is only won by the victories of peace. "These are matters so arduous," as Milton told Cromwell, "that in comparison of them the perils of war are but the sports of children."

People still talk of "glory," but wherein consists the true greatness of England? In the noble language of Landor:

"The strength of England lies not in armaments and invasions; it lies in the omnipresence of her industry, and in the vivifying energies of her high civilisation. There are provinces she cannot grasp; there are islands she cannot hold fast; but

there is neither island nor province, there is neither kingdom nor continent, which she could not draw to her side and fix there everlastingly, by saying the magic words Be Free. Every land wherein she favours the sentiments of freedom, every land wherein she forbids them to be stifled, is her own; a true ally, a willing tributary, an inseparable friend. Principles hold those together whom power would only alienate."

There are at present only two countries in Europe that cherish a constant friendship for England. One is Greece, whom we aided in her gallant struggle for emancipation; the other is Italy, who remembers our sympathy when she revolted against the Austrian yoke.

Meanwhile, let it be noticed that our governing classes always keep a bogey to frighten us with. Long ago it was France; now it is Russia. Earl Beaconsfield traded on that bogey, and Mr. Gladstone followed suit; in fact he nearly involved us in a war with Russia through a squabble over an Afghan outpost. England is perpetually warned against the stealthy advances of "Russian aggrandisement." But are not our shocked feelings a little amusing? Russian conquests during the last hundred and thirty years amount to 1,642,000 square miles, with a meagre population of 17,135,000; while England's conquests in the same period amount to 2,650,000 square miles, with 250,000,000 people. Our Jingoes appear to think that England may steal sheep, but Russia must not catch a rabbit.

All over Europe the same game is played. Peoples are filled by their rulers with a blind and passionate hatred of each other. Austria glares at Russia, and Russia at Austria. France and Germany vie with each other in military organisation, waiting with feverish blood and panting breath for the next death-wrestle. Italy prepares herself to strike in the combat as it suits her interest. And the

smaller States, like Switzerland and Belgium, tremble lest their neutrality should be violated in the bloody strife. Christendom is armed to the teeth; and as Sir Henry Maine too truthfully observes, "During the last quarter of a century, a great part, perhaps the greatest part, of the inventive faculties of mankind has been given to the arts of destruction." The workman in the factory and the peasant in the field know that they may at any moment be summoned from their peaceful vocations by the trumpet of battle. They know also that war has become more and more scientific, that horrid explosives have made it more ghastly, and that they would be marshalled for hideous slaughter, where each man sees the comrade fall at his side but not the enemy that strikes him dead. Some of them who sicken at the prospect, not with coward fears but with manly disgust, might almost cry with Shakespeare's Northumberland:

> "Let heaven kiss earth! Now let not Nature's hand
> Keep the wild flood confined! Let order die!
> And let this world no longer be a stage
> To feed Contention in a lingering act;
> But let one spirit of the first-born Cain
> Reign in all bosoms, that, each heart being set
> On bloody courses, the rude scene may end,
> And darkness be the burier of the dead!"

Europe is the modern Damocles. The ancient bearer of that name envied the wealth of Dionysius of Sicily, who jestingly gave him a taste of royal pleasures. Damocles ascended the throne and gazed admiringly on the wealth and splendour around him. But looking up, he perceived a sword hanging over his head by a single hair. The sight so terrified him that he begged to be removed from his position. Europe likewise sits at its feast of life, but

the fatal weapon suspended overhead mars its felicity. Serpents twine in the dance, arms clash in the song, the meats have a strange savour, there is a demoniac sparkle in the wine, and a poisonous bitterness in the dregs of the cup. All is darkened by the Shadow of the Sword.

PUBLIC CONTROL OF HOSPITALS.

PUBLIC CONTROL OF HOSPITALS.

The Problem Stated.

"The poorer the guest, the better pleased he ever is with being treated," philosophised the Vicar of Wakefield; and the aphorism which he applied to his poor relations is equally true of those who come under medical care. Thus is explained, or at any rate partly explained, the long silence concerning hospital management on the part of those who have been inmates of these refuges for the sick. Concerning these, however, like so many other previously uncriticised institutions, the public voice is at last beginning to demand, and in somewhat querulous tones, that more information be given, that more light be thrown on their inner working.

In this paper I propose to state, as briefly as may be, the facts which, from the point of view of the layman, demonstrate the advisability, or rather the necessity, of taking the control of the hospitals out of the hands of the present governing bodies and placing it directly in the hands of the people's representatives. And here I would lay stress on what may appear a truism to any but those interested, namely, that the *lay* point of view is the only one to be considered. There cannot be any rational discussion of "the professional point of view" of which we have heard so much. Hospitals should exist solely for the good of the people, and not in the least for the

aggrandisement, amusement, or scientific advancement of any class of specialists.

In offering, then, any criticism of existing management, or considering any scheme for new management, we must examine into these questions:

1. How most economically to provide adequate treatment for the sick.
2. How best to provide for the greatest benefit and comfort of such of the public as would derive advantage from hospital treatment.
3. How most advantageously, without in the least involving the second question, to provide for the technical training of new generations of surgeons and physicians.

The Extent of The Hospital System.

The treatment of the sick in modern England is a very much more organised and rational affair than the old Babylonian method of laying the sick in the public squares, on the chance that someone might pass who had formerly suffered from the same ailment and had discovered a cure for it. Nevertheless, so early as 4,000 years before Christ, the Egyptians seem to have had an extensive system of public hospitals in connection with the temples, with medical schools attached to the hospitals. But, in a later age, Egypt appears to have reckoned science above humanity, and Celsus says of them that "They procured criminals out of prison by Royal Commission, and dissecting them alive, contemplated, while they were yet breathing, what nature had before concealed." We find a marked contrast in the more humane customs of the followers of Buddha, as is seen from this extract from

an edict of the Hindoo emperor Asoka, who was crowned about 270 B.C. and founded hospitals throughout India and Ceylon :—

"Everywhere within the conquered provinces of Raja Piyadasi, the beloved of the gods, as well as in the parts occupied by the faithful, such as Chola, Pida Satiyaputra, and Ketalaputra, and even as far as Tambapanni, and moreover within the dominion of Antiochus the Greek (of which Antiochus's generals are the rulers), everywhere the heaven-beloved Raja Piyadasi's double system of medical aid is hereby established; both medical aid for men and medical aid for animals, together with medicaments of all sorts which are suitable for men and suitable for animals."

In England, to-day, the extent of the various instruments for the collective treatment of the sick poor is even more enormous than is usually supposed. Thus, in the *Lancet* for November 9th, 1889, Dr. Rentoul calculated that 4,000,000 persons receive free medical relief in England yearly. He said further: "I think if one said that one person in three was provided with practically free medical relief in this country a very near approach to accuracy would be made."

It is said that about 8,000 persons are employed throughout the year in tending the sick "paupers" of London. The infirmaries of London are provided with about 14,000 beds, whilst the thirteen London hospitals to which medical schools are attached have nearly 5,000 beds, and the Fever hospitals of the Metropolitan Asylums Board about 3,500. The number of beds gives but a small idea of the number of the patients attended. Thus the thirteen large London hospitals above alluded to provide treatment annually for over 51,000 in-patients, and over 660,000 out-patients, in addition to attending more than 15,000 maternity cases in the patients' homes.

Moreover, the demand for hospital treatment is growing every year. Thus, whereas the number of out-patients treated in Birmingham in 1867 was 67,000; twenty years later it had grown to 166,000. The annual income of the various voluntary hospitals in Great Britain amounts to some one and a half millions, of which the London general hospitals absorb about one third. Of this half a million, something over £200,000 is derived from dividends, invested property and grants, about £80,000 from legacies, £46,000 from subscriptions, and £54,000 from donations.

Surely such an extensive system is composed of mutually helpful and thoroughly inter-related parts; and is not left in the hands of a number of competing groups of almost irresponsible persons. Yet, as a matter of fact, so unrelated are the various hospitals that even in matters of finance we find no common ground. Thus, to give but one instance, whereas the annual cost per bed at St. George's Hospital is only £88, at St. Bartholomew's it is nearly £130; whilst in the Infirmaries it only amounts to some £30 or £40. Surely there must be either absurd extravagance or meanness somewhere. Even the Hospitals Committee was obliged to report its "regret that there does not seem to be any genuine wish for co-operation between the various kinds of medical institutions. They are of opinion that much more might be done than at present by the hearty co-operation between the special hospitals and general hospitals, between dispensaries of all kinds and general hospitals, and between general practitioners and general hospitals."

Patients or "Clinical Material"?

Concerning the inhumane treatment of hospital patients a great deal of unwise and exaggerated stuff has been

written. To read some of these vague denunciatory outpourings one would imagine that every qualified medical man in the country was a sort of disease-spreading devil, whose whole mind was ever devoted to discovering some new pain to inflict on his fellow men. Anyone with his eyes open, who is at all acquainted on the one hand with hospital life and on the other with the home of the average hospital patient, must see that to hundreds of thousands of poor people the hospitals as at present worked have been a veritable godsend. In the very great majority of all serious cases the patients are well fed and well nursed, and receive the best skilled treatment obtainable. But, while we are glad to allow this much, we must not forget the other side of the matter. There is, beyond all doubt, a great deal of abuse consequent on the almost unlimited powers of the medical staff. This power is especially misplaced when we remember the motive which makes men anxious to get on the staff of any of the great hospitals. The London hospitals do not for the most part pay any salaries to their staffs, either visiting or resident. The resident staff of house surgeons, house physicians, and obstetric officers, consists as a rule of students of the particular hospital who have recently obtained qualifications, and are anxious to get some real experience before leaving their *alma mater;* whilst the visiting staff consists of men with high qualifications who are desirous of obtaining more experience on the one hand and of becoming known to the profession and outside world on the other. Thus, in the *British Medical Journal* Dr. Hickman is reported as saying in all candour that

"the large and increasing number of hospitals and dispensaries was not an evidence of the intense interest taken by the pro-

fession in the poor, nor was the large amount of time and labour gratuitously devoted to their service simply an index to the disinterested philanthropy of medical men. The object of this interest and these services was not the benefit of the poor, nor of the profession, but the particular benefit of the individual, who looked forward to be amply repaid in the future by increased experience, enhanced reputation, and the legitimate advertisement of himself, which was almost the only opening to high-class practice and high-class fees."

The profession, moreover, is far too prone to regard the hospitals merely as departments of the medical schools. Thus we find Mr. Timothy Holmes, one of our most eminent surgeons, saying[1]

"that the chief use of hospitals was that they should teach practitioners of medicine and surgery. . . . . Firstly, a hospital should be a place for medical education; secondly, for the relief of suffering; and, thirdly, for the training of nurses; all of which objects should be considered in due proportion by those exercising the management."

Again, Dr. Carter, the then President of the Medical Society,[2] speaking at the Mansion House in 1886, said:—
"The greatest use of hospitals is to promote the advancement of medical science, and to afford us improved methods of recognising and treating disease."

It is obvious that to delegate the control of our hospitals to men holding these views is an absurdity beyond defence. No wonder the suspicion begins to show itself that the "human vivisection" of Vesalius and Fallopius, of Erasistratus and Herophilus is being, or about to be, revived. For this suspicion there is of course some foundation. We are getting familiar with proposals for vivisecting criminals, idots, and such; and the distance

[1] *British Medical Journal*, April, 1884.
[2] *Lancet*, June 26, 1886. (P. 1250).

between a criminal and a pauper is usually easily traversed by the wishful. Of course, anything which could be legitimately described as dangerous or painful experimentation on hospital patients must be far from common in this country. Probably a majority of surgeons and physicians would discountenance anything approaching it. But at the same time there is no excuse for the super-critical air which Mr. Havelock Ellis assumes in his book on "The Nationalisation of Health," where he says:—

"I doubt whether many people realise the suspicion with which a certain section of the more ignorant classes regard hospitals. Indeed, even among the more intellectual classes, the critics of medicine are in England, as a distinguished French surgeon has recently said they are in France, frequently conspicuous for their enormous incompetence. Charges of gross neglect, charges of treating patients as subjects for experiment, are freely and fiercely expressed, and occasionally they gain a prominent position in the newspapers and novels. On investigation these charges usually turn out to be ridiculously devoid of foundation; and anyone who is familiar with the working of our large hospitals knows that such accusations are so absurd that it is difficult to consider them seriously."

The Medical Profession and Vivisection.

But one finds it far less difficult to consider them seriously when it is borne in mind what is the practice and doctrine of the men against whom these charges are made, and their colleagues, in the allied matter of animal vivisection. I say allied, because both animal vivisection and experiments on human beings are based on the same scientific fetish of misunderstood utilitarianism, namely, that the few and the weaker may wisely be used for the greater benefit of the many and the strong. We know

that those whose time is largely occupied with the slaughtering of cattle in the primitive and brutal manner which is still the almost universal one in this country are more prone than their neighbours to commit assaults on their fellow men. In the same way, it is fair to expect that men accustomed to subject animals to pain, primarily, it may be, in order that their fellow men may ultimately profit, but subsequently and more usually in order that some new scientific fact may be discovered, and consequent honour and glory be their's—it is fair to expect that such men will be somewhat apt to use the sick pauper who chances to be suitable for the purpose to further the progress of science, even if such use is detrimental to the individual thus treated. Such an inference implies no suggestion that doctors are naturally any worse or less humane than other people, for such a suggestion would be absurd, but is simply based on the ordinary well-established laws of training and habitude.

In order to give an idea of the way in which animal vivisection is regarded by men who are reckoned at the head of the profession, the following extracts may serve. In answer to a question from the Chairman of the Royal Commission of 1876, "What is your own practice with regard to the use of anæsthetics in experiments that are otherwise painful?" Dr. Klein, F.R.S. (Lecturer on Physiology at St. Bartholomew's Hospital), said:—

"Except for teaching purposes, for demonstration, I never use anæsthetics where it is not necessary for convenience. If I demonstrate, I use anæsthetics. If I do experiments for my inquiries in pathological research, except for convenience sake, as for instance on dogs and cats, I do not use them.

"Chairman: When you say that you only use them for convenience sake, do you mean that you have no regard at all to the sufferings of the animals?

"No regard at all. I think that with regard to an experimenter, a man who conducts special research, and performs an experiment, he has no time, so to speak, for thinking what will the animal feel or suffer. His only purpose is to perform the experiment, to learn as much from it as possible, and to do it as quickly as possible. For my own purposes I disregard entirely this question of the suffering of the animal in performing a painful experiment. I regard it for demonstration because I know that there is a great deal of feeling against it in this country, and when it is not necessary one should not perhaps act against the opinion or the belief of certain individuals of the auditorium. One must take regard of the feelings and opinions of those people before whom one does the experiment."

How the more cautious and time-serving experimenters must regard such candid statements as the following by Dr. Charles Richet in the *Revue des deux Mondes* (Feb. 15th, 1883) may perhaps be imagined. Thus Dr. Richet:—

"I do not believe that a single experimenter says to himself when he gives curare to a rabbit, or cuts the spinal marrow of a dog, or poisons a frog: 'Here is an experiment which will relieve or will cure the disease of some man.' No, in truth, he does not think of that! He says to himself, 'I shall clear up an obscure point, I will seek out a new fact.' And this scientific curiosity, which alone animates him, is explained by the high idea he has formed of Science. This is why we pass our days in fœtid laboratories, surrounded by groaning creatures, in the midst of blood and suffering, bent over palpitating entrails."

As showing how the ordinary prejudices of mankind against ruthlessly causing pain to sentient creatures may be overcome, and how the pain or disgust which most people experience in the presence of mangled bodies of living animals may be converted into exuberant joy, the following extract from the "Methodik" of Professor

Cyon (Lecturer on Physiology at the University of St. Petersburg) may be of melancholy interest:—

"The true vivisector must approach a difficult vivisection with the same joyful excitement, with the same delight, with which a surgeon undertakes a difficult operation, from which he expects extraordinary consequences. He who shrinks from cutting into a living animal, he who approaches a vivisection as a disagreeable necessity, may very likely be able to repeat one or two vivisections, but will never become an artist in vivisection. He who cannot follow some fine nerve-thread, scarcely visible to the naked eye, into the depths, if possible sometimes tracing it to a new branching, with joyful alertness for hours at a time, he who feels no enjoyment when at last, parted from its surroundings and isolated, he can subject that nerve to electrical stimulation; or when, in some deep cavity, guided only by the sense of touch of his finger-ends, he ligatures and divides an invisible vessel—to such a one there is wanting that which is most necessary for a successful vivisector. The pleasure of triumphing over difficulties held hitherto insuperable is always one of the highest delights of the vivisector. And the sensation of the physiologist when from a gruesome wound, full of blood and mangled tissue, he draws forth some delicate nerve-branch, and calls back to life a function which was already extinguished, this sensation has much in common with that which inspires a sculptor, when he shapes forth fair living forms from a shapeless mass of marble."

"Corpora Vilia."

We need not now be surprised to hear that a tendency towards experimentation on human beings is not such an impossibility as Mr. Ellis would have us believe. The recent exposure of the Chelsea Hospital for Women by Dr. Louis Parkes should open our eyes a little, and the following extracts from the semi-official organs of the profession and standard medical text-books may prevent

them from closing quite so tightly again. But first of all let us clear the way by reading the following letter from Dr. Armand de Watteville, M.A., M.D., B.Sc. (until recently on the staff of St. Mary's Hospital), which appeared in the *Standard* of November 24th, 1883:—

To the Editor of "THE STANDARD"

"Sir,—a few days ago an anonymous letter appeared in your columns which, emanating (as the signature, "M.D.," appeared to show) from a medical practitioner, ought not to be allowed to pass without an energetic protest. As far as I can see, the writer intends to bring a charge against a distinguished member of his own profession, a physician who by his labours in the field of therapeutics, has done eminent service to medicine, and has been instrumental to the relief of much human suffering—a serious charge, I say, *viz.*, that of having used patients in a hospital for other purposes than those tending to their own direct benefit.

"Now I should like to ask 'M.D.,' whether his whole career as a medical student, from the day he handled his first bone to that on which he passed his last clinical examination, did not involve abuses very similar to those for which he now joins the unfortunately ever growing pseudo-humanitarian outcry against the methods of rational medicine?

"What right had he to trample upon the feelings of others in dissecting the bodies of people whose sole crime was to have been poor, and, still more, to acquire his clinical experience at the expense of, perhaps, much human shame and suffering?

"I think we, as medical men, should not attempt to conceal from the public the debt of gratitude they owe to the *corpora vilia*—for such there are, and will be, as long as the healing art exists and progresses. So far from there being a reason why moral and pecuniary support should be refused to hospitals on the ground that their inmates are made use of otherwise than for treatment, there is every ground why more and more should be given to them, in order to compensate by every possible comfort for the dis-comforts necessarily entailed by the education of succeeding generations of medical men,

and the improvements in our methods ot coping with disease.

"No amount of hysterical agitation and so called humanitarian agitation will alter the laws of nature, one of the plainest of which is that the few must suffer for the many. Sentimentalists who think they know better, who uphold the abstract 'Rights of Man,' and want to push them to their logical consequences, have no other alternative in the question now before us than to condemn the modern course of medical studies, and trust themselves into the hands of bookmen whose *tactus eruditus* will have to be formed at their expense. The fundamental question at issue is not whether in this or that instance improper use was made of a hospital patient, but whether the manipulations and observations indispensable for the acquisition and extension of medical knowledge are to be made in a connected and enlightened manner in public institutions and under the eyes of experienced men, or to be left to the isolated haphazard and groping efforts of necessarily ignorant men upon the persons of any who may be found to pay them in the hope of benefiting by their medical skill.

"Whilst defending the moral grounds upon which experimental medicine rests, I allow that there are limits, narrow limits, beyond which it would be imprudent or criminal to go. But I most emphatically protest against the tendency of men nowadays—and I am ashamed to observe that a few are to be found within the medical profession itself—who act upon the supposition that the public at large form a proper tribunal to decide upon what constitutes a transgression of those limits. Those alone are competent judges who are able to form a correct opinion on the one hand of the ultimate utility, on the other of the proximate consequences of any investigations *in corpore vili*."

We will next consider a few extracts from an exceedingly well-known and highly respected text-book, the "Handbook of Therapeutics," by Dr. Sydney Ringer, Physician to University College Hospital. The edition of this book which I possess is the eleventh, published in 1886.

On page 490 we read :—

"In conjunction with Mr. E. A. Horshead, I have made some investigations concerning the action of muscarin on the human body. Our observations were undertaken to ascertain whether its action on man is the same as on animals. We have made thirteen experiments on four men, seven, three, two, and one respectively. These men, it is well to state, were not in good health; three were in a delicate anæmic state, the other had slight fever from some obscure cause, though his pulse was not quickened."

"It contracts the pupil, excites profuse perspiration, free salivation, running at the eyes and nose; it purges, sometimes excites nausea and vomiting. . . . . The perspiration stood in large drops on the face after the larger doses, the nightdress became soaked, and the skin felt sodden. . . . . In five the drug produced a frequent hacking cough."

Elsewhere we read :—

"To test the effect of gelsemium in the circulation, I made thirty-three series of observations on patients in whom we induced the full toxic effects."

And again :—

"In order to test the effects of gelsemium on man, I gave it to six persons on seventeen occasions in doses sufficient to produce decided toxic effects."

Later on we are told :—

"One patient experienced pain over the occiput, with a sensation as if the crown of the head were being lifted in two pieces. . . . . Giddiness was another prominent and early symptom. . . . When well marked, the patients staggered, and were afraid even to stand, much less walk. So giddy was one patient that he nearly fell off the form. . . . . In every case the sight was effected."

In another place Dr. Ringer reports :—

"In conjunction with Mr. Bury, I have made some investigations concerning the action of salicine on the human body,

using healthy children for our experiments, to whom we gave does sufficient to produce toxic symptoms.

And he further tells us that "the headache is often very severe, so that the patient buries his head in the pillow."

"Our first set of experiments were made on a lad aged ten. . . . . He was admitted with belladonna poisoning, but our observations were not commenced till some days after his complete recovery. . . . Though a very lively boy, he became very dull and stupid, lying with his eyes closed, and answering questions slowly. He complained of tingling like pins and needles in his right ankle, and suffered from very decided muscular weakness, soon accompanied by muscular twitchings and tremblings of the legs and arms."

Concerning the therapeutics of lead salts we read:—

"There, too, is the fact, in further confirmation of Dr. Garrod's discoveries, that if to a gouty person, free at the time from an acute attack, a salt of lead is administered, it develops acute gout, with its accompanying symptoms of severe pain and high fever. The author has repeatedly verified this fact."

Before we leave Dr. Ringer, mention may be made of the well-known report by himself and Dr. Murrell, of Westminster Hospital, on the action of nitrite of sodium. The report appeared in the *Lancet* for November 3rd, 1883, and from it the following extracts are taken.

"In addition to these experiments we have made some observations clinically. To eighteen adults, fourteen men and four women, we ordered ten grains of the pure nitrite of sodium in one ounce of water, and of these seventeen declared that they were unable to take it. They came back protesting loudly and required no questioning as to the symptoms produced. They seemed to be pretty unanimous on one point, that it was the worst medicine they had ever taken. They said if they ever took another dose they would expect to drop down dead, and it would serve them right. One man, a burly strong fellow, suffering a little from rheumatism only, said that after

taking the first dose he felt giddy, as if he would go off insensible. His lips, face and hands turned blue, and he had to lie down for an hour and a half before he dared move. His heart fluttered and he suffered from throbbing pains in the head. He was urged to take another dose, but declined on the ground that he had a wife and family. Another patient had to sit down for an hour after the dose, and said that it took all his strength away. He, too, seemed to think that the medicine did not agree with him. The women appear to have suffered more than the men; at all events, they expressed their opinions more forcibly. One woman said that ten minutes after taking the first dose (she did not take a second), she felt a trembling sensation all over and suddenly fell to the floor. Whilst lying there she perspired profusely, her face and head seemed swollen and throbbed violently until she thought they would burst. . . . . Another woman said she thought she would have died after taking a dose, it threw her into a violent perspiration, and in less than five minutes her lips turned quite black and throbbed for hours; it upset her so much that she was afraid she would never get over it. The only one of the fourteen patients who made no complaint after taking ten grains was powerfully affected by fifteen. . . . . The effect on these patients was so unpleasant that it was deemed unadvisable to repeat the dose."

Dr. W. R. Gowers is the author of what is probably the most valued work on Nervous Diseases, and was the Gulstonian lecturer to the Royal College of Physicians in 1880. From the report of one of these lectures we extract the following:—

"A very interesting fact has, however, been ascertained by Dr. Ramskill, viz., that picrotoxine in large doses of from fifteen to eighteen milligrammes will almost invariably produce a fit in twenty or thirty minutes.

"In one patient, for instance (according to the notes of Mr. Broster, who carried out the experiments), the dose was daily increased, and when more than five milligrammes were injected a sensation of giddiness followed similar to that with which

the attacks commenced. The same effect followed larger injections, and when the dose reached eighteen milligrammes a severe attack occurred thirty minutes later, and an attack always followed the injection of this dose. In another patient a similar progressive increase of the dose was followed by giddiness and headache when eight milligrammes were injected. When the dose of fifteen milligrammes was reached a severe epileptic fit followed. Next day a second dose of fifteen milligrammes did not cause a fit, but eighteen milligrammes, two days later, caused a fit in half-an-hour. After a week's intermission twenty-four milligrammes were injected, and a severe fit occurred in twenty-five minutes. In a third patient a fit occurred after one injection of eight milligrammes, but ten milligrammes next day caused a fit in fifteen minutes. Seventeen milligrammes next day caused a fit in thirty minutes. In a fourth patient a single dose of eighteen milligrammes caused in ten minutes giddiness and slight dazzling before the eyes, and in thirty minutes there occurred the usual aura of an attack—a sensation of something creeping up the right arm to the top of the head, and numbness and twitching in the right thigh, but no fit followed, although the patient was stupid and dull for a time as after a fit."—*Lancet,* April 10th, 1880.

It is therefore quite idle to protest that no experimentation is performed on patients in hospitals, quite apart from any possible good which might result to them from such treatment. It is seen that drugs are occasionally given without the patient's condition being in the least considered; in some cases being given even to healthy persons. Whilst it may be urged that these experiments are never carried to such an extent in England as seriously to endanger life, it is obvious that much suffering is caused, and the line of demarcation between causing suffering and placing a patient in danger is not a very clear one, and is easily overstepped. Such experiments as those whose records I have quoted must

be clearly marked off from another form of experiment, namely, the trying of a new drug with the sole idea of benefiting the patient on whom the trial is made; though even then the nature of the experiment should be clearly explained to the subject. The same distinction must be made between dangerous surgical operations performed to give a man a last chance and similar operations performed to relieve a condition of less danger than the operation itself. This distinction is often overlooked by the sentimentalists who occasionally air their well-meant but somewhat ill-founded views in the columns of the daily papers. Operations performed otherwise than for the good of the patients I believe to be very rare. At the same time they are not unknown, and we find Dr. Cyon, from whose work I have already quoted, saying that

"many a surgical operation is performed less for the benefit of the patient than for the service of science, and the utility of the knowledge aimed at thereby is often much more trifling than that attained by vivisection of an animal."

Again, we may quote from the report of Dr. Parkes on the fatal operations performed at the Chelsea Hospital for Women: —

"The aim of the majority of these operations is to mitigate pain and discomfort, and not primarily to save life; the diseased conditions, for the relief of which such operative treatment is applied, being for the most part chronic in their natures and by no means tending to an early fatal termination. It is evident, therefore, that the question of the justifiability of such operations must arise, unless it is possible to reduce the risk of fatal issue from such operations to an extremely low figure."

Further comment on these extracts is unnecessary. The talk of experimentation in English hospitals, though often absurdly exaggerated, is thus seen to be not without

foundation. Though, as has been stated, this kind of thing is comparatively rare, yet the mere fact of its occasional existence, without producing any signs of disapproval on the part of other members of the profession, is sufficient to necessitate the limitation of the power of the medical staff.

Faith and Charity.

But there are many other grievances almost equally serious and much more common than direct experimentation. The ordinary method of conducting extern obstetric practice in connection with the hospitals is one which urgently requires reform.

Most of the London hospitals to which medical schools are attached arrange for the medical attendance on a large number of maternity cases in the patients' homes. These cases are almost entirely attended by students, and very rarely is any precaution taken to ensure that a stu den has any practical, or even theoretical, acquaintance with midwifery. Often a student attends his first case entirely alone. It is true that an overworked resident obstetric officer (just qualified) is attached to each hospital; and to him the student may send in case of emergency if he recognises it. The wasted pain and subsequent injury which such unskilled treatment entails must be something enormous.

Nor is the present system of out-patient relief adopted at the hospitals much more satisfactory. Sir William Gull, at a meeting of the Charity Organisation Society, characterised it as "a disgrace to any civilised community," and the *British Medical Journal* (May 4th, 1878) writes that:—

"It is a notorious fact that a fractional part only of the

outpatients who crowd the London hospital doors can obtain more than a few hurried words of advice from the medical staff, let alone careful diagnosis or treatment; yet so rooted is the conviction among the poorer and uneducated classes that skilled medical treatment is to be found at the hospitals only, that thither they flock, often after a weary and painful journey, necessitating the loss of a day's work or the neglect of household duties, only to receive instructions to return for treatment some other day. . . . . As a consequence of this excess of numbers, the poor are made to wait an inordinate time for the advice given; and such advice, when obtained, is often hurried and worthless."

Quite apart from the question of physical good treatment, is another matter which requires remedying. This is the custom of regarding hospitals as charitable or pauperising institutions, although one medical man who gave evidence before the Royal Commission on hospitals regretted that they were not looked upon more in this light. He "regarded it as unfortunate that people should accept hospital relief without feeling that they were paupers." As a result of this way of regarding the patients, they are often treated with the greatest insolence by students and members of the staff. It is a fairly common way of displaying his otherwise inapparent superiority, for an out-patient surgeon or physician to subject a nervous old woman to a bullying cross-examination such as few barristers would apply to a criminal. This kind of thing would not be tolerated but for the fact that the patient is receiving charity, and that so much power rests in the hands of the medical officers. In this connection, I may quote from a little book called "What to Ask", written for the guidance of young practitioners by a London physician, Dr. Milner Fothergill:

"The student sees a patient in the hospital: he is a number

in a ward; his friends are people who come bothering asking questions, or wanting to see him at inconvenient hours. When he goes to private practice he is apt to carry a good deal of the hospital house-surgeon about him—I am not insinuating that this is wrong: but certainly it is sometimes injudicious. A hospital patient is the recipient of charity, and must conceal his feelings, unless flagrantly outraged."

A private patient can call in the other doctor.

WHAT IS WANTED.

As to the remedy for this maltreatment of patients and waste of money, little more than main lines of reform can be suggested. The most important reform of all will probably be the last, namely, the humanising of medical education. The superior position which abstract science holds over humanity or respect for life, is a great drawback to successful hospital reform. The important part which vivisection plays in present-day medical teaching is of itself a very serious foe to humane habits. But still, much may be done. In the first place the hospitals should be taken over by the various County Councils within whose jurisdiction they happen to be situated. It would probably be found advisable for the Council to elect a board, the majority of which should consist of members of the Council and the small minority of eminent surgeons and physicians elected by the hospital staff. This Board would take the place of the present Boards of management, and would appoint instructors and salaried resident officers instead of the present unskilled resident staff who are there to learn, and the unpaid visiting staff in search of ambition and a job. It would supervise the financial arrangements of the hospitals, and all complaints might safely be made to it. The hospitals should be

thrown open to all who cared to use them, provided they were ill enough, regardless of class or character. The old "charity" fetish would thus die, insolence would become impossible and experimentation dangerous. A coroner's inquiry should be held on all deaths in the hospitals, so as to render reckless operators somewhat more careful. The money wasted in advertising, and the other necessities of the competitive system would be saved, and beds would never have to be closed for want of funds. The hospital rate would become as natural a thing as the school-rate or the library-rate, and would in reality be a sort of insurance against illness. The hospital would, moreover, come to have a considerable educational influence on its inmates,—rich and poor, educated and uneducated, idler and worker, mixing together for once on terms of equality.

To any form of public control of the hospitals the strongest opposition will come from the medical profession. Thus we find Mr. Burdett, in his "Hospitals of the World," writing such antique stuff as this:

"Anything more opposed to the best interests of the people than the substitution of State hospitals for the voluntary hospitals as they at present exist cannot be imagined. . . . . There is a loss to the whole community in the lessened moral sense which State institutions create. The voluntary charities afford an opening for the expression of the best of all human feelings—sympathy between man and man. They give to the rich an opening for the display of consideration towards the poor which is fruitful in results. They create a feeling of widespread sympathy with those who suffer, and impress upon the population the duty of almsgiving to an extent which no other charity can do. . . . . They provide a field of labour wherein some of the most devoted and best members of society can cultivate the higher feelings of humanity and learn to bear their own sufferings and afflictions with resignation and patience."

It is unnecessary to make any comment on this effusion. It may simply be remarked that the arguments which Mr. Burdett uses on behalf of voluntary hospitals apply equally strongly on behalf of the system of slavery, and apply much more strongly in favour of general mendicancy. It is now generally acknowledged that almsgiving, though at present it may often be necessary, is unwholesome in its effect on both parties; whilst the plea for injustice to the poor in order that the well-disposed rich may occasionally have an opportunity of airing their consideration and charity, is scarcely likely to commend itself to rational people. Unless the defenders of the voluntary system have some stronger arguments than those of Mr. Burdett, we may surely hope for the early attainment of the reforms advocated in this pamphlet.

WHAT IT COSTS TO BE VACCINATED.

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WHAT it costs to be vaccinated? Why surely, some law-abiding Englishman will say, it costs no more than an ordinary doctor's fee, and if you are poor, the public vaccinator will do it for nothing; but, of course, if you defy the law, you may be fined or imprisoned. That is true; but unfortunately it is an error to suppose that vaccination, even public vaccination, is entirely gratuitous. You may depend on it that whenever anyone, child or man, is vaccinated, *it costs somebody something*. Pecuniary cost is not the only thing, nor by any means the chief thing, to be considered; there are other costs than those which are paid in money. There is the cost of parents' self-respect and happiness, when they are compelled, as is often the case, to submit their childrens' health and purity of blood to what they believe to be a foul and stupid contamination. There is the cost of the ill-health that is induced in the child, which frequently shows itself in a permanent injury to the system. There is the moral cost, to the nation, of allowing its statute-book to be disfigured by a law which has always been intolerable to the instincts and good sense of the people. And, finally, there is the cost of the countless sufferings inflicted on the lower animals by the twin sciences of Vaccination and Vivisection; for we may be sure that for every human who is compulsorily vaccinated, some non

human has been the subject of murderous experimentation. Yes, certainly, it costs something to be vaccinated; and it is the object of this pamphlet to indicate what are these pains and penalties of a cruel and tyrannical law.

A Civilised Heathenism.

In all ages the epidemic diseases, which come and go, and which at times are so terribly in excess of their usual visitation, have been considered as suitable for the application of superstitious preventives or remedies. Thus charms, and potions, and vows, and sacrifices of human and non-human beings—and from the earliest times down to the present day inoculation comes under the head of these procedures—have been used as more or less powerful means of appeasing the gods who sent the epidemics. But as civilisation spread and deepened, the superstitious means employed were all outgrown, excepting the practice of inoculation, which, curious to relate, has of recent years, in its various forms, more than ever been pressed by the medical profession. But this unique form of old world medication, this dangerous relic of ruder and savage times, this, too, is destined soon to follow the rest of its kind into oblivion.

The theory of inoculation for disease is wrong in science as it certainly is in morals. Society can only escape from disease by removing the causes; these are drunkenness, impurity, slums, dirt, injustice that makes men work for starvation wages, and through which they drag down with them their wives and children. The humanitarian reformer has vast fields for work in this direction, and if he will only be in earnest he will, in striking at these evils, remove disease thereby. Meanwhile Sir Benjamin

Ward Richardson has uttered some timely words to his medical brethren. Speaking of inoculation, he says:

"If it be true that we of physic have really, for well-nigh a century past, been worshipping an idol of the market-place or even of the theatre, why the sooner we cease our worship and take down our idol, the better for us altogether. We have set up the idol and the world has lent itself to the idolatry, because we whom the world trusted, have set the example, but the world now-a-days discovers idolatries on its own account, and if we continue the idolatry it will simply take its own course, and leaving us upon our knees will march on while we petrify"—(*Asclepiad*, December, 1889).

Jenner, Vaccination, and Small-pox.

The disease I shall speak of is small-pox; none other concerns us here.

The great lesson we learn from the history of this subject is that no possible manner of cheating the disease by unnatural methods has ever been successful. To use filth or other enchantments or charms against small-pox is to mock Nature, and fly in the face of pure living and cleanliness. This truth, which we teach, but for which we are treated as fit subjects of penal law, has been thus expressed by the late Dr. Farr, than whom there is no higher authority. "What is wanted in human dwellings is sweetness and cleanliness. . . . . Then follows the destruction of *all* the fever dens of the land" (1870 "Report," p. 27.)

Small-pox is a disease of exceeding great age. I remember a print shown me by Mr. Alexander Wheeler, of Darlington, who has followed this intricate controversy of vaccination for upwards of thirty years. It represented

the Indian of Hindoostan worshipping a special deity, the goddess of small-pox; and this superstition still has its thousands and thousands of devotees in almost every province of India. How far back in the prehistoric period must we place the rise of the small-pox deity is a question. From these supernatural observances it was easy to pass to the equally superstitious idea that the best way to combat small-pox was to perpetuate the disease by inflict ing it upon the young. This idea has obtained all over the world at different times, and is still extensively followed, even in our own dominions.[1] The practice in itself is quite akin to vaccination, for, as I have already hinted, the vaccine mode is nothing more than a perpetuation, in another form, of the small-pox inoculation. Jenner, the inventor of vaccine (who alone gets all the credit of the system), was himself inoculated in his childhood with small-pox, and had a very bad time of it. It was the remembrance of this that led him to look for some substitute less disagreeable. This he claimed to have found in cow-pox. Jenner's attention was first attracted to the subject by the legend of the Gloucester dairy-maids of the safety of the cow-poxed as against attacks of small-pox, comparatively modern at that time. For thirty years, we are assured by Jenner's ardent and unscrupulous admirer, Sir John Simon, he incessantly thought and watched and experimented, and at last his

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[1] Small-pox inoculation was made a penal offence in England in 1840, so that we are pretending to prevent in one country the disease we allow the full dissemination of in the other. The same thing occurs nearer home, for while in France the vaccination of the people is being pushed to an extraordinary extreme; in Algeria there is the spectacle of the small-pox being inoculated and vaccination being flouted by the old Arab population.

"patience and caution and modesty,"[1] produced that masterpiece of medical induction, as Sir John describes Jenner's "Inquiry," the point of which was that small-pox in man and cow-pox in the cow had a common origin in the grease of the horse.[2] Doctors differed over this and other connected matters, experimentation on both men and animals was greatly resorted to, but in the end, by "sly and impudent tales," by deceit and lying, and by dexterous diplomacy and influential friends, including the King and his Prime Minister, he extracted from Parliament first £10,000, and subsequently the House of Commons, in Committee, voted to him an additional grant of £20,000.

The Wars and Preventable Disease.

What then was the small-pox?

It is one of a set of fevers, and the reason that it was selected for special treatment by custom or law no doubt was because it affects the face of its victims. There is an immense amount of literature declaring that the disease was a pestilence as destructive as the plague, but there was absolutely no truth in such statements. The plague was a disease that decimated the people in times past; it produced a death-rate of fearful proportions. But small-

[1] In his "Natural History of Cow-pox and Vaccinal Syphilis," Dr. Charles Creighton says of Jenner's methods: "He was never precise when he could be vague, and was never straightforward when he could be secretive."

[2] In Baron's "Life of Jenner," 1st vol., page 254, we find that "Dr. Jenner was in the practice of using equine matter with complete success. He supplied myself (Dr. Baron) and many of his medical friends from this source. He transmitted it to Edinburgh, where it produced the genuine cow-pox." See also Jenner's "Inquiry," third edition, page 2—published in 1801.

pox had never in recorded history done this in Europe, nor as far as I can find in Asia either, and the stories of its having done so in America must be taken with a grain of salt. Small-pox showed none of the large increases of mortality which the plague showed. It was a comparatively steady thing. And more than this it must be remembered that the small-pox had begun to decline before vaccination was adopted.[1] The reason for that decline was that the country as well as the continent of Europe was emerging from a long and disastrous series of wars in which there had been utter disregard for the welfare of the masses of the population, and only the brute determination to carry on a war of extermination against a people across the channel. For nearly a hundred years there had been continuous wars carried on by this country, and there was in consequence a condition of things that might be compared to national exhaustion. The whole resources of the land and the energies of the people as well as their treasure and life-blood had been spent on these wars, well-nigh to the ruin of the land. It was this long series of wars that brought about famine prices for food, retarded the progress of trade and commerce, and made a population at home that was as poor and as stricken in its resources as the poorest of the European countries of our day. Then came the grim follower of all this madness, disease; following on dear

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[1] Dr. Farr shows that this improvement was antecedent to vaccination. His own words in "M'Culloch's Statistics of the British Empire" are: "Small-pox attained its maximum after inoculation was introduced. This disease began to grow less fatal before vaccination was discovered, indicating, together with the diminution in fever, the general improvements in health then taking place. Fever has declined in nearly the same ratio as small-pox."

food and bad food and no food, came typhus and small-pox, and consumption, and other evils all of which are preventable diseases.

The Uselessness of Vaccination.

Vaccination was first made compulsory by Act of Parliament in the year 1853. The Act was further amended and made more stringent in 1867, and again in 1871. Jenner had declared to Parliament, when pleading for a reward, that vaccination would leave one "for ever after secure against the contagion of the small-pox." And to-day, simply through the practice having been rendered compulsory on parents, despite years and years of the most incessant and active propaganda, thousands of people in this country still believe that "the discovery of Jenner has undoubtedly saved tens of thousands of lives, and almost banished small-pox from the civilised portions of the globe." This claim has no foundation in fact. In the midst of the greatest small-pox epidemic of this country on record, after thirty-one years of parochial and seventeen years of added vaccine compulsion, the *Lancet* of July 15th, 1871, thus delivered itself:

"The deaths from small-pox have assumed the proportions of a plague. Over 10,000 lives have been sacrificed during the past year in England and Wales. In London, 5,641 persons have died of small-pox since the beginning of the year. Of 9,392 patients who have been admitted into the small-pox hospitals under the management of the Metropolitan Asylums Board, no less than 6,854 had been vaccinated; that is, nearly 73 per cent. Taking the mortality from small-pox at 17·5 per cent of those attacked, and the deaths this year in the whole country at 10,000, it will follow that more than 122,000 vaccinated persons have suffered from small-pox. Ought we to be satisfied with this alarmimg state of things? Can we

greatly wonder that the opponents of vaccination should point to such statistics as an evidence of the failure of the system? It is necessary to speak plainly on this important matter."

The Registrar-Generals returns show that in the first fifteen years after the passing of the compulsory Vaccination Act, 1854-68, there died of small-pox in England and Wales 55,204 people; in the second fifteen years, 1869-83, under a more stringent law, under which the Government claimed to have secured the vaccination of 95 per cent. of all children born, the deaths rose to 66,979; total for thirty years 122,183.

Nothing is changed as to vaccination in its relation to small-pox. Recent returns of the Asylums Board show that the sufferers continue to be the vaccinated; they are found to be the majority of sufferers in all places. But there is this notable exception—the Board has so far boasted of a reduced average fatality. This, be it marked, has been due to a most vicious arrangement for tabulating the sufferers in small-pox. The disease is the only one so affecting the skin as to cover up the vaccination marks; and yet it is the only time when a person, as a rule, has to show his marks of vaccination to prove whether he is or is not vaccinated. This has been derided and set aside, but the Report of the Board for 1893, for the first time, shows that every word we have said as to this source of error in the classifying of the vaccinated has been correct. The Table B. shows that of twenty-six patients, thirteen of whom died, vaccination "could not be asserted on account of the abundance of the eruption" of the small-pox. To give the facts, these thirteen deaths must be added to the forty-two vaccinated deaths, and then the averages as to the vaccinated fatality will be upset, and will be largely increased—for all were declared

vaccinated. This is the secret out at last, and authoritatively stated. The so-called unvaccinated are not unvaccinated—they are vaccinated, for the most part, I firmly believe. And the statistics we have had all along are without any exception open to this vice—they exaggerate the unvaccinated, and decrease the vaccinated fatalities, by making the classification on a principle which is faulty and inaccurate.

So that we see that the vaccination for which Jenner got his "thirty pieces of silver"[1] is a grotesque failure for the purpose for which it was designed; made the more monstrous in that the Acts to legalise and enforce it were lobbied through Parliament by the most disgusting chicanery.

Re-Vaccination also a Failure.

The same confident prophecy is now made of re-vaccination which Jenner and the Royal College of Physicians made of vaccination. Medical officers of health have from time to time memoralised the Local Government Board on the subject, and repeated vaccination is urgently recommended by various medical journals, led by the *Lancet* and Mr. Ernest Abraham Hart, the editor of the *British Medical Journal*.[2]

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[1] Jenner was taken into the Committee-room in 1802, and the printed minutes of evidence seem to show that he only handed in his already printed Petition and then withdrew, not having been asked a solitary question.

[2] Mr. Hart and a committee of medical fossils actually suggest in a recent pamphlet that anti-vaccinists who publicly speak or write against the practice of vaccination should be prosecuted as criminals. Mr. Hart also suggests—the refusal of free education to unvaccinated children, the requirements of education still operating, but at the cost of the parent; and the prosecution of employers of labor who give work to any but re-vaccinated persons.

Our re-vaccinated army is said to be "perfectly protected." The facts of the case furnished by the Army Medical Department Reports do not exemplify this statement. From the Report for 1893, the most recent published, we learn that there were fifty cases of small-pox, and four deaths from the disease, during the year, among our re-vaccinated soldiers. Our army was composed in 1893, of 202,125 men all told in England, her colonies, and dependencies. The small-pox attacks were, therefore, at the rate of one case per 4,042 men. On this showing, the advantage of re-vaccination is not very apparent, for we gather from the Local Government Report for 1893 that there were 11,135 cases of small-pox in the country in that year. And as the population is given as 29,731,100 by the Registrar-General, you have one case (case mind) for every 2,670 of the population, of all ages, *infants included.* Our army, therefore, though composed of picked men in the prime of life and vigour, surrounded by good sanitary conditions, and in an average way a healthful class, fare little better, though vaccinated and re-vaccinated as to Government mark, than the general population, which includes the lame, the halt, the blind, life in overcrowded dwellings, and life in the worst possible sanitary environment, which has not been protected by re-vaccination. It has been shown that in India the case against re-vaccination is even stronger. There, in the same year, our men numbered 69,865, and they had thirty-three cases of small-pox, or one case for every 2,116 men. If the *army age* is taken, we find the death-rate nearly double that of the corresponding age in the population at large.[1] Wherein,

[1] Dr. J. H. C. Dalton, a pro-vaccination authority, in the *Medical Chronicle*, October, 1893, gives tables showing that the protection by • vaccination is equally ephemeral with primary vaccination. For

then, lies the value of this re-vaccination, may I ask its medical champions at the Local Government Board? This question will, of course, never be answered, for the best possible answer would reflect no credit on its advocates.

The Immunity of Nurses.

A word as to hospital nurses. The nursing staffs of our fever hospitals, we are assured, do not take small-pox, because they are protected by re-vaccination. This is a sweeping statement that has not been allowed to pass unchallenged. But the secret of the thing is, partly, that many people are not susceptible to small-pox, and that in those who would, perhaps, escape under ordinary circumstances, fear plays an important part in making them susceptible to the disease, and there is no proof because a nurse is re-vaccinated and does not take small-pox, that the re-vaccination is the protecting influence. The very nature of a nurse's calling is evidence that she is no ordinary person, and her constitution becomes immune to small-pox in very many instances, just as it does any other kind of fever. We read in the Third Report of the Lords' Committee on the Metropolitan Hospitals, p. 345: "The nurses are engaged on a three years' agreement; their health is said to be good, and not one has died within the last ten years. Their number is about twenty." And so also in the course of the evidence we have Dr. Hopwood, Resident Medical Officer to the

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he cites cases of small-pox occurring 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18, and 32 days after recent vaccination, four of which were fatal; and 61 cases of small-pox at intervals of 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 20, 25, 30, and 40 years after re-vaccination, four of which were fatal.

London Fever Hospital, stating: "Do you know what the mortality amongst nurses has been in the last ten years? —There has been no one who has died." Then there is the further important consideration that the ranks of the nurses are more or less recruited from among the small-pox patients; at the Highgate Hospital this is always done as far as possible.

The late Mr. P. A. Taylor asked the medical authorities again and again to explain how it was that among the Paris and Dublin nurses, no case of unre-vaccinated small-pox was discovered. But of course the truth is that re-vaccinated nurses do sometimes suffer. Dr. Colin, speaking of the attendants in the small-pox hospital in Paris, says two hundred were re-vaccinated principally under his own eyes and yet fifteen were attacked with small-pox and one died. On the other hand, the same authority speaks of forty attendants and physicians at Bicètri who did not take small-pox, although they neglected to be re-vaccinated. Mr. Wheeler showed in his evidence before the Royal Commission that in the Sheffield visitation, the nurses came off worse, proportionately, than the rest of the population.

Unvaccinated Children.

One of the well-worn arguments of the vaccinists is that of unvaccinated children being so much more liable than vaccinated ones to die of small-pox. If vaccination statistics prove anything they prove this, we are told. Well, here is a recent case which disproves the claim. It is at Grays, in Essex, and the small-pox was in 1893. The outbreak was introduced by an unvaccinated child, the source of whose contagion was never discovered. The

disease in this child, and also in a brother, "was strikingly mild, being in fact exactly like a case of small-pox modified by vaccination. The disease was not recognised, and the children were allowed about, when a neighbour, a woman, aged 40, took the disease, and had a very severe attack." This attack at Grays is useful in many ways. Here is a summary of it:—

	Cases.	Deaths.
" Unvaccinated."		
1st case, unvaccinated child, mild	1	0
40 years old woman, severe	1	0
Children	3	0
Vaccinated.		
Children	2	0
Two of 9 and 13 years	2	0
Adults (many had good marks)	23	2
	32	2

Three were cases of small-pox a second time.

32 cases, 27 vaccinated, and 2 *deaths* among them, and 5 "unvaccinated" and *no deaths*. (Reported by Dr. Sidney H. Snell, Medical Officer of Health for Grays, Essex.—*British Medical Journal*, 19th May, 1894.)

There is a further consideration. Medical men do not and dare not vaccinate all children. It is a risk that neither doctor nor statesman will undertake. There are always a good many cases declared "unvaccinated" which have been rejected by the vaccinator because they were sickly, bad subjects to touch, and it is no sort of wonder that they do take small-pox, just as they are the first to fall victims to *any* prevailing epidemic. In the Sheffield epidemic several of the "unvaccinated" were little mites who were born of mothers who had been vaccinated, and had the small-pox at the time the children were born; and yet these children were classed in the official Report as "unvaccinated." Forty-four of the Sheffield "unvaccinated" are described

by words beginning "vaccinated," but as it goes on to say, too early, or too late, or too little, etc., they are *dismissed from the vaccinated.* But in no case have the authorities attempted to check the hospital classification by the vaccination officer's book. Vaccinated is one thing and the medical "vaccinated" is another. A child may have been vaccinated and be declared in the hospital to be "unvaccinated." Doctors classify by a method which is totally different to that by which the vaccination of children is determined. Small-pox is a skin disease. The worse it is, the more the skin is affected. And in the worst cases the vaccination marks do not show; and when by the small-pox the vaccination marks are eaten out the subject is classed as either "unvaccinated" or as "imperfectly vaccinated." All such cases as those instanced at Sheffield are a poorly lot, and all those certified as "unfit" for the operation of vaccination—the very children who fall a prey to the epidemics that they meet in their lives—make a very considerable number among the unvaccinated. All those of this class should be "legally exempt" in the books of the hospital doctor. But any stick is good enough to beat an anti-vaccinist with, and they go on as if such children were merely unvaccinated by opposition of the parents and healthy subjects.

A Curious Illusion.

The disappearance of pock-marked faces is a favourite argument for vaccination. People say a great change has been wrought by vaccination, for when they were young such faces were common, whilst now they are rare. To deal with this argument, we should know when the speaker was young. Was it in 1821? If so, what shall

be said of this passage from the annual Report of the National Vaccine Establishment, for 1822, printed by order of the House of Commons:

"As a proof of the protecting influence of vaccination, we appeal confidently to all who frequent crowded assemblies, to admit that they do not discover in the rising generation any longer that disfigurement of the human face which was obvious everywhere some years since."

That was upwards of seventy years ago. Coming down to 1831, we find Dr. Epps, director of the Royal Jennerian Society, writing:—

"Seldom are persons now seen blind from small-pox. Seldom is the pitted and disfigured face now beheld; but seldom do mankind inquire for the cause. It is vaccination. It is vaccination which preserves the soft and rounded cheek of innocence, and the still more captivating form of female loveliness."

Thus pock-pitted faces were seldom seen in 1831, more than sixty years ago. Now, at that time vaccination had not been applied to ten per cent. of the English, and was wholly inadequate to account for this disappearance. When people at this day talk (as they do) of the frequency of pock-marked faces when they were young, they are indeed labouring under some illusion. To those who keep their eyes open there are unhappily too many cases still to be seen, so there is not much less illusion in the extreme rarity ascribed to small-pox disfigurement. Thus, nearly twenty years after vaccination was made compulsory, the *Lancet*, of June 29th, 1862, lamented, concurrently with the illusion—

"The growing frequency with which we meet persons in the street disfigured for life with the pitting of small-pox. Young men, and still worse, young women are to be seen daily whose comeliness is quite compromised by this dreadful disease."

We need not hesitate to allow that when small-pox was common and cultivated (as it was by small-pox inoculation), pock-marked faces were numerous. "Small-pox will never be subdued," wrote Jenner, "so long as men can be hired to spread the contagion by inoculation;" and inoculation was for many years the established medical practice. We must not forget, moreover, that whether a small-pox patient is marked or not marked is much a matter of treatment. Dr. Birdwood, superintendent of the small-pox hospital ships, moored off Dartford, says:—

"No disease better repays a good nurse in rapid recovery and in complications avoided. So much depends on the nurse that I am confident if all my nurses were as good as the best, the returns would show a reduced mortality, the case-book fewer eyes lost, and fewer patients detained by boils for weeks.

So that, really, improved treatment is the probable cause of what decrease in face disfigurement is credited to vaccination. The treatment of small-pox in former times was atrocious. "I have seen above forty children," says Dr. Buchan, "cooped up in one apartment all the while they had the disease, without any of them being admitted to breathe the fresh air." If, under such circumstances, the sick were restored to life pock-marked, what wonder! Now that certain precautions are observed, many at this day pass through small-pox, and even severe small-pox, and escape unmarked. The whole thing therefore resolves itself into a mere hallucination. Moreover, I venture to say, that if anyone sufficiently interested in the subject will make careful inquiries, as I have done several times myself, he will find almost invariably that such disfigured people have been vaccinated, and some of them repeatedly.

Grave and Appalling Risks.

The vaccination annals in every country in which the practice of vaccination has been enforced are uniquely rich in poignant episodes of injustice, cruelty, disease, and death—the oft-recurring results of compulsory vaccination.

A great many doctors continue to pour ridicule upon the practical danger incurred of transmitting diseases through the medium of vaccine lymph, other than the disease of the vaccine itself, and learned books have been written to prove that this very grave charge is erroneous and unfounded. But facts are facts after all, whatever verbiage may be expended to spirit them away. Mr Jonathan Hutchinson, the great syphilographer, says: "It is impossible for the most careful and experienced doctor always to tell when syphilis is present" in vaccine lymph. Sir Thomas Watson, the great surgeon, has described the danger as "a ghastly risk." Mr Brudenell Carter, F.R.C.S., thinks "that a large proportion of the cases of apparently inherited syphilis are really vaccinal."

The saddest thing in the yearly Reports of the Registrar-General, and one which does not show any noticeable signs of improvement, is the record of deaths "from cow-pox and other effects of vaccination."[1] What amount of the "other

[1] "From the returns just published by the Registrar-General, it appears that in 1894 thirteen persons died from hydrophobia, and fifty from 'cow-pox and other effects of vaccination.' Thus for every single victim of rabies there were almost four whose deaths were directly due to the carelessness of the paid medical men who vaccinated them. [Personally, I do not think carelessness is the sole cause of the 'deaths from cow-pox and other effects of vaccination,' for the operation to one without any given precision, and death may result from cow-pox itself, which is a matter quite apart from the vaccinators' skill.—J. C.] Why is it that we hear so much, so very much, of the thirteen victims and so little of the fifty? Is it because some interest

effects of vaccination" is made up of syphilitic contamination is not told; neither are a good many "other effects of vaccination" recorded at all. But the bare statement of what the Government is responsible for in the way of vaccinal slaughter gives an average of fifty-two deaths annually, or one a week. In June, 1882, four children were killed at Norwich by vaccination, all in the course of one morning's work.[1] In 1886 three children died from vaccination at Sudbury. At Misterton, near Gainsborough, eight children died from vaccination in 1876. From Parliamentary returns, we know that whilst vaccination was voluntary (1847-53), the deaths from skin diseases amongst children in the first year of life averaged annually 183 per million born; during the period of obligatory, but not strictly enforced vaccination (1853-67), the number became 253; under strictly enforced vaccination (1867-78), it rises to 343. The same periods and the same classification for scrofula will give the figures 351,611, and 908 respectively; whilst from syphilis the corresponding figures are 564, 1,206, and 1,738 respectively; this last showing an increase among infants of more than 300 per cent.[2] It is generally understood, I believe, amongst

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and that a very powerful and ubiquitous one, is at work in the former case to proclaim on the housetops every real or supposed death from rabies (and so prepare the way for Pasteurism), while the same interest is equally concerned in smothering and keeping out of sight every case of death from the 'effect of vaccination?'"—*Zoophilist*, March, 1896.

[1] "The purity of lymph," said Dr. Guy, the public vaccinator of these children, in the inquiry which followed, "can only be tested by results"!

[2] These deaths from syphilis in infants reached their highest point in the year 1883, the top point of vaccinations, and then fell to a much lower level as vaccinations fell from that year forward.

veterinary surgeons that horses affected with grease have a tendency to consumption of the lungs. If that be so, may it not account, in a great measure, for the rapid increase in pulmonary consumption in London after the introduction of vaccination? In the *Medical Times and Gazette* for January 1st, 1854, we find it stated that the deaths from consumption for the ten years ending 1853, for London alone, were 68,204 victims. Erysipelas, again, due to vaccination, is a frequent cause of death. Says the *British Medical Journal:*

"In addition to the fact that people are ill after vaccination, it is important to remember that people die after the operation, if not from the disease itself, at least from its sequelæ, notably erysipelas."

By various authorities the recrudescence of leprosy is attributed to contagion, the consumption of putrid fish, and other alleged causes; but there is an utter absence of demonstrable evidence. Only when we come to the question of inoculability does there appear to be any approach to a consensus of opinion. Most important evidence on this head is to be found in Mr William Tebb's remarkable work on "The Recrudescence of Leprosy and its Causation," wherein are brought together for the first time some of the most incriminating facts, comprising some 100 pages of closely marshalled testimonies, nearly all medically certified, as to the communication of leprosy by means of vaccine lymph. Several of the authorities quoted by Mr Tebb, while admitting that vaccination is capable of transmitting the ravages of leprosy, did so with reluctance, and with apology to the faculty. The points which Mr. Tebb establishes beyond the possibility of doubt are the following:—

(1) That leprosy is transmitted in the vast majority of

cases by inoculation, that is, by the introduction of material from a leprous person into the tissues of another person.

(2) That in a very considerable number of definitely ascertained instances the inoculation with leprosy has been brought about by means of vaccination, the vaccine matter having been taken, knowingly or unknowingly, from a leprous source and containing the virus of both diseases.

(3) That particular outbreaks of leprosy have followed unusual activity in vaccinating in the face of small-pox scares.

There is no "Pure Lymph."

Do not be misled by the cry "pure lymph." There is no pure lymph; vaccine is a disease;[1] moreover, it is impossible to tell whether it contains other diseases; it may contain even two or three different sorts. Dr. Farn, the Government microscopist, told the Royal Commission on Vaccination that he was unable to guarantee the purity of lymph; that he was unable to tell whether it contained the virus of syphilis or not. Again, Mr. Bradlaugh asks Professor Crookshank, M.B.:—

"Do I understand that lymph might be tested by any test you are at present able to apply, and that you would be unable to distinguish between a lymph which was harmless, and one which might be harmful to the extent of communicating syphilis?—We have no known test by which we could possibly

[1] Mr. A. W. Hutton, though not a physician, remarks from the common-sense point of view, "Why should cow-pox, alone among diseases, never do any harm? Other diseases of animals, such as glanders, or anthrax, or rabies, are known to be peculiarly deadly when accidently inoculated on to man."—"The Vaccination Question," p. 81-2.

distinguish. . . . . We do not know the nature of the contagium of syphilis at all."

Messrs. Savory and Foster try to discount these plain answers, whereupon Mr. Bradlaugh characteristically demanded :—

"Do you know any kind of test of any character whatever which you could apply to a lymph-tube which would enable you to ascertain that it was harmful to the extent of communicating syphilis ?—No."

Lord Berkeley's Committee of 1802, which received Jenner's Petition, and took a sort of evidence on it, reported as follows, among other things, of Jenner's cow-pox—"that it does not excite other humors or disorders in the constitution; that it has not been known in any one instance to prove fatal; that the inoculation may be safely performed at all times of life (which is known not to be the case with regard to the inoculation of the small-pox) in the earliest infancy," etc. This is a guarantee on the part of the Committee against any possible record such as the Registrar-General now annually gives us of deaths due to "cow-pox and other effects of vaccination." The amount of evidence showing that arm-to-arm virus is a not infrequent cause of serious constitutional disease brought before the Royal Commission on Vaccination is conclusive and incontrovertible; hundreds of cases of blood-poisoning, eczema, erysipelas, syphilis, and leprosy being invaccinated are adduced. In order to avoid the perils of vaccination, the Grocers' Company some years ago considerately offered a prize of £1,000 for a less objectionable virus; in other words, "the discovery of a method by which the vaccine contagion may be cultivated apart from the animal body in some medium or media, not otherwise zymotic; the method to be such that the con-

tagion may by means of it be multiplied to an indefinite extent in successive generations, and that the product, after any number of such generations, shall prove itself of identical potency with standard vaccine lymph." Repeated efforts have been made both by direct application to the Local Government Board, to learned vaccine specialists, and more recently to the Government witnesses before the Royal Commission, to obtain a definition of "standard vaccine lymphs," but without success. The only information we can gather is that standard lymph is anything the Government like to provide for public vaccination. In England it is chiefly the arm-to-arm variety, which, in order to allay public anxiety, the President of the Local Government Board, Mr. Ritchie, deliberately declared in Parliament in reply to Mr. Arthur O'Connor on June 22nd, 1887, was never used for public vaccinations.

The Real Facts about Calf-Lymph.

As to calf lymph, beloved of German but scorned by English officialism,[1] though its use is strongly recommended by many English doctors, who use it extensively in private practice, Professor Crookshank says there is a considerable difference between it and the so-called

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[1] The Government does not supply and does not approve of calf-lymph, and refers malcontent Board of Guardians to the official instructions to the effect "that the public vaccinator shall not, under ordinary circumstances, adopt any other method of vaccination than with liquid lymph directly from arm-to-arm." I cannot understand the Local Government Board's words as to this. For in the Local Government Board Report for 1894-5, under he head of "Distribution of Vaccine Lymph," is—

Human points	..	224;	Tubes ..	6,874
Calf do.	..	14,029;	do. ..	78!

Is it possible that the calf-lymph is sent out for private practitioners?

humanised lymph. Calf lymph, he thinks, is not better, but rather worse, than the human lymph. Bacilli, he says, are much more common in calf lymph, but there is a great variety in different human lymphs and in different calf lymphs. Dr. Creighton, in his erudite work on "Cow-pox and Vaccinal Syphilis," tells us that all vaccine matter now in use is removed by several hundreds of generations from its parent source; and citing the *British Medical Journal*, he shows that a purveyor of calf lymph in London was advertising his stock as from Rotterdam, and that the Rotterdam stock had been kept going on the calf's belly for 592 generations. Dr. Cory, of the Local Government Board, supports these views, by saying that if as many complaints were made about human lymph as are made about calf lymph there would be many thousands of complaints in this country in a year. In Dr. Seaton's "Handbook of Vaccination," which one might say is almost the official authority on the subject, we have on page 397:—

"There is no one in England whose opinion on this subject will be received with so much respect as Mr. Ceely's, because there is no one who has nearly the knowledge that he possesses of the disease of the cow, and of its transplantation to the human species. He looks upon this proceeding as not only open to the objection of impracticability as applied to the general population, and of unsuccess; but he says also that so far from being likely to produce fewer ailments and cutaneous eruptions in the predisposed, he knows from experience that it would, as being more irritating, produce more."

Gangrenous ulceration has frequently followed the use of calf lymph, much more frequently, perhaps, than is known or suspected; but a doctor, who, alas, is our only source of information, seldom says anything about

such cases.[1] Mr. Jonathan Hutchinson, in his "Archives of Surgery," has recorded one case of gangrenous ulceration from vaccination with lymph from the calf which came under his own personal observation in a professional respect. There are also the deaths of Emma Mable Allen and of Beatrice Ida Woodhouse from the invaccination of contaminated calf lymph. A horrible affair also happened at Castiglione d'Orcia, in Italy, reported in the *Gazette d'Italia*, May, 1879; and another wretched case is described by Dr. Moliere in the *Lyon Medicale*, June, 1879; both these disasters happened in one and the same year; they are now historic. Undoubtedly the practice of calf lymph vaccination constitutes a greater danger, and is a graver error than that of vaccine virus, for it has by official admission the effect of de-cultivating bad to worse.

The Manufacture of Calf-Lymph.

The "glamour" of calf lymph—it is the custom to label it "pure"—has vastly strengthened the hands of the vaccinationists. Not hundreds only, but thousands upon thousands of fathers and mothers have had their misgivings quelled by the doctor's simple unwritten promise that he would do the operation with great care, and use

[1] In fact, a sinister device not uncommon, according to the evidence of numerous witnesses before the Royal Commission on Vaccination, is the suppression of the primary cause of death in fatal vaccination cases. Mr. Henry May, Medical Officer of Health, candidly explains in a paper read before the Aston Medical Society, and published in the *Birmingham Medical Review*, vol. iii., pp. 34 and 35, how this, in the interest of vaccination, is managed. The following are the passages referred to: "In certificates given by us voluntarily, and to which the public have access, it is scarcely to be expected that a medical man will give opinions which may tell against or reflect upon himself in any way. . . . . As instances of cases which may

"pure" calf lymph. What, then, is the composition of this wonderful charm which will confer protection against the dread small-pox without endangering the health and life of the subject? How is it procured? First, we have the revolting preamble with the hapless calf or heifer. In the Government Vaccine Institute, Lamb's Conduit Street, hundreds of calves are operated on in the year. The process is as follows. A kind of table, with a turning top, is arranged in an upright position, and the calf is firmly secured to it with straps. The table top is next turned flat, so that the calf lies on it. Portions of the belly skin are shaven, and then the poor animal is stabbed in from forty to sixty places, the vaccine matter from a child's ripe arm is inserted, or matter taken from a former calf that has been used in this way; or human small-pox matter, taken from a person ill with the disease, is put in. The suffering calf is then loosed and taken to the stable, and the disease allowed to run its course for five days, after which, when the sores are at their height, it is again strapped firmly down upon the table, legs, body, and even mouth tied—a cruel sight! The operator sits down, opens the vesicles on the animals' belly, and the lymph is squeezed out with clamps, the pressure almost

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tell against the medical man himself, I will mention erysipelas from vaccination, and puerperal fever. A death from the first cause occurred not long ago in my practice, and although I had not vaccinated the child, yet, in my desire to preserve vaccination from reproach, I omitted all mention of it from my certificate of death. . . . . Speaking from my own knowledge, I can say that cases of puerperal fever are not always certified under that name." Mr. May, in thus speaking, seems to have expressed the genera sense of the medical profession, and described the general practice; for I am not aware that he has ever been censured or repudiated in any medical journal.

invariably causing the lymph to contain an admixture of blood.[1] This "pure" lymph is collected on ivory points, and is sometimes stored long after taken, then used for the vaccination of children and adults.

It is interesting to note that it is fundamental dogma with the vaccinationists that lymph tinged with the smallest blood corpuscle is unfit for use. Dr. J. Chambers, writing in a London paper on September 15th, 1886, said:—

> "I have the personal authority of one of the chiefs of the Government Vaccine Establishment that little is known of the diseases of calves; that calf lymph cannot be got without the admixture of blood, and that in consequence he wished the calf lymph at the bottom of the sea."

The late Dr. W. J. Collins, a public vaccinator of twenty years standing, strongly denounced the fallacy of attributing mischief solely to ensanguined lymph, pointing out that the merest tyro in physiology knew that lymph comes from, and is part of, the blood itself. The lymph, he said, contained precisely the same microscopic particles as are found in fluids capable of producing the acutest blood-poisoning.

The name, too, of this product is interesting from the point of nomenclature, for it is highly misleading. The so-called calf lymph is in reality not calf lymph at

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[1] In about seven days the calf is returned to the butcher, I am told. See also an article in the *Nineteenth Century*, 1878, by Sir Thomas Watson, who states that the creature is "none the worse for what has happened." A transaction of this kind took place lately in Yorkshire. The animal was duly slaughtered. On the carcase being opened, the calf's lungs were fund to contain tubercles, a butcher who saw it declaring that he had never seen a worse case. The corporation meat inspector was called in, and he condemned the body as "unfit for human food."

all. The real lymph is the natural fluid that circulates in the lymphatic vessels of the calf—a healthy thing in a healthy calf, as far remote from scabs and pox as day is from night, for, as I have shown, the false is the pus of a particular disease of the calf thrown out upon the skin, due to an unnatural and cruelly induced process.

Jenner's horse-grease-cow-pox is supposed by many authorities to have lost its power to avert small-pox; many other doctors, again, hold that calf lymph is perfectly useless in this respect. While the doctors wrangle and fight, that crushing, conscience-destroying machine of police compulsion is entering in legal authority the homes of England's sons and daughters—not, mind you, the homes of the careless and ne'er-do-weels, but of those who have highly-developed moral ideas of the sacredness of parental duty—the homes of those who know the crime of going against conscientious feeling! The whole scheme of vaccination is one of protecting the rich against the poor. It is not of the democracy, nor will it ever be.

Facts which should Make Parents Pause.

The following is a mother's statement of her experience of vaccination. I quote from *Daylight*, a Norwich weekly:—

"Since the inquest held by the Coroner, Dr. Danford Thomas, on my children killed by vaccination, I have been asked for particulars of my terrible experience, which I will state briefly. Adela, aged two-and-a-half years, and Ethel, aged fifteen months, were each vaccinated in three or four places by the doctor of St. Pancras Workhouse, where, owing to painful circumstances, I was obliged to take them. They were lovely children and in perfect health, but in a few days their arms became inflamed, the punctures on Ethel's arm running into one large ulcer and presenting a truly shocking

appearance. Their eyes became very sore; their faces, particularly the youngest, were much disfigured with an eruption, and, after sufferings too painful to describe, they both died. My earnest request that I might be allowed to stay and nurse my dying child was unfeelingly refused. The children were vaccinated without my consent, and I am told that this is the law, and that there is no redress."

(Signed) EMMA PACKER.

When the Fourth Interim Report of the Royal Commission was published a shrill invective appeared in the *Times* in review, in which was given a garbled, almost burlesque, account of the case of the infant Annie Hart, which has been much discussed. It is not necessary to notice in detail the evidence of numerous witnesses testifying that the child was "perfectly healthy" previous to vaccination, and that three days after the operation had been performed "she began to swell in every joint that she had—her arms, knees, fingers, every joint in the child's body; they made three places upon the child's arm, two of which did not take at all, and in the one that took it went into a large black hole . . . . large enough to drop a pea in"; since Dr. W. J. Collins' (L.C.C.) rather persistent questions finally led to the remark that Dr. Emms, the vaccinator of the child, had "had such a sickener over the case that I do not want to have anything more to do with vaccination." A suggestive admission! I subjoin a case of only a few weeks old, communicated by the father of the poor little victim to Mrs. J. Young, Secretary of the London Anti-Vaccination Society, who published it in the *Echo*. The statement is given in his own words:—

"I complied with the law, and my child was duly vaccinated six weeks ago by the Public Vaccinator, at Tottenham. The child was not right soon after the vaccination, and five weeks

after the wounds were still discharging and inflamed; therefore my wife took the child to Dr. Mowat, of Stamford Hill, who said the child had erysipelas severely in the arm, and the child is now covered from the neck to the lower parts with the disease, and is likely to die at any time. I called upon Dr. Plaister, the public vaccinator, and told him the result of the vaccination, and received anything but sympathy from him. I asked him to see the child if he liked, but he abruptly refused. The child is now five months old, and was strong and healthy previous to vaccination. I have been at great expense and would rather have gone to prison than my child should suffer so."

Since this statement was made the child has died. The name of the father is Albert Golding. Under the heading "Death from Vaccination," "St. P. B." writes to *Farm and Home* of September 28th, 1895:—

"An inquest was held lately by Dr. Danford Thomas on the body of a six months' old child named Emily Milman. The child was vaccinated with calf lymph by the public vaccinator at the Tottenham Court Road vaccination station, and, the arm being unprotected, the dry scales got rubbed off, and erysipelas supervened.[1] Before death occurred the child suffered from diarrhœa and vomiting. The medical evidence showed that at the time when the vaccination wounds should have healed, they were still sloughing, and there was an erysipelatic rash above and below the wounds. The public vaccinator stated that the Government discouraged the use of protectors, which were apt to get silted up with dirt, and were thus more likely to lead to friction than if the arm was left bare. In reply to a juror, this witness stated that he did not think vaccination contributed to the child's death in the slightest degree. An

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[1] Erysipelas is one of the most frequent consequences of cow-pox inoculation, and, in fact, the illustrious Jenner expressly declared that no vaccination can be protective without it. The usual tactic of the doctor is to say that erysipelas is simply an accident, which has nothing to do with vaccination itself.—J. C.

unnecessary question this surely. Did any juryman ever know a public vaccinator admit that there can be any harm in vaccination? One of the jurors expressed the opinion that compulsory vaccination should be 'done away with.' The verdict was that death was due to exhaustion from diarrhœa and vomiting when the child was suffering from inflammation of the arm following vaccination."

The following case is one of last year. The article is extracted from the *Star*, one of the few organs of the press which has taken up the anti-vaccinists' cause with a spirit both persistent and determined:—

"Very instructive indeed is the case of little Minnie Cohen. When she was ten weeks old she was vaccinated. When she was four months old she died. An inquest was held on the poor baby's body yesterday, and it was proved that after vaccination she had never been well. 'Her mother took her to the vaccinator a week afterwards, but as the body was covered with sores and was in a cruel state, nothing was done to the arm. Dr. Blackwell told the mother it was only the humour that had been put into the child, and that she would get right again. The child, however, was found dead in bed on Tuesday.' Now mark the anxiety of the Coroner and the medical witnesses to suggest that it was not the dangerous and cruel practice of vaccination that had caused the child's death. The Coroner said that it was a great pity that another doctor was not called in, 'as the question whether vaccination had anything to do with the cause of death was very important'[1]—just as if the answer to this question had not been abundantly proved. A doctor added that death was 'due to syncope from the weak condition of the child.' Perhaps so; but the weakness was due to the effects of vaccination. A discerning jury returned a verdict of 'natural death.' A death more grossly

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[1] Dr. Lankester, the late Coroner for Middlesex, held an inquest on July 19th, 1869, on a child of Mr. Emery, and, on the jury bringing in a verdict "Died from erysipelas caused by vaccination," the Coroner falsified it by returning "Death from misadventure."—J. C.

unnatural, more obviously artificial, could not be conceived. Now the case of Minnie Cohen does not stand alone. It, and cases like it, ought to be a terrible warning to the public. In view of cases like these we marvel at the pathetic docility of parents who blindly obeying a stupid and half-hearted law, and accepting the unquestioned advice of interested and prejudiced doctors, submit healthy children to the appalling risks of vaccination."

A Serious Social Danger.

Harping back to calf-vaccination; in addition to the pathological danger, this practice is also inseparable from a most serious social danger, and one which, unhappily, is clear and beyond dispute. The case against vaccino-syphilis is bad enough, as witness the notorious Leeds Case, in which the Local Government Board attempted to prove that the parents and not the vaccination were the real cause of the disaster; but when calf lymph has been used the case becomes doubly serious—

"But there is one aspect of it which, to my mind, is the gravest of all. Calf lymph, by its very existence, constituted a social danger of the worst kind."

"Whatever do you mean?"

"Think a minute. If your youngster is vaccinated and developes syphilis, there are only two possible explanations of that syphilis, are there? If the complaint is not vaccinal it must be hereditary, mustn't it?"

"Just so. But I don't see what that has to do with calf lymph?"

"Think again. Suppose you tackle the vaccinator about it and he chooses to reply that he used calf lymph. Could you prove that he did not?"

"Of course not?"

"Then don't you see? Those two words 'calf lymph,' will suffice to tie your hands helplessly. Am I not right in describing as a social danger a means by which, without any possibility of rebuttal by you, the blame of such a disaster

could be transformed from the operation to yourself, or even—forgive me the suggestion—to——"

"Good God! what a horrible idea!"

—(From "What About Vaccination," by Alfred Milnes, M.A. A clever little work written and arranged in a popular vein.)

"The Law is Monstrous."[1]

The pains and penalties of vaccination—by which we mean those simply official—have been growing less numerous and less severe, year by year, as the case against the practice has been made popular. The general humanising of our prisons may be credited for the ending of many atrocities meted out to imprisoned vaccination recalcitrants. In some towns the vaccination prosecutions and persecutions have ended in freeing the citizens, as in Leicester, Keighley, Luton, Coventry, and several other places; but not without much sacrifice and hardship being encountered and endured by the emancipated—in fact, the deep injustice which has been perpetrated under the existing Vaccination Law is one which will never be forgotten, and which has but one equivalent in history, that of the Fugitive Slave Law of America. In some cases its tyrannical nature has been felt so keenly, that it has led to the most desperate suicides; one case of a poor heart-broken mother is very clear before my mind. Referring to this case, the *Daily Chronicle* said:—

"Mary Clarke appears to have lost her senses owing to the dread of having her little one vaccinated. . . . . Her youngest child was not in robust health, and therefore when she found that the operation, already long delayed, could be deferred no longer, she tore up the flooring of one of the rooms of her house, and, in the cistern beneath she managed to drown both herself and her infant."

[1] The late John Bright, M.P.

The compulsory vaccination and re-vaccination of prisoners is a merciless and indiscriminating rule, as witness the following case of Catharine Thomson, whose death was reported in the *Glasgow Evening Citizen* of January 2nd, 1895:—

"The woman was forcibly re-vaccinated in Duke Street Prison on or about December 13th. Seven days afterwards, on her release from prison, her arm was swollen and inflamed, and from the vaccine wound a dark coloured matter was running. The woman complained of extreme pain in her arm, and in a lump that came in her breast. The inflammation increased until it extended from the tips of the fingers to the face, round the lower jaw, and embraced the shoulder and part of the breast. The woman continually complained of the pain, and of a coldness in the arm and down the side. A neighbour was kind to her and rubbed her shoulder with mustard oil to relieve her, but with little effect. The woman, on her release from prison, attempted to follow her usual occupation as char-woman, but had to desist, her arm was so bad. She got weaker daily, and died on January 1st, some 17 days after vaccination. Before her death her cry was 'The vaccination has killed me; what call had they to vaccinate an old body like me?' The official finding as to the cause of death was effusion into the pericardium due to inflammation; heart disease; both lungs and liver diseased. The certificate of death is no doubt perfectly proper, but might it not be advis-able that more care should be exercised in the choice of subjects for the lancet? Vaccination is surely gone mad when a poor, puny, miserable old creature, with heart, lungs, and liver diseased is operated upon.

"W. G. UNKLES."

Passing over such features of the vaccine coercion as summonses, fines, distraint sales, by which parents are rewarded for their devotion to their principles—mention-ing but incidently the extra compulsion applied to our soldiers, sailors, policemen, postmen, and other Govern-ment employees, which is no trifling subjection, and again,

the compulsion which is employed in public works, in public schools, and in many private families—we have to consider the heartlessness of the workhouse vaccinations. In this case you frequently see a mother who suffers from compulsion in the first instance, in that she is compelled, through starvation, to go to the workhouse to give birth to her child. Children born under such circumstances have no ordinary difficulties to contend with, for endowed with but a feeble physical vitality, they would need the tenderest nurture, and much more favourable surroundings to give them anything like a fair chance in the struggle for existence, without having inoculated into their systems a disease which causes such a constitutional disturbance as does cow-pox, as usually applied. But what will be said of vaccinating such children when but a few days old?[1] Yet with the sanction and under the authority of the Local Government Board this is the habitual practice in some of the Metropolitan workhouses.[2] A circular addressed to Clerks of Guardians, dated January 27th, 1881, and sent to all the Unions, says:—

"Some Boards of Guardians have passed a resolution requiring the medical officer, subject to the exercise of his judgment as to making exceptions in particular cases, to secure the Vaccination of all children born in the workhouse as soon as possible after birth; and it has been found practicable, as a rule to vaccinate children when six days' old, and to inspect the results on the thirteenth day, as the mothers, in such cases, rarely leave the workhouse within a fortnight after their confinement."

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[1] All children born in prisons are vaccinated "as soon after birth" as the medical officer thinks it safe and desirable to perform the operation.

[2] The Camberwell Guardians deserve the thanks of all humane people for checking this brutal practice of vaccinating new-born infants in workhouses.

Exercising his judgment, the medical officer of the Lambeth Infirmary was in the habit of vaccinating children 24 hours old! I am not aware that the custom in this institution has been altered or humanised. This is indeed a striking example of how a mere official may "exercise his judgment." Happily this instance has no parallel, to my knowledge; but my object in citing it is to show to what extent the abuse may be carried, and that there is nothing to prevent any doctor who chooses, to satisfy a caprice, from doing the same. There are, however, plenty of milder cases, such as vaccinating infants under seven days old, and so on.

The Evangel of Sanitation.

A word as to sanitation. Who but ignorant reactionists would think of enforcing on us by pains and penalties a silly and injurious rite in preference to a sound body and a sanitary life. Darlington, for instance, has had national experience on a small scale. Small-pox used to be a constant pest in a part of the town which, under the Artisans' Dwellings Act, was demolished. This deadly place, this plague-spot, disappeared, and with it nearly all the small-pox. Only a very few cases have since been in the town; but typhus went at the same time. The two diseases travel hand in hand, and the sanitation which banishes the one as surely stamps out the other. The case of Leicester, now so well-known, is undoubtedly the most striking example of the value of sanitary measures. This is ably presented in the Fourth Interim Blue Book of the Commission on Vaccination, by Mr. J. T. Biggs, of Leicester, who ably held his own against the banded critics whose professional reputations are involved in Jennerism. In Leicester actual legal

powers do not exist; vaccination is wholly optional. All the thirty importations of small-pox between 1874-89 inclusive, were, says Mr. Biggs, promptly stamped out, and in that period of sixteen years the town saved £11,120 by their system. The saving of life that would result if the Leicester ratio could be spread over the whole population of England is given by Mr. John Pickering, F.S.S., in his work on "Sanitation and Vaccination," viz.:

"No fewer than 146,992 lives would have been saved annually, which were otherwise lost presumably through the untoward influence of vaccination. Even if we allow the 46,992 lost lives to be deducted from the calculation for possible error, the result is sufficiently appalling to arrest the attention of the most thoughtless mind in the country."

What but sanitation and science destroyed the terrible sting of those most mortal of plagues—*e.g.*, sweating sickness, black death, Oriental plague, and the lesser scourges? Yes, what of the more devastating European plagues, in comparison with which small-pox is a trifle? What protects us from such epidemics now? Isolation and disinfection; sufficient and good sanitation; better homes and better food. For a verity, these. Had England —say of 1660-79—been left as she was, with one-fifteenth part of it lakes, stagnant water, and moist places, the chill damp of marsh fever everywhere, houses of wood and mud, small, dirty, ill-ventilated, no sunlight, the floors covered with foul-smelling rushes or straw, the food scanty (little varied, with few vegetables, and little fruit and much salted meat); would any form of inoculation have accomplished what sanitation has done? You think not, yet it is now proposed to inoculate and re-inoculate with animal poisons for all and such zymotics! One thing is certain, cleanliness is becoming

the evangel of our time. True, side by side with its growth grows the craze for inoculation. But the process of forcing the human body into febrile states is vain and culpably erroneous. Prophylaxis depends upon hygienic discipline and on sanitary environment. Shams must go. The only perfectly clear and intelligible course is to teach that zymotic diseases, if at all, are alone preventable by cleanliness. While the laws of health are totally disregarded, one or another of the epidemic forms of disease will keep knocking at the gate to remind us of our duty—that what we need are good conditions of living, and wholesomeness of food, clothing, and abode. No good ever came of vaccination since it was discovered, and no good ever can. The civilisation and cleanliness which banished the plagues of the seventh century will do the same with small-pox: for vaccination will not, whether with human lymph, or calf lymph, or kind; or with one mark, four marks, twenty marks; and in the form and application in which it is compulsory on child life and adult life, it is an utter and disgusting failure. The people of this country would never submit to compulsory vaccination and re-vaccination again and again, said by the secretary of the Jenner Society to be the only efficient protection, which is tantamount to keeping the body for ever in a state of fever and poison, on the supposition that if you have one disease you cannot take another, until that has run its course—a generalisation which will not bear the test of inquiry, like all generalisations of such a nature, and which is, indeed, far from being well-founded. Such an assault of the person is, however, altogether out of reckoning; we have to deal in the present case with vaccination in its compulsory aspects only.

Repeal the Acts and Disendow the Practice.

It is no exaggeration to say that there is no more unjust and cruel law on the English statute-book than that of the Vaccination Acts. It enforces by fines, distraints, and imprisonments—in a word its pains and penalties are cumulative—an operation which is at once dangerous and useless—an operation which Professor Alfred R. Wallace has declared to be "utterly powerless for good," "a certain cause of disease and death in many cases," and "the probable cause of about 10,000 deaths annually of five inoculable diseases of the most disgusting kind." Wherefore, the law enjoining this operation, which affects not the rich and the well-to-do, pressing most hardly and cruelly upon the poor, and offending against the consciences of honest men and women, good parents all—this law then is a criminal despotism, and ought certainly to be repealed, if, indeed, it would not be within the pale of reason—as it would certainly of humanity—to restrain those deluded people who would submit their infant and utterly helpless offspring to its grave and appalling risks.

At least this much—the immediate abrogation of the iniquitous penal laws enforced by the Acts of Parliament of 1853, 1867, and 1871, together with the disestablishment and disendowment by the Government of the practice of vaccination. "Against the body of a healthy man," says Professor Newman, "Parliament has no right of assault whatever under pretence of the Public Health; nor any the more against the body of a healthy infant. To forbid perfect health is a tyrannical wickedness, just as much as to forbid chastity or sobriety. No lawgiver can have the right. The law is an unendurable usurpation, and creates the right of resistance."

THE HUMANITIES OF DIET.

THE HUMANITIES OF DIET.

"HUMANISED MAN."

A FEW years ago, in an article entitled "Wanted, a New Meat," the *Spectator* complained that dietetic provision is made nowadays "not for man as humanised [*sic*] by schools of cookery, but for a race of fruit-eating apes." We introduce bananas, pines, Italian figs, pomegranates, and a variety of new fruits, but what is really wanted is "some new and large animal, something which shall combine the game flavour with the substantial solidity of a leg of mutton." Surmising that there must exist "some neglected quadruped, which will furnish what we seek," the *Spectator* proceeded to take anxious stock of the world's resources, subjecting in turn the rodents, the pachyderms, and the ruminants to a careful survey, in which the claims even of the wart-hog were conscientiously debated. In the end the ruminants won the day, and the choice fell upon the Eland, who was called to the high function of supplying a new flesh-food for "humanised" man.

I must say at the outset that this is not the sense in which I am about to speak of the "humanities" of diet. Zoophilist though I am, I have not been fired by the *Spectator's* enthusiasm for the rescue of some "neglected quadruped" (delicious term!), nor have I any wish to see eviscerated Elands hanging a-row in our butchers' shops.

On the contrary, I suggest that in proportion as man is truly "humanised," not by schools of cookery but by schools of thought, he will abandon the barbarous habit of his flesh-eating ancestors, and will make gradual progress towards a purer, simpler, more humane, and therefore more civilised diet-system.

Principle and Purpose of Vegetarianism.

An article by Dr. T. P. Smith, on "Vegetarianism," which appeared in the *Fortnightly Review* for November, 1895, is one of many recent signs that the public is awaking to the fact that there is such a thing as food-reform. The reception of a new idea of this sort is always a strange process, and has to pass through several successive phases. First, there is tacit contempt; secondly, open ridicule; then a more or less respectful opposition, and, lastly, a partial acceptance, which may or may not become general. During the third period, the one at which the vegetarian question has now arrived, discussion is often complicated by the way in which the opponents of the new idea fail to grasp the *real* object of the reformers, and pleasantly substitute some exaggerated, distorted, or wholly imaginary concept of their own; after which they proceed to argue from a wrong basis, crediting their antagonists with mistaken aims and purposes, and then triumphantly impugning their consistency or logic. It is therefore of the utmost importance that, in debating the problem of food-reform, we should know exactly what the reformers themselves are aiming at.

Let me first make plain what I mean by calling vegetarianism a *new* idea. Historically, of course, it is not new at all, either as a precept or a practice. A great

portion of the world's inhabitants have always been practically vegetarians, and some whole races and sects have been so upon principle. The Buddhist canon in the east, and the Pythagorean in the west, enjoined abstinence from flesh-food on humane, as on other grounds; and in the writings of such "pagan" philosophers as Plutarch and Porphyry, we find a humanitarian ethic of the most exalted kind, which, after undergoing a long repression during mediæval churchdom, reappeared, albeit but weakly and fitfully at first, in the literature of the Renaissance, to be traced more definitely in that school of "sensibility," the eighteenth century writers. But it was not until after the age of Rousseau, from which must be dated the great humanitarian movement of the past century, that vegetarianism began to assert itself as a system, a reasoned plea for the disuse of flesh-food, as advanced in the writings of Ritson, Nicholson, Lambe, Shelley, Gleïzès, and Sylvester Graham. In this sense it is a new ethical principle, and its import as such is only now beginning to be generally understood.

I say *ethical* principle, because it is beyond doubt that the chief motive of vegetarianism is the humane one. Questions of hygiene and of economy both play their part, and a very important part, in a full discussion of food-reform; but the feeling which underlies and animates the whole movement is the instinctive horror of butchery, especially the butchery of the more highly organised animals, so human, so near akin to man. Let me quote a short passage from the preface to Mr. Howard Williams's "Ethics of Diet," the acknowledged text-book of vegetarianism:

"It has been well said," remarks Mr. Williams, "that there are steps on the way to the summit of dietetic reform, and if

only one step be taken, yet that single step will not be without importance and without influence in the world. The step which leaves for ever behind it the barbarism of slaughtering our fellow-beings, the mammals and birds, is, it is superfluous to add, the most important and most influential of all."[1]

Let it therefore be clearly understood that this step—the "first step," as Tolstoi has called it, in a scheme of humane living—has been the main object of vegetarian propaganda from the establishment of the Vegetarian Society in 1847 to its jubilee in the present year. To secure the discontinuance of the shocking and inhuman practices that are inseparable from the slaughterhouse—this, and no far-fetched doctrinaire theory of abstinence from all "animal" substances, no fastidious abhorrence of contact with the "evil thing," has been the purpose of modern food-reformers. They are, moreover, well aware that a change of this sort, which involves a reconsideration of our whole attitude towards the "lower animals," can only be gradually realised; nor do they invite the world, as their opponents seem to imagine, to an immediate hard-and-fast decision, a revolution in national habits which is to be discussed, voted, and carried into effect the day after to-morrow, to the grievous jeopardy and dislocation of certain time-honoured interests. They simply point to the need of progression towards humaner diet, believing, with Thoreau, that "it is part of the destiny of the human race, in its gradual improvement, to leave off eating animals, as surely as the savage tribes have left off eating each other, when they come in contact with the more civilised."

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[1] "Ethics of Diet," 1883. A new edition has been issued (1896) by the Ideal Pnblishing Union, 112, Fleet Street.

Some Misunderstandings Removed.

It is needless for me to reply in detail to Dr. Smith's arguments, because, unfortunately, in writing his paper on "Vegetarianism," he had not grasped this ethical principle by which vegetarianism is inspired, and therefore his contentions, whether correct or incorrect when judged from his own standpoint, have small relevance to the subject of his criticisms. So little aware is he of the supreme importance of the humanitarian aspect of food-reform, that, like the Hebridean minister who referred first to the Great and Little Cumbræ, and then to the "adjacent" islands of Great Britain and Ireland, he alludes to it, almost incidentally, as "another assertion, often made by vegetarians, to the effect that the unnecessary destruction of sentient existence is an immoral act." *Another* assertion! Why, it is the very heart and and stronghold of the vegetarian position. But this is nothing to the astounding argument that follows. "The most enthusiastic vegetarians," says Dr. Smith, "will scarcely venture to deny that the destruction of many animals is requisite for human existence. What vegetarian would allow his premises to be swarming with mice, rats, and similar pests? Does he permit caterpillars, snails, and slugs to devour the produce of his vegetable garden? Perhaps he satisfies his conscience with the reflection that the destruction of vermin is a necessary act."

I am not a vivisectionist, but I must own to some scientific curiosity as to the brain of a man of science who could pen that sentence. The *perhaps* takes one's breath away. *Perhaps* the vegetarian draws a distinction between the avowedly necessary destruction of garden and house-

hold pests, and the quite unnecessary (from the vegetarian standpoint) butchery of oxen and sheep, who are bred for no other purpose than that of the slaughter-house, where they are killed, as Dr. Smith himself admits, in a most barbarous manner. *Perhaps* the vegetarian "satisfies his conscience" with this distinction. I should rather think he did.

No wonder that food-reformers seem a strange and unreasonable folk to those who have thus failed to apprehend the very *raison d'être* of food-reform, and who persist in arguing as if the choice between the old diet and the new were a mere matter of personal caprice or professional adjustment, into which the moral question scarcely enters at all. To this same misunderstanding is due the futile outcry that is raised every now and then against the term "vegetarian," when some zealous opponent undertakes, as Dr. Smith does, to "expose the delusions of those who boast that they live on vegetables, and yet take eggs, butter, and milk as regular articles of diet." Of course the simple fact is that vegetarians are neither boastful of their diet nor enamoured of their name; it is the title that sticks to them, and not they to the title. It was invented, wisely or unwisely, a full half-century ago, and whether we like it or not, has evidently "come to stay" until we find something better. It is worth observing that this technical objection is seldom or never made in actual everyday life, where the word "vegetarian" carries with it a quite definite meaning, viz., one who abstains from flesh-food but not necessarily from animal products; the verbal pother is always made by somebody who is sitting down to write an article against food reform, and has nothing better to say. It all comes from the notion that vegetarians are bent on some

barren, logical "consistency," rather than on practical progress towards a more humane method of living—the only sort of "consistency" which in this, or any other branch of reform, is either possible in itself, or worth a moment's attention from a sensible man.

To show, however, that this question of the temporary use of animal products has not been shirked by food-reformers, I quote the following from my "Plea for Vegetarianism," published ten years ago.

"The immediate object which food-reformers aim at, is not so much the disuse of animal substances in general, as the abolition of flesh-meat in particular; and if they can drive their opponents to make the important admission that actual flesh-food is unnecessary, they can afford to smile at the trivial retort that animal substance is still used in eggs and milk. . . . They are well aware that even dairy produce is quite unnecessary, and will doubtless be dispensed with altogether under a more natural system of diet. In the meantime, however, one step is sufficient. Let us first recognise the fact that the slaughter-house, with all its attendant horrors, might easily be abolished; that point gained, the question of the total disuse of all animal products is one that will be decided hereafter. What I wish to insist on is that it is not 'animal' food which we primarily abjure, but nasty food, expensive food, and unwholesome food."

It may be added that some food-reformers eat fish; and though the name "vegetarian" is rightly denied to such persons, and fish eating is not tolerated by the rules of the Vegetarian Society, it is evident that, regarded from the humane standpoint, there is an enormous difference between fish-eating and flesh-eating, and that if medical men, instead of quibbling about the word "vegetarian," would recommend to their clients the use of animal products, or even fish, as a substitute for "butchers'

meat," there would be a great gain to the humanities of diet. Incidentally, it must be remarked, the doctors quite admit the efficiency of such substitutes; for in their eagerness to convict the "vegetarians" of inconsistency in using animal products, they guilelessly give away their own case by arguing that, of course, on *this* diet the "vegetarians" do well enough! As for those ultra-consistent persons who sometimes write as if it were not worth while to discontinue the practice of cow-killing, unless we also immediately discontinue the practice of using milk — that is to say, who think the greater reform is worthless without the lesser and subsequent one—I can only express my respectful astonishment at such reasoning. It is as though a traveller were too "consistent" to start on a long journey of life or death, because he might be required to "change carriages" on the way.

Slaughter-house Horrors. Who is Responsible?

But it is said, why not introduce "humane" methods of slaughtering, and so remedy the chief evil in the present system of diet? By all means introduce improved methods, but remember that though they can *mitigate* the evil, they cannot *remedy* it. "Humane slaughtering," if it be once admitted that there is no necessity to slaughter at all, is a contradiction in terms; and though there might be a great reduction of suffering, if all reformers would combine for the abolition of *private* slaughter-houses and the substitution of well-ordered municipal abattoirs, conscientious flesh-eaters would be still faced by the difficulty that these changes must take a long time to carry out, opposed as they are by powerful private interests, and that even under the best possible conditions the butchering of the

larger animals must always be a horrible and inhuman business. Vegetarianism, as a movement, has nothing whatever to fear from the introduction of improved slaughtering; indeed, vegetarians may take the credit of having worked quite as zealously as flesh-eaters in that direction, feeling, as they do, that in our complex society no individuals can exempt themselves from a share in the general responsibility—the brand of the sweater and the slaughterer is on the brow of every one of us. But there is no half-way resting-place in humane progress; and we may be quite sure that when the public conscience is once aroused on this dreadful subject of the slaughter-house, it will maintain its interest to a much more thorough solution of the difficulty than a mere improvement of methods.[1]

One thing is quite certain. It is impossible for flesh-eaters to find any justification for their diet in the plea that animals *might* be slaughtered humanely; it is an obvious duty to carry out the improvements first, and to make the excuses afterwards. Dr. Smith's remarks on this point are an example of the evasive reasoning to which I allude. Admitting that the vegetarian, in his indictment of the slaughter-house, "hits a grievous blot on our much-vaunted civilisation," he tries to escape from the inevitable conclusion as follows: "His allegations, however, tell not against the use of animal food, but against the ignorance, carelessness, and brutality too often displayed in the slaughter-houses." Now I wish to

[1] A "HUMANE DIET DEPARTMENT" of the Humanitarian League has been organised to advocate (1) the reform, as far as may be, of slaughter-house methods; (2) self-reform in diet, *i.e.*, abstinence from such kinds of food as cause the greatest suffering in their preparation.

say most emphatically, this will not do. It is a libel on the working men who have to earn a livelihood by the disgusting occupation of butchering. The real "ignorance' carelessness, and brutality," are not in the rough-handed slaughtermen, but in the polite ladies and gentlemen whose dietetic habits render the slaughtermen necessary. The responsibility rests not on the wage-slave, but on the employer. "I'm only doing your dirty work," was the recent reply of a Whitechapel butcher to a gentleman who expressed the same sentiments as Dr. Smith's. "It's such as *you* makes such as *us*," he added; and I think it must be admitted that the gentleman was intellectually pole-axed.

At this point in my article it would presumably be the right thing to give some detailed description of the horrors enacted in our shambles, of which I might quote numerous instances from perfectly reliable eye-witnesses. If I do not do so, I can assure my readers that it is not from any desire to spare their feelings, for I think it might fairly be demanded of those who eat beef and mutton that they should not shrink from an acquaintance with facts of their own making; also we have often been told that it is the vegetarians, not the flesh-eaters, who are the "sentimentalists" in this matter. I refrain for the simple reason that I fear, if I narrated the facts, this article would go unread, and I have yet some things to say which I think may otherwise be tolerated. So, before passing on, I will merely add this—that in some ways the evils attendant on slaughtering grow worse, and not better, as civilisation advances, because of the more complex conditions of town life, and the increasingly long journeys to which animals are subjected in their transit from the grazier to the slaughterman. The cattle-ships of the

present day reproduce, in an aggravated form, some of the worst horrors of the slave-ship of fifty years back.[1] I take it for granted, then, as not denied by our opponents (it is frankly admitted by Dr. Smith), that the present system of killing animals for food is a very cruel and barbarous one, and a direct outrage on what I have termed the "humanities of diet."

Æsthetic Considerations.

It is also an outrage on every sense of refinement and good taste, for in this question the æsthetics are not to be dissociated from the humanities. Has the artist ever considered the history of the "chop" which is brought so elegantly to his studio? Not he. He would not be able to eat it if he thought about it. He has first employed a slaughterman ("it's such as you makes such as us") to convert a beautiful living creature into a hideous carcase, to be displayed with other carcases in that ugliest product of civilisation, a butcher's shop; and then he has employed a cook to conceal, as far as may be, the work of the slaughterman. This is what the *Spectator* calls being "humanised" by schools of cookery; I should call it being de-humanised. In passing a butcher's I have seen a concert-program pinned prominently on the corpse of a pig, and I have mused on that suggestive though unintended allegory of the Basis of Art. I deny that it is the right basis, and I maintain that there will necessarily be something porcine in the art that is so upheld and exhibited. Nine-tenths of our literary and artistic gatherings, our social functions, and most sumptuous

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[1] See "Cattle-Ships and our Meat Supply," "Behind the Scenes in Slaughter-houses," "The Evils of Butchery."—Humanitarian League Pamphlets.

entertainments, are tainted from the same source. You take a beautiful girl down to supper, and you offer her—a ham sandwich! It is proverbial folly to cast pearls before swine. What are we to say of the politeness which casts swine before pearls?

What the Doctors Say.

It is no part of my purpose on the present occasion to argue in detail the *possibility* of a vegetarian diet; nor is there any need to do so. The proofs of it are everywhere—in the history of races, in the rules of monastic orders, in the habits of large numbers of working populations, in the remarkable achievements of vegetarian athletes, in biographies of well-known men, in the facts and instances of every-day life. The medical view of vegetarianism, which at first (as in the similar case of teetotalism) was expressed by a severe negative and ominous head-shake, has very largely changed during the past ten or twenty years, and, in so far as it is still hostile, dwells rather on the superiority of the "mixed" diet than on the insufficiency of the other, while the solemn warnings which used to be addressed to the venturesome individual who had the hardihood to leave off eating his fellow-beings, have now lapsed into more general statements as to the probable failure of vegetarianism in the long run, and on a more extended trial. Well, we know what that means. It is what has been said of every vital movement that the world has seen. It means that medical specialists need time to envisage new truths, but they do envisage them some day. It is a hopeful sign that already, when they chance to be moved by some strong impulse, such as the desire to twit anti-vivisectionists with inconsistency, doctors frequently

ask why So-and-So, if he holds zoophilist opinions, is not a vegetarian. A year or two ago the *Times* severely censured a bishop for the same reason, and stated in a leading article that the plea of impossibility was absurd. Sir Henry Thompson has stated that it is "a vulgar error to regard meat in any form as necessary to life"; in short, the medical preference for a flesh diet may now be summed up under two heads—that flesh is more digestible, more easily assimilated, than vegetables, and that it is unwise to limit the sources of food which (to quote Sir H. Thompson's words) "nature has abundantly provided."

The first argument, as to the superior digestibility of flesh, is flatly denied by food-reformers on the plain grounds of experience; the notion that vegetarians are in the habit of eating a greater bulk of food, in order to obtain an equal amount of nutriment, being one of those amazing superstitions which could not survive a day's comparative study of the parties in question. My own conviction is that the average flesh-eater eats at least twice as much in bulk as the average vegetarian; and I know that the experience of vegetarians bears witness to a great reduction, instead of a great increase, in the amount of their diet. As for the second medical argument, the unwisdom of rejecting any of nature's bounties, it ignores the very existence of the ethical question, which is the vegetarian's chief contention; nor does this appeal to "nature" strike one as being a very "scientific" one, inasmuch as (ethics apart) it might just as well justify cannibalism as flesh-eating. We can imagine how the medicine-men of some old anthropophagous tribe might deprecate the new-fangled civilised notion of abstinence from human flesh, on the ground that it is foolish to

refuse the benefits which "nature" has abundantly provided.

Mr. So-and-So's Experiment.

But what of the failures of those who have attempted the vegetarian diet? Is not the movement hopelessly blocked by Mr. So-and-So's six weeks' experiment? He became so very weak, you know, until his friends were quite alarmed about him, and he was really *obliged* to take something more nourishing. All of which symptons, I would remark, could be matched by thousands of similar instances from the records of the temperance movement, and prove clearly enough, not that abstinence from flesh or alcohol is impossible, but that (as any thoughtful person might have foreseen) a great change in the habits of a people cannot be effected suddenly, or without its inevitable percentage of failures. Every propagandist movement, religious, social, or dietetic, is sure to attract to itself a motley crowd of adherents, many of whom after a trial of the new principle—some after a genuine trial, others after a very superficial one—revert to their former position. I wish to look at this question in a reasonable spirit, and I ask my readers to do the same. Let it be freely granted that a habit so ingrained as that of flesh-eating is likely, and indeed certain, in some particular cases to be very hard to eradicate. What then? Is not that exactly what might have been expected in a change of this kind? And on the other side, it is equally certain that a large number of the reported failures—nine-tenths of them, I should say—are caused by the half-hearted or ill-advised manner in which the attempt is made. It is just as possible to commit suicide on a vegetarian diet as on any other, if

you are bent on that conclusion; and really one might almost imagine, from the extraordinary folly sometimes shown in the selection of a diet, that certain experimentalists were "riding for a fall" in their dealings with vegetarianism—taking up the thing in order to be able to say, "I tried it, and see the result!" I knew a man, a master at a great public school, who "tried vegetarianism," and he tried it by making cabbage and potato the substitute for flesh, and after a month's trial he felt "very flabby," and then he gave it up; which, indeed, was the only wise step taken by him during the process.

The poetical confession of a trial of vegetarianism made by Lord Tennyson is often quoted by our opponents. To show the value I set upon such evidence, I will make them a present of another notable instance—hitherto unpublished, as far as I know—that of Emerson. I have been told by a friend of Emerson's that, having heard much talk of vegetarianism among his transcendentalist friends, he determined to try it, and instructed Mrs. Emerson to provide him daily with a dinner of—bread and water! This continued for a week, and he then instructed Mrs. Emerson to provide him with something else. Here was a heavy blow to the cause of food reform; the sage of Concord had tried it, and it had unmistakably failed.

Is it worth while, after that, to talk any more of the "humanities of diet"? I almost think that it is; and I would now venture to confide to my readers a belief which I fear may to some of them seem fanciful, that an important factor in the success of a change of diet is the spirit in which such change is undertaken. As far as the mere chemistry of food is concerned, the majority of people

may doubtless, with ordinary wisdom in the conduct of the change, substitute a vegetarian for a "mixed" diet without inconvenience. But in some cases, owing perhaps to the temperament of the individual, or the nature of his surroundings, the change is much more difficult; and here it will make all the difference whether he have really at heart a sincere wish to take the first step towards a humaner diet, or whether he be simply experimenting out of curiosity or some other trivial motive. It is one more proof that the *moral* basis of vegetarianism is the one that sustains the rest.[1]

Some Ancient Fallacies.

But are there not other reasons alleged against the practice of vegetarianism? Ah, those dear old Fallacies, so immemorial yet ever new, how can I speak disrespectfully of what has so often refreshed and entertained me! Every food reformer is familiar with them—the "law-of-nature" argument, which would approximate human ethics to the standard of the tiger-cat or rattle-snake; the "necessity-of-taking-life" argument, which conscientiously ignores the question of *un*necessary killing; the blubber argument, or, to put it more exactly, the "what-would-become-of-the-Esquimaux?", to which the only adequate answer is, a system of state-aided emigration; the "for-my-sake" argument, which may be called the family fallacy; the "what-should-we-do-without-

[1] It does not come within the scope of this article to discuss the question, How to begin; but if anyone supposes that this practical point has been neglected by food reformers, I may be permitted to refer him to the literature of the Vegetarian Society, Peter Street, Manchester, or the London Vegetarian Association, Memorial Hall, E.C.

leather?", that lurid picture of a world left shoeless by instantaneous conversion to vegetarianism; and the disinterested "what-would-become-of-the-animals?", which foresees the grievous wanderings of homeless herds who can find no kind protector to eat them. Best of all, I think, is what may be termed the metaphysical argument, beloved of learned men, which urges that it is better for the animals to live and be eaten than not to live at all—an imaginary ante-natal choice in an imaginary ante-natal condition! Lack of space prevents my now furnishing the answer to this philosophical fallacy, nor do I think that, for ordinary persons, any explanation is required; but if any distinguished metaphysician or philosopher is unable to see it, I will gladly explain it to him in private.[1]

The Diet of the Future.

I have now shown what I mean by those "humanities of diet" without which, as it seems to me, it is idle to dispute over the "rights" of animals, and the *pros* and *cons* of "zoophily." A lively argument was lately raging between Zoophilists and Jesuits, as to whether animals are "persons"; but the battle appears to be an unreal one, so long as the "persons" in question are by common agreement handed over to the tender mercies of the butcher, who will make exceeding short work of their "personality". For, as the vegetarian rhymer has it:—

> "Ye 'animal-lovers,' in blindness
> Your heart-felt affection ye boast;
> To love them in meadow, what kindness—
> If ye love them far better in roast?"

[1] Mr. Leslie Stephen falls a victim to this fallacy in his "Social Rights and Duties" (Library of Ethics), 1896, and Professor D. G. Ritchie in his "Natural Rights" (Library of Philosophy), 1895.

I advance no exaggerated or fanciful claim for vegetarianism. It is not, as some have asserted, a "panacea" for human ills; it is something much more rational—an essential part of the modern humanitarian movement, which can make no true progress without it. Vegetarianism is the diet of the future, as flesh-food is the diet of the past. In that striking and common contrast, a fruit-shop side by side with a butcher's, we have a most significant object-lesson. There, on the one hand, are the barbarities of a savage custom—the headless carcases, stiffened into a ghastly semblance of life, the joints and steaks and gobbets with their sickening odour, the harsh grating of the bone-saw, and the dull thud of the chopper—a perpetual crying protest against the horrors of flesh-eating. And, as if this were not witness sufficient, here, close alongside, is a wealth of golden fruit, a sight to make a poet happy, the only food that is entirely congenial to the physical structure and the natural instincts of mankind, that can entirely satisfy the highest human aspirations. Can we doubt, as we gaze at this contrast, that whatever intermediate steps may need to be gradually taken, whatever difficulties to be overcome, the path of progression from the barbarities to the humanities of diet lies clear and unmistakable before us?

LITERÆ HUMANIORES:

AN APPEAL TO TEACHERS.

LITERÆ HUMANIORES:
AN APPEAL TO TEACHERS.

"Among the noblest in the land,
Though he may count himself the least,
That man I honour and revere
Who, without favour, without fear,
In the great city dares to stand,
The friend of every friendless beast."

THE NEED OF HUMANE EDUCATION.

Hommes, soyez humains! C'est votre premier devoir. Quelle sagesse y a-t-il pour vous, hors de l'humanité?

("Humans, be *humane!* It is your first duty. What wisdom is there for you, apart from humanity?")

IT would be well if this admirable precept of Rousseau's could be engraved in golden letters on the walls of every school and college in the kingdom. One would think that the futility of mere book-learning, when divorced from the deeper instincts of humaneness, would be apparent to all those who are entrusted with the education of the young; but alas, in how many English schools, public or private, can it be truly said that the duty of humanity to animals, or even of humanity to men, is taught with any approach to thoroughness or consistency? In the large majority, we fear, it is simply not taught at all; it has no place whatever, directly or indirectly, in the school curriculum. Oblivious of the fact that cruelty is everywhere one and the same vice, and that cruelty to animals cannot in the long run be dissociated from cruelty to men,

our teachers appear to have accepted, with a sort of placid indifference or resignation, a disposition in their pupils which ought to be combated and mitigated with all possible energy. "Boys are cruel," they say; and proceed to treat their charges, as far as this particular fault is concerned, with that not uncommon form of education which George Eliot styled the "undivided neglect" of the teacher. But we have no right whatever to assume, in this wholesale way, that "boys are cruel." Of course they are cruel, as long as the example is everywhere set them by their elders, and as long as those who are responsible for their religious and moral welfare, are content, or compelled, to leave them without instruction on the most important of ethical subjects. It is nothing short of scandalous that members of school-boards who will attempt to force a disputable theology on children should take no measures at all for the inculcation of the broadest and simplest precepts of humanity.

In this matter the chief public schools and colleges are the more deserving of blame, in proportion as their means and opportunities are greater. It is necessary to draw a sharp distinction between that surface "humanism," a culture of the gentlemanly qualities of scholarship and refinement, much in vogue in academic and fashionable circles, and the sense of sympathetic "humanity" which springs from the profounder culture of the heart. It would be difficult to find a more suggestive comment on the anomalous state of our civilised society than in the fact that it is the former, the superficial kind of culture, which is honoured with the title of *literæ humaniores*, "humane letters." A "Professor of Humanity" is a teacher of Latin grammar—such is the bathos to which our academic pedantry has conducted us! There is, we

may well believe, no ultimate antagonism between culture and nature, between humanism and humanity (both rightly understood); but we must be sure that we are cultivating the true natural instincts, the living germs of thought, and not the mere husks and superficialities and refinements of some cut-and-dried intellectual formula. Let those who think of education and literature as studies to be pursued above and apart from humanitarianism, remember what was said of John Brown, the great hero of American abolitionism. "Such were *his* humanities, and not any study of grammar. He would have left a Greek accent slanting the wrong way, and righted up a falling man."

We do not wish to suggest to English teachers anything so alarming as that Greek accents should be left slanting the wrong way. But we do insist that the "righting up" of falling men, and of falling animals also, is a duty which is worth far more consideration that is now accorded to it. It is astonishing that our educational authorities should so wholly neglect the wise advice of Locke, as given in his famous treatise on education.

"This [a tendency in children to cruelty] should be watched in them, and if they incline to any such cruelty, they should be taught the contrary usage. For the custom of tormenting and killing of beasts will by degrees harden their hearts even towards men; and they who delight in the suffering and destruction of inferior creatures will not be apt to be very compassionate or benign to those of their own kind. Children should from the beginning be bred up in an abhorrence of killing or tormenting any living creature"[1]

In another notable passage of the same work he describes the destructive propensity as "a foreign and

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[1] "*Some Thoughts concerning Education.*" Section xv.

introduced disposition, a habit borrowed from custom and conversation."

"People teach children to strike, and laugh when they hurt, or see harm come to others; and they have the example of most about them to confirm them in it. All the entertainment and talk of history is of nothing but fighting and killing, and the honour and renown that is bestowed on conquerors (who for the most part are but the great butchers of mankind) farther mislead the youth."

The present appeal is addressed to teachers of every class and denomination, in the hope of inducing them to recognise the humane treatment of animals as a necessary part of any moral "education" worthy of the name. Some attention, however insufficient it may be, is now paid in English schools and lecture-rooms to the great social questions where the well-being of our human fellow-workers is concerned; but the rights of animals, and the duty of justice and humanity to animals, remain practically untaught, with the result that, as far as the authorised teachers are concerned, a horde of young savages is yearly turned loose into society, devoid alike of knowledge, of sympathy, and of humaneness, in regard to whole races of sensitive and highly-organised beings who are placed in large measure in their power. Were it not for three private agencies, the "Bands of Mercy" which have been organised in many places to provide the instruction that should have been provided elsewhere, the essay-competition encouraged among London middle-class schools by the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, and thirdly the "Children's Column" which is now being adopted by a good many newspapers, it would be no exaggeration to say that English children are left entirely without instruction in this most vital

ethical question, which can hardly fail to have a lifelong influence on their habits and character.[1]

That there are great and serious obstacles in the way of this humane reform, and that progress can only be slow, cautious, and indirect, will be admitted by all who know anything of the conservatism of school methods. A school is in many ways a microcosm—a miniature reflection of the greater world that is around and before it—and it is difficult or impossible for the most liberal-minded teacher to counteract successfully the example (in so many cases an evil example) which is set by society. The tone of society, even of cultured and æsthetic society, towards the lower animals is deplorable, as shown in the general indifference or hostility to the most elementary animal rights; and this tone spreads inevitably and imperceptibly from parent to child, from home-circle to school-circle, beyond the power of repression by any individual remonstrance. No wonder, then, that even humane teachers, themselves sensible of the mischief, have despaired of the possibility of improvement, and

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[1] The only official reference to the subject is contained in one of the latest Instructions to Inspectors, which deals with the text of Reading-books in Government schools. The words are as follows: "Passages impressing on the children the duty of gentleness and consideration for others, and that of the humane treatment of animals, may also be wisely introduced." This is not very definite. I am informed by one who has exceptional knowledge of the work of the Bands of Mercy that the schools have been hardly at all permeated or influenced by this humane movement. There is no time in schools to carry out this teaching; and although there are cases where a zealous master introduces humanity into an object lesson, or chooses (if he is allowed the choice) a humane reading-book, teachers usually look askance at the Bands of Mercy as causing them extra work and trouble. The Mercy classes have to be held precariously, at odd times, and are altogether at a disadvantage in comparison with any other teaching.

have shrunk from undertaking what would often have proved to be a thankless and unprofitable task.

There is, moreover, another consideration which gives us pause at the outset. It is most undesirable, as all true humanitarians will be ready to admit, that the details of horrible and revolting subjects should be forced on the minds of the young, whose humanity, in a proper state of society, would be instinctive and unconscious, the result of pure and beautiful surroundings rather than an acquired ethical creed. If any class have a right to be exempt from the debasing aspects of the seamy side of civilization, it is those of tender years, who, whether their birth be high or lowly, should be brought up in affluence and gentleness, and protected from all contact with what is mean and repellent and foul. As will be made more evident in a later section of this pamphlet, we humanitarians do not wish, as is sometimes wrongly supposed, to take undue advantage of the natural sentiment of the young.

Yet, while the reality of these difficulties is fully acknowledged, it is equally certain that something can and must be done by the responsible authorities tc remedy the present state of affairs. It is not a question of introducing children's minds to horrors with which they are happily unfamiliar, for these barbarities already throw a shadow on their daily lives. When cruelty is everywhere, and when children are themselves tainted by it, it is surely the merest hypocrisy to affect to be unaware of its existence; it is wiser to recognise the mischief, and do what can be done to lessen it, than to let it work its work unreproved. And it is obvious, that without obtruding humanitarian doctrines in a formal manner, or exercising any undue pressure on their pupils'

consciences, teachers may indirectly avail themselves of numberless opportunities for suggesting thoughts which will be of priceless value to the mind which assimilates them. Shall the rising generation of Englishmen and Englishwomen grow up as callous and indifferent to the enormous sum of unnecessary animal suffering, as are (with a few exceptions) the Englishmen and Englishwomen of to-day? Or shall the spread of education bring with it not only a more brotherly regard for the interests of human fellow-creatures, but also, and by a precisely similar process of enlightenment, a more humane consideration for the "lower animals" who hold their lives by the same tenure as mankind. That is the question which is put to all teachers who may happen to read this appeal; and the result will depend very largely on the spirit in which an answer is given.

Let me now proceed to a discussion of some of the particular instances where there appears to be need of a humaner and more rational education.

Petting.

The domestic animals are necessarily the first with which children are brought in contact; hence such attempts as are made by parents and teachers to inculcate the duty of kindness are directed in most instances to animals of this class. And here, at the very outset, it seems to me that a mistake, however natural and pardonable in itself, is often made by zoophilists in trying to teach humanity by the system of "petting." In face of the shocking ill-usage to which animals are so generally subjected, it is of course extremely difficult to know where and how to begin the lesson of humaneness; and the

practice of encouraging children to keep pets, and to keep them properly, has the advantage of being the readiest and most obvious method, and up to a certain point a fairly successful one. In the long run, I believe it to be wrong and disastrous, and for this reason, that petting, like persecuting, draws away the attention from the very fact which it is most urgently necessary to emphasise—the fact that animals are not mere "things," not mere chattels and automata to be used (however kindly) for the amusement and recreation of man, but intelligent and highly-developed personalities, whose innumerable services to human kind, faithfully performed through the centuries, have rendered them an integral and important element of civilised society. It is the *individuality* of animals that needs to be impressed on children, and for that matter, on adults also, who for the most part treat animals as if they were utterly devoid of individuality or intelligence. What we should aim at is to make animals our friends, not our pets; for a pet, however carefully it is petted, can hardly be respected; and it is precisely this lack of *respect* for animals as intelligent beings that is at the root of so much brutality and roughness.

For the same reason great care should be exercised in appealing to the humane sentiment of children by means of poetry and fiction, as is frequently done in zoophilist pamphlets and journals. There is no more precious gift than the innate sense of humanity, when it is balanced and safeguarded by consistency and judgment; but it should be remembered that, without these qualities, it is apt to degenerate into that false sentiment, or "sentimentality," from which it is most important that genuine humanitarianism should be kept free. It is so easy to

produce a temporary influence on young minds by literature of an emotional order, that there is a danger of using this power unwisely and indiscriminately by the dissemination of writings which, though excellent in intention, are intellectually feeble and commonplace. Trashy poems and vapid flowery tales do no permanent good. In the long run children see through the pious artifices that are spread for them, and detect the cant that (unconsciously perhaps, but none the less surely) is at the bottom of all such mediocrity. Be certain that false sentiment will eventually produce either hypocrisy or contempt, and that in either case the cause of real humaneness will be retarded, not advanced, by it. Let us use poetry and anecdote by all means; but let us be most careful that we use good material only, and not the first frothy stuff that comes to hand.

I would further remark, though I do not wish to do more than briefly allude to this subject, that the competitive prize-system appears to be a very hazardous and questionable expedient for inculcating humanity. Prizes have become so much a part and parcel of our educational methods that it is no doubt difficult to dispense with them altogether in any branch of study; but surely if there is any virtue which brings its own reward, humaneness is that virtue; and to offer a prize for what should be the simplest of human instincts, is to show a lack of faith in the sincerity of the student, and in many cases to put a premium upon priggishness and self-seeking.

I suggest, then, that the first object of the teacher—and in this case the parent and the teacher will often be identical—should be to diminish, rather than encourage, the practice of keeping "pets," and to lead their pupils to regard animals seriously as intelligent friends, and not

to sentimentalise over them as puppets and playthings. There is no more miserable being than a lap-dog; and the lap-dog is the sign and symbol of that spurious humanity which is the final outcome of "petting."

The false pity must be eliminated before the true pity can take root. Neither the domestic animals nor the wild animals are unhappy, unless through the mismanagement of man. "An impartiality that pets nothing and persecutes nothing," says the naturalist, Mr. W. H. Hudson, "is doubtless man's proper attitude towards the inferior animals; a god-like benevolent neutrality; a keen and kindly interest in every form of life, with indifference as to its ultimate destiny; the softness which does no wrong, with the hardness that sees no wrong done." These are wise words, and deserve to be carefully pondered by teachers.

Collecting.

Still more objectionable than the practice of petting is the practice of collecting, for if the "pet" is a doubtful incentive to humanity, the "specimen," in nine cases out of ten is a positive obstacle to it. And here we are brought face to face with the vitally important choice between two divergent ways of teaching Natural History —a science which, according to the spirit in which it is handled, will inevitably influence the youthful student's mind, in one or the other direction, with regard to the treatment of animals. These two divergent methods may be called the anatomical and the natural. Under the former, the prevalent method, which is in accord with the materialistic tendencies of the age, we recklessly foster the *curiosity* of children—a perilous quality which,

perhaps above all others, needs to be wisely guided and tempered—by permitting or even encouraging them to indulge their fancy to the utmost in the pursuit and collection of "specimens." It is accepted by most parents and masters as quite a matter of course that boys should hunt down, kill, and "preserve" in a cabinet as many of our beautiful English moths and butterflies as happen to come within their reach; that in the process of "bird's-nesting," they should commit the most wanton havoc in order to gratify the idlest whim of the collector; or that they should sacrifice any amount of gold and silver fish, minnows, sticklebacks, and other small fry, for the scientific purposes of the "aquarium."

It is quite inevitable that much callousness and actual cruelty of disposition should result from these practices. Instead of teaching our children the lesson of the infinite beauty and sacredness of natural life, we deliberately send them out into the wild places of Nature, as youthful marauders and murderers, and then wonder that they grow up brutal, stupid, and unfeeling. If anyone thinks that there is exaggeration in the statement that the unbridled mania for "collecting" breeds a positive love of slaughter for slaughter's sake, let me refer him to a passage in pamphlet No. 15 of the Society for the Protection of Birds.

"Last spring," says one of the contributors, Colonel W. L. Coulson, "I spoke to some boys about the birds'-nesting prevalent in the neighbourhood where I was staying. I asked them what they did with the young birds after they had taken the nest. 'Oh,' said one of the boys, 'we slits 'em.' I said 'What do you mean by slitting them?' He replied, 'We pulls off their legs and wings, and then chucks them into the water.' A few days afterwards I met some more boys

apparently engaged in a similar amusement, when I put the same question to them, and received a like answer."

There you have a fair typical result of the anatomical method of teaching Natural History to children. "We slits 'em" might appropriately stand as the motto of that science.

Is it surprising that a nation which allows its rising generation to be depraved in this manner, should tolerate or even sanction, as the fine flower and *ne plus ultra* of scientific curiosity, the unspeakable vileness of vivisection? Collecting and dissecting easily become identical and interchangeable terms; and the youthful ruffianism which "slits" young birds by way of recreation in the springtime may develop, in the maturity of years, into the more polished fiendishness of the laboratory. We have recently seen in this country in one of the publications of the "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge,"[1] how experiments on animals may even be *recommended* to the young (by a religious and educational organisation!) as a worthy means of self-instruction; and in America the case appears to be even worse. In a recent circular sent out by the American Humane Association attention is drawn to "those methods of instruction obtaining to some extent in public schools, whereby the facts of physiology are set forth by means of actual experiments upon living animals, etherized for that purpose. Animals such as frogs, pigeons, dogs, and particularly cats, are dissected before mixed classes of boys and girls—sometimes the teacher operating, sometimes the pupils." Could anything be more horrible and demoralising?

[1] "Our Secret Friends and Foes," by Dr. Percy Frankland.

But it is not only by its cruelty that the anatomical method stands condemned; viewed from an intellectual standpoint also, it is radically unsatisfactory and unsound. Our whole system of studying and collecting animals, as so many "subjects" for the museum and menagerie, the laboratory or dissecting-room, is barbarous and unscientific, and yields a miserable result. Take as an example, the Zoological Gardens, perhaps the best institution of its kind. The popularity of the Zoo, as a place of recreation and instruction for young people is undoubted; nor is there any reason to deny that this popularity is well deserved, so long as we do not look beyond the present limited conception of man's moral duty to the lower animals, and the equally limited scientific notion of the right method of studying them.

The accepted system, then, is to cram the largest possible variety of animal life into a certain given space, where, for the payment of a small sum, the spectator may have the satisfaction of seeing an immense number of "specimens" in the course of a single afternoon. Here for instance is a "Prairie Fox," confined in a small kennel which does duty for the prairies. It is assumed that it is amusing and instructive to see a Prairie Fox under such conditions; and it is quite unrecognised that in the first place there is much cruelty in the infliction of this sort of life-imprisonment, and secondly that an animal thus exhibited without a single characteristic feature of its natural environment is, from the true scientific standpoint, a very sorry spectacle indeed. Both for humane reasons and scientific, it would be a better shillingsworth to see a single animal under conditions of space where it might in some degree exercise its natural faculties, than to see a hundred poor creatures reduced to a state not much more

vital than that of stuffed specimens in a museum. Add to this the possibility of laying out the Gardens with a view to a proper grouping of the animals, in accordance with geographical distribution—artic district, tropical district, etc.,—instead of the present indiscriminate juxtaposition of the most alien species, and it will be seen how much room there is for improvement in the scientific no less than the humane management of a great national collection.

This criticism holds good of the whole system of "collecting," to which children, on a small scale, are so commonly devoted, and which frequently results, through the ignorance or neglect of the keepers, in the miserable death or deterioration of the specimens concerned. How different might it be if teachers could be persuaded and empowered to substitute the contrary, the *natural*, method of studying the open book of Nature, and to instruct their charges to observe the free and living animals, instead of brooding over stuffed corpses in a museum or dead-alive prisoners in a menagerie. "The most important requisite in describing an animal," says Thoreau, "is to be sure that you give its character and spirit, for in that you have, without error, the sum and effect of all its parts known and unknown. Surely the most important part of an animal is its *anima*, its vital spirit, on which is based its character and all the particulars by which it most concerns us. Yet most scientific books which treat of animals leave this out altogether, and what they describe are, as it were, phenomena of dead matter."

Let me again refer to an example (and a contrast) which is familiar to Londoners. The "aviaries," with one or two exceptions, are perhaps the most dismal parts of the Zoological Gardens; for what can be more depressing, or less instructive, than an exhibition of winged creatures

who cannot exercise their wings? On the other hand, there is a very real interest to be enjoyed in the London Parks, where wild free birds, such as the wood-pigeon and moor-hen, are seen dwelling fearlessly in the very heart of civilisation, simply because they have learnt that they will not there be wronged by man.

Here is a suggestion of the lines on which a new and nobler study of Natural History may be pursued. The old anatomical method has no doubt done good service in its time; it represented a certain phase of science which had to be realised and worked out. But it is over now, for all higher educational purposes, and will soon itself be no more than a shelved specimen in the great museum of the Past—to be taken down, perhaps, as occasion requires, for reference and re-examination, but no longer to dominate our school-rooms and lecture-halls. We have collected and dissected the fauna and flora of our native islands till our books are full to repletion of the descriptions and illustrations. Is it not time that we began to apply and utilise this knowledge, such as it is, towards the acquisition of a better and more natural knowledge, in the direction which the great humane naturalists, such as Michelet and Thoreau, have so wisely indicated? For children, at any rate, there can be no doubt which should be the prevalent method of instruction.

They should be taught to cage and imprison no animal or bird, but to respect the freedom and self-development of all other sentient beings, even as they claim the like privilege for themselves. Quite lately there was an advertisement in the papers of a cheap bird trap, with the recommendation that "every boy should possess one." This is precisely the sort of implement that *no* boy should possess. Boys and girls should be early initiated into

those habits of quiet, observant, and loving watchfulness, by which the true nature-lover, as distinguished from the collecting scientist, is always able to win the confidence of nature, and to learn the secrets of field and forest with far more penetrating eye. They should feed the wild birds that flock to the gardens in winter-time, and then in summer they would have the full enjoyment of their song. The catapult, the air-gun, bird-lime, and, worst of all, the abominable steel-trap, should be unknown and unused by children. The wantonly destructive habit of stringing birds' eggs in hundreds should be discontinued. It has been suggested by Mr. W. H. Hudson, and the idea has been elaborated by another humane writer,[1] that by encouraging the manufacture of artificial coloured wax eggs for collections (an imitative art which can be carried to great perfection with care and skill) much might be done to prevent the cruel and mischievous destruction of nests, and at the same time increase rather than diminish the interest in Natural History which children properly feel. Numerous such expedients, in all branches of study, will suggest themselves to wise teachers, and enough has now been said to make the principle clear.

Blood-Sports.

There is no more demoralising influence on the minds of the young than so-called "sport," the chasing and killing of animals, in many cases harmless animals, for mere pastime and amusement—"for fun," as the saying goes. Sport is so common, so universal, that habit blinds

[1] Miss E. Carrington, in her pamphlet on "The Extermination of Birds," Humanitarian League Series, No. 10. See especially the sections on "Birds' Nesting" and "The Caging of Birds".

our eyes to the essential horror of the thing, for it is nothing less than horrible that children should be thus accustomed to inflict suffering and death, or to watch others inflict them, in the quest of pleasure and recreation. Yet so it is; and few indeed are the boys, at any rate among the well-to-do classes, who have not this example of "amateur butchery", as sport has well been called, set before their eyes by parent or friend or teacher. To hunt something, to shoot something, to worry something —this is the schoolboy's idea of a meritorious occupation. A rat-catcher is almost a demi-god to him. A gamekeeper, whose profession consists in about equal proportions of skulking and killing, is an object of intense and idolatrous reverence. How should it be otherwise, when the influence of "Society," that horde of overgrown schoolboys, is all in the same direction?

At the root of the evil lies the false notion of "manliness," a notion handed down generation by generation, and accepted by unthinking people without the least criticism or inquiry. It was *once* manly to hunt dangerous beasts under natural conditions of peril, hardihood, and wild life. Therefore (so runs by implication the strange argument) it is *now* manly to hunt or shoot harmless creatures, under entirely artificial conditions, and without the smallest show of necessity or need. Such an obvious fallacy could not have survived to the present time, were it not for the extraordinary power of habit and association. For unluckily the same false glamour which is connected in the popular mind with the name of soldier, is connected in no small degree with the name of sportsman; and in either case a scarlet coat is responsible for much of the mischief. "Dress a man in a particular garment," says Bentham, "call him by a particular name, and he

shall have authority on divers occasions to commit every species of offence—to pillage, to murder, to destroy." These words are applicable to the hunting man as well as to the military.

Now it ought not to be difficult to explain successfully to children the flagrant *un*manliness of sport, for boys, whatever their shortcomings may be, have a strong sense of "fair play," and modern sport, in which a multitude of armed or mounted heroes go forth to do to death, with the least inconvenience to themselves, some terrified little fugitive, is about as unfair and one-sided a conflict as could possibly be imagined. Blood-sports, moreover, should always be carefully distinguished from the honourable and really manly sports of the gymnasium or playing-field; and it may be pointed out that the Greeks, who brought the culture of physical perfection to its highest pitch, were as a nation comparatively free from the practice of inflicting pain on sentient beings.

Again, *ridicule*, that most formidable weapon, which is so commonly employed to throw discredit on humanitarians, may be very easily, and very effectively, turned to exactly the contrary use. Children are now often prevented from showing gentleness and mercy for fear of being called "milksops" by their companions; but a wise teacher might soon bring the laugh to the other side by showing the inherent silliness and folly of sport, as pursued under its present contemptible conditions, and the glaring fallacies of the excuses put forth by sportsmen for the continuance of their pastime.

I am aware that many schoolmasters are themselves sportsmen in their holidays, and that therefore it is useless to ask them to teach a humanity which they have themselves yet to learn. But even sportsmen are begin-

ning to recognise that some further reform of their blood-sports will soon be inevitable, inasmuch as there has been no legislative action since the abolition of bull and bear baiting over fifty years back, though humane feeling has largely increased among the public during that time. At least it must be admitted that *the young* ought not to be thus early initiated into the art of killing, and that as long as children are taught to take pleasure in the death of any creature—even of the lowest "vermin"—it will be quite futile to preach to them about the duty of "kindness to animals." At present the morality of English schools, and especially the great public schools, in this respect, is exceedingly low. At Eton the boys are even permitted to keep a pack of Beagles, and the school journal, written by boys for boys, contains periodic reports, worded in the disgusting jargon that sportsmen affect, of the "breaking-up," etc., of the hunted hares. Truly a strange education for the future "gentlemen" of England! But the idea of *gentleness* has always been dissociated from *gentility*.

I have spoken so far of practices in which boys are chiefly concerned. But that girls are also demoralised by these sordid sights may be judged from the sanction which many women give to blood sports by their presence on the hunting-field and at the battue. The effects of the same cause are seen in the utter indifference of the majority of the female sex to the horrors of the feather trade, and the callousness with which they wear the barbarous trophies which "murderous millinery" extorts from many beautiful but rapidly perishing species of birds.[1] Such fashions are nothing less than blood-sports

[1] See "The Extermination of Birds," Humanitarian League's Publications, No. 10.

"at one remove"; and the women who indulge in the fashions are exactly as responsible as the men who indulge in the sports. It would be impossible that women should be so cruel, if they received any sort of humane instruction in their girlhood. At present they receive none. Lady superintendents and principals of so many "superior" training schools for girls, might not this matter be worth just a trifle of your attention? Even humanity may have its uses as an "accomplishment" in polite education.

Flesh-Food.

It is quite possible that some of my readers may a little resent the introduction of the diet question in this appeal. Until recently this question has been usually passed over by zoophilists, perhaps because they felt a sort of latent despair at the enormous mass of suffering inflicted by the work of the butcher, and because at the same time they regarded the use of flesh-food as permanently necessary and indispensable. Children, in particular, have been left almost uninstructed as to the origin of the food which they were taught to consider as the chief support of life; so that in many cases, perhaps in the majority of cases, there has been complete ignorance or indifference as to the connection between the ox or sheep in the fields and the "beef" or "mutton" on the table. The whole subject is a dark and disagreeable one; and teachers (from their point of view not unnaturally) have been content to shirk it as much as possible, and to trust to the powers of custom and usage to gloss over its unpleasantness.

But of late the question has received increasing attention, and it will not be possible for it to be

much longer evaded. And surely, if we are to think at all honestly and conscientiously about a just treatment of the lower races, and if we are to teach an intelligible humaneness to our children, we cannot refuse to subject to the light of critical examination a system by which, for the sake of a necessity, real or supposed, we devote countless multitudes of harmless animals to a most painful death. Anyone who is willing to know the facts—and it is a plain duty to know them—can now obtain reliable information about Cattle-ships and Slaughter-houses,[1] and the various methods that have been proposed for their supervision and reform; moreover, anyone can learn what progress vegetarianism has made in this country during the past ten or twenty years. So that there is positively no excuse for the further omission of this all-important subject from humanitarian consideration.

No judicious person would for a moment suggest that children's minds should be wantonly invaded and troubled by morbid or unwholesome reflections. No child ought to see or even hear of the intolerable scenes of the shambles. But what I wish to point out is that the mischief is already done; for even as things now are it is not possible to prevent more sensitive boys and girls from speculating on these matters. Nor is it only speculation; for it not unfrequently happens, in the poorer quarters of large towns, that mere children are actual eye-witnesses of the demoralising spectacle of slaughtering. Among the children of the well-to-do classes, who are spared such experiences, there is often much half-awakened curiosity and repressed (unwisely repressed)

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[1] See "Behind the Scenes in Slaughterhouses." Humanitarian League's Publications, No. 5.

sensibility on this ghastly subject. What have our teachers to say about it? If they are to be teachers in anything but the name, they must be prepared to give *some* guidance and instruction to those who look to them for advice. It cannot be a right course to parry by denials or subterfuges the natural questions which children ask of their instructors.

The responsibility of man can no more be evaded in the case of animals slaughtered for food than in that of the so-called "beasts of burden;" in either case there is, at the very least, a moral obligation that no unnecessary suffering be inflicted. If we wish to educate our children humanely, we cannot do less than inform them of this duty; and if we are honest we shall be compelled to add that at present the duty is very insufficiently performed.

Further, a word as to the actual diet of children. In face of the facts above mentioned, it seems, to say the very least, a terrible error of judgment on the part of parents and guardians to force children, as is often done, against their natural inclination, to eat flesh. There is abundant evidence to show that children in almost all cases thrive well on a diet of fruit, vegetables, and milk. Let me quote the authority of Sir B. W. Richardson in his "Foods for Man":

"The food which is most enjoyed is the food we call bread and fruit. In all my long medical career, extending over forty years, I have rarely known an instance in which a child has not preferred fruit to animal food. I have many times been called upon to treat children for stomachic disorders induced by pressing upon them animal to the exclusion of fruit diet, and have seen the best results occur from the practice of reverting to the use of fruit in the dietary. I say it without the least prejudice, as a lesson learned from simple experience,

that the most natural diet for the young, after the natural milk diet, is fruit and whole-meal bread, with milk and water for drink. The desire for this same mode of sustenance is often continued into after years, as if the resort to flesh were a forced and artificial feeding, which required long and persistent habit to establish its permanency as a part of the system of everyday life."

The instinctive loathing of flesh-food, which is so often to be observed in the young, is a sign which no wise teacher will disregard. It is the petition of Nature that, if grown men and women still think it necessary (in spite of accumulating proofs to the contrary) to eat the flesh of animals, they will at least allow their children to subsist awhile on a more healthful and innocent food. At present the common practice of cramming children with "meat" is simply the hygienic counterpart of that moral negligence which permits them to "experiment" at the cost of so much suffering, and make a "sport" of the death and torture of animals.

Much of the vice and immorality now prevalent in large schools may be traced to the same cause—a failure to recognise the importance of a simple and natural diet. "One of the proofs," says Rousseau, "that the taste of flesh is not natural to man is the indifference which children exhibit for that sort of meat, and the preference they give to vegetable foods, milk-porridge, pastry, fruits, etc. It is of the last importance not to *denaturalise* this primitive taste, and not to render them carnivorous, if not for health reasons, at least *for the sake of their character*. For, however the experience may be explained, it is certain that great eaters of flesh are in general more cruel and ferocious than other men. . . . . Let us preserve to the child as long as possible its primitive taste; let its nourishment be common and simple; let not its palate

be familiarised to any but natural flavours; and let no exclusive taste be formed."

What Teachers Can Do.

This appeal is addressed especially to teachers, because until they as a class are brought to feel the need of humane education, there is not the slightest hope of such education being granted. It is a case of *Quis docebit doctores?* We must convert the guardians first, in order to gain the desired access to the pupils.

It may be objected, perhaps, that the humanitarian program set forth in this essay is too drastic to be practical, and that more might be gained from those to whom the appeal is addressed if less were required of them. Well, of course it would be the easier and pleasanter plan to make no severe demands upon anyone's conscience, and, instead of telling disagreeable truths of the causes of juvenile cruelty, to be content with the usual pious platitudes about the "thoughtlessness" of children, ending with a general recommendation to preach and practise "kindness to animals"—under conditions where consistent kindness is impossible. But what would be the profit of once more repeating what has already been so often preached in vain? Let it be freely admitted that the reforms here advocated can at present be only partially carried out; still it is better and more practical to face the problem fairly, even with no immediate result, than to potter benevolently over mere formulas and trivialities, which, however they are treated, must still leave the essential issues untouched.

And as a matter of fact, a good deal can be done, even at the present time, by the small minority who feel the truth of what has been said. Individual teachers, by

personal example and precept, can appreciably influence for the better the general tone and attitude of their pupils towards the lower animals; and by more and more introducing such subjects into the course of instruction, can help to give a definiteness and reality to the departmental notice above quoted. We have already the Government *permission* that such teaching may be given; what is needed is the *insistence* that no education shall be considered sufficient without it. Still easier would it be for the principals and assistant-masters of public and private schools to do something towards a reform, by making the treatment of animals a subject of frequent reference in the pulpit and elsewhere. Hundreds of addresses and exhortations are annually given to schoolboys, by those who have charge of their moral and spiritual welfare; yet it is rare indeed to hear a word spoken in protest against the worst of all human vices—inhumanity.

Although, for reasons already stated, the inculcation of gentleness by means of prizes is to be regarded with some suspicion, there is no doubt that the system of essay-writing out of school hours has certain distinct advantages. It sets boys and girls thinking on subjects which perhaps would otherwise be overlooked; and not unfrequently when the competitors are day-scholars and write the essays at home, the whole family becomes interested in the work, and the awakening of one mind to humane ideas causes the awakening of many. Thus the "mercy" writing, like the quality of mercy itself,

> "is twice blest;
> It blesseth him that gives and him that takes."

That still more excellent results might be obtained from a systematic instruction of children in the duty of humanity to animals, may be judged from the success

which has attended the efforts of the few pioneers in this cause, as for example M. de Sailly, a French schoolmaster in Algiers. I quote a portion of his own record of the experiment.[1]

"I have long been convinced that kindness to animals is productive of great results, and that it is not only the most powerful cause of material prosperity, but also the beginning of moral perfection. I therefore began my work in 1851, and at the same time introduced agriculture into my school; for I saw the close connection between the doctrine of kindness to animals and the important science of agriculture, since there can be no profitable farming unless animals are well kept, well fed, and well treated. And, besides, how can children better learn the pleasures of country life than by understanding the importance of agriculture, the methods in use in their own country and the profit which may be derived from intelligent farming and kind treatment of animals? Do they not become attached to country life? Do they not feel kindly towards all dumb creatures? Do they not receive ideas of order and domestic economy? Do they not love Mother Earth, who pays us so freely and so generously for our work? And does not this love tend to check the growing evil of emigration from the country to the city.

"My method of teaching kindness to animals has the advantage of in no way interfering with the regular routine of my school. Two days in the week all our lessons are conducted with reference to this subject. For instance, in the reading class, I choose a book upon animals, and always find time for useful instruction and good advice. My "copies" for writing are facts in natural history, and impress upon the pupils ideas of justice and kindness towards useful animals.

"In written exercises, in spelling and composition, I teach the good care which should be taken of domestic animals, and the kindness which should be shown them. I prove that by not overworking them, and by keeping them in clean and roomy stables, feeding them well, and treating them kindly and gently, a greater profit and larger crops may be obtained

[1] From *Our Dumb Animals*, the organ of the Massachusetts S.P.C.A.

than by abusing them. I also speak, in this connection, of certain small animals which, although in a wild state, are very useful to farmers.

"The results of my instruction have been, and are, exceedingly satisfactory. My ideas have deeply impressed my pupils, and have exercised the best influence upon their lives and characters. Ever since I introduced the subject into my school I have found the children less disorderly, but, instead, more gentle and affectionate towards each other. They feel more and more kindly towards animals, and have entirely given up the cruel practice of robbing nests and killing small birds. They are touched by the suffering and misery of animals, and the pain which they feel when they see them cruelly used has been the means of exciting other persons to pity and compassion."

The central principle which should be steadily kept in view in all humane education is that which the Humanitarian League has made the basis of its Manifesto—that "it is iniquitous to inflict suffering on any sentient being, except when self-defence or absolute necessity can be justly pleaded." It cannot be difficult to teach children to distinguish between *necessary* suffering and *unnecessary*; yet in this distinction (so often forgotten by our opponents), and in its practical application to the details of life, lies the whole ethic of humanitarianism. The idea that humanitarians are "sentimentalists" is the very reverse of the truth. We fully recognise that it is often a stern necessity to inflict pain or death. Let us do so, when we are satisfied that the necessity exists, with as few words as possible, and not shrink from any action that is rightly incumbent on us. But to hurt or kill for mere caprice, or fashion, or amusement; to cage animals when they need not be caged; to hunt them when there is no necessity for such hunting; to torture them in the supposed interests of a barren and futile "science"; to treat them, when domesticated, with an insensate rough-

ness which defeats its own ends—these are inhumanities which every boy and girl should learn to regard with loathing and detestation.

The question of nomenclature is an important one, to which a brief mention must be given. It was remarked by Jeremy Bentham that whereas human beings are styled *persons*, "other animals, on account of their interests having been neglected by the insensibility of the ancient jurists, stand degraded to the class of *things*." The German philosopher, Schopenhauer, has also commented on the inappropriateness of the English neuter pronoun "it," when applied to highly intelligent beings. The common use of such contemptuous terms as "brute-beasts," "live-stock," etc., is undoubtedly an obstacle to the humaner treatment of the lower races; and children should be taught that it is absurd for man, himself an animal, to ignore his natural kinship with the "other" animals, as Bentham correctly calls them.

"Without perfect sympathy with the animals around them, no gentleman's education, no Christian education, could be of any possible use." So said Mr. Ruskin in 1877; and one of the rules of his Society of St. George runs as follows:

"I will not kill nor hurt any living creature needlessly, nor destroy any beautiful thing; but will strive to save and comfort all gentle life, and guard and perfect all natural beauty upon the earth."

I would put it to those who may chance to read this pamphlet—how is it possible to make any progress towards a "perfect sympathy" with the animals, or to strive towards the high ideal of the Society of St. George, unless on the humanitarian lines which I have here advocated? It is useless to think of "comforting all

gentle life" until we deliberately set ourselves to eradicate the evils by which social life is at present brutalised and degraded. I have already admitted that this educational process must perforce be a slow and laborious one; it is all the more desirable, therefore, that it should at once be taken in hand.

Moreover, we shall do wisely to remember that no great social improvement can come *alone*, and that the humanising of our school system can only be fully effected side by side with the general and gradual spread of justice and enlightenment. For as there is undoubtedly a natural connection and interdependence between the various wrongs by which society is at present afflicted, so is it also evident that no great progress can be made on any isolated line of reform; there may for a time be a rapid advance in some particular direction, but such advance will then be succeeded by a halt until the other lines are brought up. There is nothing discouraging to humanitarians in this solidarity of progress; on the contrary, we see in it the only true assurance of ultimate and permanent success.

Much has been done in recent years for the better instruction and the better protection of English children. We have recognised that it is a national duty to give a sound intellectual education to every child in the kingdom, and a national duty to safeguard every child from cruelty and violence, even if its own parent be the aggressor. We have now to realise that there is one thing yet lacking —the education not of the intellect only, but of the heart. It is useless to teach the young to become *clever*, if we permit them to remain *cruel;* it is useless to pass laws to repress parental tyranny, if we encourage children in in their turn to indulge the most tyrannous propensities

towards beings yet more defenceless than themselves. It is a mockery to talk of religion, and art, and education, and "humane letters;" if we allow the gentleness which can alone give vitality to these accomplishments to be poisoned at its source by the festering plague of cruelty. There can be no *literæ humaniores* while brutality still exists. As was nobly said of the curse of negro slavery, "While these things are being done, Beauty stands veiled, and Music is a screeching lie."

For these reasons our appeal is now made to that educational class whose power, though sharply limited by facts and circumstances, is yet greater than that of any other class to initiate a reform. It is for teachers to say whether an earnest effort shall, or shall not, be made to inform the rising generation that *animals have rights*, and that the man who violates those rights, however cultured or learned or influential he may be, is deficient in the highest and noblest wisdom of which the human mind is capable. From such an attempt, though the immediate results be but slight, who can say how rich a harvest may not be reaped hereafter, or that the time may not come when there shall indeed be that "perfect sympathy" between mankind and the lower races which is to us but a vision and a dream. In Shelley's words,

> "No longer now the wingéd habitants,
> That in the woods their sweet lives sing away,
> Flee from the form of man; but gather round,
> And prune their sunny feathers on the hands
> Which little children stretch in friendly sport
> Towards these dreadless partners of their play.
> All things are void of terror: man has lost
> His terrible prerogative, and stands
> An equal amidst equals. Happiness
> And science dawn though late upon the earth."

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ing, directly or indirectly, on any sentient being, except when sel
absolute necessity can be justly pleaded.

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those cases where it appears to be most flagrantly overlooked, and
not only against the cruelties inflicted by men on men, in the n
authority, and conventional usage, but also (in accordance wi
sentiment of humanity) against the wanton ill-treatment of the lo

The Humanitarian League will therefore propose a thoro
and more equitable administration of the present Criminal Code,
a very large amount of injustice and oppression is constantly perp

It will deprecate the various provocations and incentives
warfare, and will point to the evils that result from the ever-inc
of military and naval armaments.

It will inculcate the public duty of affording protection to
helpless, and will urge the need of amending the present soci
under which a large portion of the people is in a state of chroni

It will contend that the practice of vivisection is incompa
fundamental principles both of humanity and sound science,
infliction of suffering for ends purely selfish, such as sport, f
or professional advancement, has been largely instrumental ir
general standard of morality.

Furthermore, the Humanitarian League will aim at the pre
terrible sufferings to which animals are subjected in the cattle
shambles, and will advocate, as an initial measure, the abolition
slaughter-houses, the presence of which in our large centres is a c
wide-spread demoralisation.

The Humanitarian League will look to its members to do their
both in private and public, to promote the above-mentioned schem
work will involve no sort of opposition to that of any existing insti
on the contrary, it is designed to supplement and reinforce such effo
have already been organised for similar objects. The distinctive pu
and guiding policy of the League will be to consolidate and give consi
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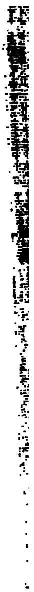

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