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CAPT. JONES RESCUED FROM THE INDIANS BY HIS SERVANT.

THE

SLAVEHOLDER ABROAD;

OR,

BILLY BUCK'S VISIT, WITH HIS MASTER, TO ENGLAND.

A Series of Letters

FROM

DR. PLEASANT JONES TO MAJOR JOSEPH JONES,
OF GEORGIA.

“WITH WHAT MEASURE YE METE, IT SHALL BE MEASURED TO YOU AGAIN.”

PHILADELPHIA:

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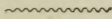
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AS A TRIBUTE OF RESPECT
TO
The Memory
OF
COLONEL JOSEPH BOND,
WHO,
BEING ONE OF THE LARGEST SLAVEHOLDERS IN GEORGIA,
AND
AMONG HER MOST WORTHY AND SUCCESSFUL PLANTERS,
YET HAZARDED AND LOST HIS LIFE
IN THE PROTECTION OF HIS SLAVE,
BY
ONE WHO WAS TO HIM PERSONALLY A STRANGER,
This Book is Dedicated.

P R E F A C E .



THE author of the following letters wishes it to be distinctly apprehended by the reader, that, as regards the personality of Dr. Jones and his servant, or their personal adventures and experience, as related in the following pages, he does not desire it to be understood or believed that he sets up any pretensions to the accuracy of narrative. He acknowledges that he has used these only as a stock upon which to engraft some fruit-bearing facts; and that he has assumed to himself a license in these particulars, in order that he might render the statements of fact which he has made, more attractive to general readers.

Let it be understood, then, once for all, that it is no part of the author's design that any credit should be given to the class of circumstances specified, as influencing the conclusions which he is anxious to have derived from the matter contained in these letters; and that (with one exception, which will be presently mentioned) the only statements which may be thought to affect the character of individuals, or of the British people, that he

would have received as credible evidence, are such as he has taken from some report made by authority, which, for the purposes he has in view, must be regarded as reliable: viz., an English book, periodical, or newspaper. The statements as to salaries, pensions, etc., of English officials, in the last letter but one, must be referred to as an exception. But these are facts which are so notorious, and which may be so easily verified by reference to the items of the English Civil List, that it was deemed unnecessary to be more particular. I will add that the author has indeed endeavored to give his authority for all the material facts stated (excepting those which have been referred to), both in the body of the work and in the Appendix.

CONTENTS.



INTRODUCTORY LETTER.

From Dr. Pleasant Jones to William T. Thompson, Esq..... 13

LETTER I.

Arrival in London—Buck visits the Crystal Palace—His description of it..... 23

LETTER II.

Dr. Jones visits and describes the Great Exhibition 26

LETTER III.

Buck's greeting of the Queen and Royal Family—Interview with an English Gentleman
—Conversation as to Slavery..... 32

LETTER IV.

Anecdote of Dr. Jackson and the Georgian in London, whose Indians wouldn't show —
Dr. Jones's Plough a failure in England, because he did not carry his Roots with him
— A Frenchman's opinion of America — Anecdote of Captain Black — The Doctor con-
soles himself for his failure with a Scrap from the Tragedy of "Tom Thumb." 37

LETTER V.

Dr. Jones and his Man visit A—— Hall, in Yorkshire 41

LETTER VI.

Dr. Jones and his Servant join a Fox-hunt — Buck distinguishes himself on the Field —
Is in at the Deach, and wins the Tail — Visit to C. Park — Recipe for cooking "Possum
and Pumpkin" — Buck's Story of Uncle Cudjo and the Possum 54

LETTER VII.

British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and Mrs. Stowe — Speeches at the meeting of this Society, by Prof. Stowe, and Rev. S. Ward (a Negro), and Comments of Buck thereupon—Buck amuses himself with a part of the Audience 62

LETTER VIII.

Social Profligacy of the British People — St. Albans Election — St. Albans Bribery Commission..... 71

LETTER IX.

Proceedings of the Bribery Commission for St. Albans continued—Controverted Elections in 1852..... 83

LETTER X.

Buck attends the Southampton Election—His Report of it—His Story of his Grandfather and his old Master—Endeavors to comfort an emancipated Slave..... 92

LETTER XI.

Specimens of various Election Bribery Commissions..... 101

LETTER XII.

Passion of the English People for Betting and Horse-racing—Queen's Visits to the Race-field — Queen's Plates — Doncaster Races — The Marquis of Exeter's, and Duke of Grafton's " Winnings "..... 119

LETTER XIII.

Passion of the English People for Betting and Horse-racing — The House of Commons adjourns for the Derby Day — Races at Goodwood, and at Epsom — Extraordinary Wagers — Mr. Cobden plays the part of Wilkins Flasher, Esq., and Gen. Brotherton emulates that of Mr. Frank Simmery—Trial of a celebrated Turf-man for Forgery—Suicides by Patrons of the Turf..... 126

LETTER XIV.

Want of Education among the Masses in this Country—The state of Crime in the United Kingdom — Number of Offences committed by Women and Children — Numbers of Women of the Town, and Illegitimate Children 146

LETTER XV.

Social Profligacy continued—Court of Exchequer — Tees vs. Avis — Extraordinary Instance of Profligacy and Depraved Taste — Mahomet Abraham (a Black Beggar) and Eliza — ; a horrible piece of London Romance—Profligacy in London..... 150

LETTER XVI.

- Social Profligacy in Liverpool, and Manchester, and their Vicinity—Annual Report of the Chaplain of Kirkdale Jail..... 159

LETTER XVII.

- Social Profligacy—Abandonment of an Infant by its Mother—Horrible Depravity—Social Profligacy in Scotland..... 163

LETTER XVIII.

- Social Profligacy — The late Lord Portarlington and Mrs. Dawson — Mormonism in the United Kingdom—The Agapemone, or Abode of Love 170

LETTER XIX.

- Juvenile Depravity in this Country — Murder by a Boy of Thirteen of another Eleven Years and a half old—Charge of Swindling against a little Girl, Thirteen Years of age — Singular Delinquency of a Boy — Charge of Stealing against a Boy aged Ten, an old Offender—A Youthful and Aristocratic Highwayman—A Candidate for Transportation, aged Fourteen—Murder by a Boy less than Ten Years old—A Youth left for Execution..... 178

LETTER XX.

- Brutality and Cruelty of the British People—A High Sheriff in Difficulty, or a Hangman wanted—The Chelmsford Executions 193

LETTER XXI.

- Murder at Belper, in Derbyshire—Proceedings at the Inquest..... 202

LETTER XXII.

- Dreadful Murder at Frome, Somerset—Violation and Murder — Shocking Murder near Lincoln—A Brother Killed by his Sister—Supposed Murder at Barnsley—Poisoning—A Woman's Head cut off by her Son 207

LETTER XXIII.

- Alleged Murder of a Gentleman by his Housekeeper..... 217

LETTER XXIV.

- Murder on the Highway in Essex—Inquest on the Body—Confession of the Murderer—Dreadful Murder in Devonshire—Atrocious Murder at Wakefield 226

LETTER XXV.

Ill-treatment and Murder of Wives—Suspected Murder of a Wife by Starvation—The Bath Starvation Case—Murder of a Wife in Marylebone—The Proceedings before the Committing Magistrate are attended by Dr. Jones and his Servant—A Witness who knew nothing of God, and had never heard of the Devil—Buck proposes to send a Missionary to this Witness' Neighborhood—Trial of the Murderer before the Central Criminal Court..... 234

LETTER XXVI.

Murder of a Woman by her Husband in the City of Oxford—Attempted Murder of a Wife, and Suicide of Husband, at Newcastle-upon-Tyne—Horrible Murder of a Wife by the Husband in the City of London—Execution of the Murderer, and remarkable Declaration made by him—Death of a Wife from brutal Ill-treatment—Brutal Murder of a Wife..... 249

LETTER XXVII.

Murder of a Wife, and attempted Suicide of the Husband—Buck's Indignation thereat, and Criticisms thereon..... 263

LETTER XXVIII.

Murder of their Husbands by Maria Cage, and Sarah Chesham—Fortune-telling and Poisoning—A Wife Poisons her Husband in Sussex—Dr. Jones and Buck attend the Trial, and find that Sauce for the English Goose is not always Sauce for the Gander..... 267

LETTER XXIX.

Brutal Treatment of their wives by Englishmen—Malicious Stabbing of a Wife—Savage and Inhuman Conduct to a Wife by her Husband—Attempted Murder of a Wife, and attempted Suicide of the Husband—Ill-treatment of a Wife, and her refusal to Prosecute—Wife-beating, and Wife refusing to Prosecute—Threatening to Murder a Wife..... 276

LETTER XXX.

Barbarous and shocking Ill-treatment of Women in England—New Christmas Sports, where the Noses of Women, only, get smashed, and their Eyes knocked out—Atrocious Outrage upon a Woman—A young Girl Outraged—A Woman Shot by her Lover—Buck finds the difficulty of understanding "the ways" of Englishmen increasing—A London Magistrate certifies to the chivalric treatment of Women by Americans..... 285

LETTER XXXI.

Bill passed by Parliament for the better Protection of Women and Children—Lord Granville's Jest upon the subject—The White Slave in England—Illustrations of Earl Granville's Jest—Price of Insulting and Assaulting a Lady—A Pugilist brutally Beats several young Women—Savage Assault upon a Woman—Attempt to Strangle a Woman—An Editor discourses on Cruelty to Women..... 294

LETTER XXXII.

Cruel Treatment of Children in this Country — Charge of administering Gin to a Child of Seven Years—Mysterious Murder of a Boy near Plymouth—A Woman throws her Son, aged Six Years, from a third-floor Window—Buck's History of this Transaction—He is solicited to leave his Master—Refuses, and sets forth some of the Advantages of Slavery in Georgia over Poverty in England..... 306

LETTER XXXIII.

Two Children Murdered by their Father at Camberwell — Murder of a Child by its Mother, and Death of the latter — Horrible Murder of two Children by their Mother at Loughrea — Murder of an Infant by its Step-father — Ill-treatment of a Child by its Father (a Clergyman) and his Sister, resulting in its Death — Murder of an Infant in the Neighborhood of the Bagnigge-wells Road—Buck Discourses on that Text..... 317

LETTER XXIV.

Charge against a Farmer, of Murder, by throwing a Child to be devoured by a Sow — Cruelty to a Child three years old — Murder of a Child — Fatal Cruelty to a Child, by Burning it in the Hand with a Live Coal—Murder of Children for Burial-fees—Murder of a Child by Starvation, and Ill-treatment by Father and Step-mother — Cruel Treatment of a Child by its Mother—Child-torture, by way of Christmas Sports..... 325

LETTER XXXV.

Cruel Treatment of Servants by the English People — Charge of atrocious Cruelty to a Servant by Mr. and Mrs. Sloane..... 338

LETTER XXXVI.

Cruelty to a "Small Servant;" or, the "Marchioness" duplicated—Quere: Have Sampson and Sally Brass transferred their Abode to Great Carter Lane, Doctor's Commons? — Buck attends an Investigation, in which it is suggested that Mr. Richard Swiveller may have been interested—He (Buck) Discourses with a benevolent Englishman upon the Advantages of the relation of Master and Slave in Georgia over that of Master and Servant in England 348

LETTER XXXVII.

Murder of a Servant by her Master, at Thrandeston—Assault by a Military Officer on his Female Servant—A First-class Hand in a First-rate Milliner's..... 359

LETTER XXXVIII.

Cruel Treatment of Lunatics, etc., and of Prisoners, by the British People—Death at Peckham Lunatic Asylum—A Witness against Bethlehem Lunatic Hospital—Dreadful Abuses in that Hospital, and Brutal Treatment of Lunatics there—Similar Conduct at Dunston Asylum—The Birmingham Jail Disclosures—Alleged Ill-treatment of the Poor in a Workhouse..... 369

LETTER XXXIX.

What is the Social Happiness of the British People?—The Paupers and the Beggars help to furnish an Answer. 384

LETTER XL.

The Inquiry into the happiness of the British People, as a Nation, continued — Stealing caused by distress — Increase of Vagrancy in the Metropolis — Street Begging — The Leicester Square Soup kitchen and Hospice—The very Poor of the Metropolis—Deaths from Starvation — The hungry Children in the Ragged Schools — Pauperism and Vagrancy — More of the Leicester Square Soup-kitchen — Children Dying for want of Breast-milk — Another Death from Starvation — The common Lodging-houses in St. Giles — Attempt of two Maiden Ladies to commit Suicide by Starvation, on account of their Destitution..... 391

LETTER XLI.

Distress and Destitution in the Agricultural Districts of England—Adventure of Dr. Jones and his Servant on the Road from London to Gravesend; in which Buck emulates the Character of the Good Samaritan 407

LETTER XLII.

Buck witnesses a Meeting between St. James, and St. Giles, in which the latter, as usual, is made to take the Kennel — Extent of Destitution in the Metropolis and its Vicinity — Death from Starvation, and shocking Destitution—Another Death from Destitution —Distressing Picture of Degradation and Destitution 413

LETTER XLIII.

Unhappy Mental and Moral Condition of a large Proportion of the British People, as shown by various Facts, especially by the number of Lunatics and Insane Persons, and of Suicides 423

LETTER XLIV.

Causes of the Suffering among the British People considered, in a Conversation between Dr. Jones and an English Nobleman..... 441

LETTER XLV.

Continuation of the Conversation between Dr. Jones and an English Nobleman — “Let us hear the Conclusion of the whole matter.”..... 453

APPENDIX 465

THE

SLAVEHOLDER ABROAD.

INTRODUCTORY LETTER.

FROM DR. PLEASANT JONES TO WILLIAM T. THOMPSON, ESQ.

Cotton Cot (near Pineville), May 1st, 1859.

DEAR MR. THOMPSON:—I yield to your suggestion, and consent that my letters from England to Major Joseph Jones shall be published. I do so, relying very much upon your judgment; for I am not conscious that I possess any special gift in the book-making line. Indeed, I had supposed that there was enough of that sort of thing in the family when my cousin, the Major, took to the business. Not that I wish to be understood as intending to utter a word in disparagement of the Major's books, Mr. Thompson; for I must confess that they have exhibited one of the most satisfactory tests of success—they have put, and are continuing to put, money into the pockets of their publishers. It cannot be denied, therefore, that there is something more of interest about the Major's literature than the grotesque infelicities of its orthography and syntax, hideously fascinating as these sometimes are. This feature, however, was intended, I suppose, only as a sort of bush to the wine that was within. Mr. Titmarsh Thackeray, nearly about the same time, I believe, was finding a similar expedient quite successful in attracting attention to the entertainments of the admirable Mr. Charles Edward Fitzroy Yellowplush.

Still, I could not but feel that possibly there was some luck in the Major's success, and that, proceeding upon a calculation of the doctrine of chances, Fortune may have exhausted her favors in this line for the family. You seem to think otherwise. I am persuaded to submit, therefore, and so I consent to the publication of such of my letters as may be selected for that purpose. Some explanation, as to the how and wherefore of their being written, should precede them, I think; and this I will proceed to give.

I have had no higher ambition during my life, as you know, than to be a successful planter. It is true that, after coming to man's estate, I studied medicine, took a course of lectures, and graduated as M. D. But I preferred the occupation of a planter to the practice of my profession; and, marrying early in life the girl of my heart, I settled down upon my little patrimony, near Pineville, and devoted myself to agriculture. In this pursuit I have thriven as well as could be expected, and have cause to be very grateful. Several promising children have been born to us, all but one of whom tarried but a little while, when a Hand came out of the darkness and hurried them away. After some years, constant occupation, cares, and the loss of these little ones, so tried my health as very much to impair it. As it was with poor old Tobit in the times of the Apocrypha, and as it has been with thousands since, in all ages of the world, "I went to the physicians, but they helped me not." They advised me, however, to travel — to try a trip to Europe. The World's Fair, then in contemplation, and in process of preparation in London, was exciting an interest even among our piney-woods. I had just invented a new plough, having an attachment for cutting roots, which I thought merited a premium; and, as I had acquired a taste for premiums and silver cups at our own State Fair, through the aid of some fat calves and fatter pigs, I yielded to these suggestions, and determined to visit Europe for the benefit of my health and the gratification of bringing back with me a gold medal for a prize plough.

What to do for some one to go along with, and take

care of me, in case of increasing illness, was my greatest difficulty. Circumstances made it impossible for my wife to leave home. My cousins, and your old friends, Maj. Joseph Jones and Dr. Peter, were both in the same situation. The former, indeed, said that nothing would please him better than to go abroad, and perhaps write a book about what he saw there: "but it was impossible; for at the first mention of the thing, dear Mary had taken on so, as almost to break her heart—she had been always so afraid of the sea, since the President wasn't heard of." Now the truth was, as I afterwards learned, that to this appeal, after the manner of the melting mood, "dear Mary" added more decidedly, that "it wasn't just to her, for him to go trapesing off to England, and leaving her with a house full of children, to take care of; to say nothing of the everlasting little negroes, and that he couldn't do it with her consent—that was flat." And so she put her foot down upon it, and it was flat.

This difficulty presented a serious obstacle for a time, but was finally overcome by the suggestion of my wife, that I had better take Buck (my most trusted and efficient servant) with me. "The truth is," said she, "that next to myself and Sally [Buck's wife] "I had rather trust you in his hands, than in those of any one else." I thought the idea a good one, especially as Buck knew better than any one else how to operate my plough, how to give it that sort of a twisting jerk—a *wire-dire* he called it—which best served to snap the roots asunder. It was therefore arranged that Buck and I should voyage together.

After resolution formed, our preparations were soon made, and we embarked for England, from the port of New York, in the summer of the year 1851. As the servant, who accompanied me, figures frequently in the letters, whose publication you recommend, I will tell you something more about him. His true name is William; but in upper Georgia, for some reason which I never understood, William is frequently changed into the *soubriquet*, Buck. It is by this convenient monosyllable my servant is generally called. He is my confidential

servant—a negro of the negroes—born my father's property: his father and grandfather before him having been owned by the family. He is slightly older than myself, but was my playmate in childhood; when he was almost indispensable to my happiness—though he occasionally administered a thrashing to me. On one of these occasions I informed my father of it. He inquired into the circumstances, found that I had been to blame in the quarrel, and decided, that it was wrong in Buck to strike me, and he must not do it again; but that I had deserved all that I had got. After that, when I caught it too heavily from him, I made report only to his mother, "Aunt Becky;" who occasionally gave him "brinjer," as she called it, when he was too hard on me. But the luxury of licking me he reserved to himself alone among the boys. If any others undertook the same thing, he pitched into them without delay. He has been always sincerely attached to me, I believe, and to my family. And for the matter of that, his regard is reciprocated. He has been loved by my little ones, too; has guarded and protected them, and has wept over their beds of death. Thoroughly identified with my interests, he has felt himself about as much the proprietor of me and my estate as I was of him. In fact, neither he nor any others of my slaves seem to feel that I have any exclusive right to what property I possess; for they speak of it only as "ours;" as, indeed, it is, for most of the substantial comforts of life. I wish, truly, that they could share its cares and responsibilities with me sometimes, and shift the burthen of some of their own creation from my shoulders to theirs. Buck is decidedly "smart," as we say in Georgia, and, for a negro, has not a little vanity; and, though not brought up regularly to house-work, he is very handy. Like most of his race, he is amiable and cheerful, and has an unusual talent for drollery and practical fun—perhaps by habit acquiring some of that from his master's family, and Georgians generally. He speaks our language as well as many whites, except when he chooses to do otherwise. When possessed of some droll conceit, or desirous of making some "divarsion," as he calls it, he frequently resorts to a

sort of African *patois*, or broken speech, which he has acquired from some of the old negroes with whom he associated in his earlier years—all of whom have now departed, I believe, except his grandmother, Mom. Dinah, now nearly a hundred years old, and for more than thirty years the superannuated slave of my father and myself. Buck is sometimes quite amusing in this imitation—an instance of which, and of his drollery, occurred in a scene on board our steamer after we had been several days at sea.

Among the passengers, there was a Quaker gentleman, a member of the Society of Friends in England, an ardent abolitionist and anti-slavery man. By the time referred to, I had become acquainted with many of my fellow-passengers, and with this gentleman among others. Buck had been at first quite sick; and, as I was a somewhat better sailor, I looked after his comfort as well as I could until he grew better. When rougher weather came, and I went down in my turn, he was in condition to serve me, which he did with his usual faithfulness. These things, and the relations between us, had been observed by the Quaker; and one day, when we were enjoying the fine weather on deck, he said to me, "I perceive, Doctor, that thou art attended and served by one who calls thee master. Is he thy slave?"

I replied that he was.

Quaker. "Art thou not afraid to take him with thee to England? Thou knowest that the law forbids slavery in that country; and that when he lands on British soil he ceases to be thy slave."

Myself. "I know, sir, that such is the theory of the thing; but I know, at the same time, that it will not prove to be true in point of fact."

Quaker. (With an expression of much surprise.) "How so, friend? I do not understand thee."

Myself. "Perhaps I may say I mean generally that theoretical freedom and slavery, and practical freedom and slavery, by the laws of Great Britain, are very different things. But what I mean now specially to say is, that if my man be left free to choose and act whilst we are in England, all the laws in the kingdom cannot break those

ties of affection, of thought, of habit, of nature, by which he is bound to me; and therefore cannot sever the relations which exist between us, nor prevent his clinging with unyielding tenacity to those relations. Of course, if he is not left free to choose, he will, to that extent, be enslaved by those who coerce him; and there fact and theory will certainly clash."

Quaker. "That, Doctor, is a view of the case which has not presented itself to me before. Thy servant seems much attached to thee: more than usually so, I suppose."

Myself. "He is attached to me, certainly, and I to him. But so it is, though in a less degree, with my slaves generally. And I and my slaves are not exceptions to a rule. I think I may say the same thing of most of my neighbors. But there is my man. Suppose you talk with him on the subject. You may say what you please to him, and when you please, without offence to me. He is called Buck."

Buck, who had been loitering near, and heard some portions of the conversation, I suppose, was addressed by the Quaker, and told to approach more closely.

Quaker. "I understand thou art named Buck."

Buck. (Taking off his hat, bowing, and scraping his right foot backwards, *two* feet.) "Billy Buck, massa — sem time, for short, da calls me Buck."

Quaker. "Billy Buck, I understand thou art a slave, and thy master tells me that thou desirest not to be free, but art content to remain in slavery."

Buck. "Me slave, massa? I sprise at my massa! He know belly well, he been work heself 'mos to def at home for he nigger, an da bleege to sen him way wid me to save he life. He de slave — me de gemmon what keeps care of him. Dat trute, massa."

"Come, come, Buck," said I, amid roars of laughter on the part of the bystanders, "Come, come, Buck, have done with your fun. This gentleman desires to understand from you something about the way our slaves are treated, and their situation and feelings. Be serious; answer his questions, and tell him what you know, and conceal nothing."

Thereupon Buck at once changed what there was of

the ludicrous in his face and attitude, and said, simply and distinctly, "As well as I can, marster." A conversation ensued, with which I will not trouble you, Mr. Thompson—only adding, that it seemed greatly to impress the Quaker and some others present, and to give them views of slavery, which they had never dreamed of before.

From what I have said, you may perceive that I had a travelling companion, who was a cause of no little amusement to me whilst in Europe; and who was himself not unfrequently a source of interest and curiosity to others—sometimes to my annoyance; but never did I have any trouble with him, from the cause suggested by the good Quaker.

My first intention was to remain in England until the close of the Great Exhibition, when I proposed to make a short visit to the Continent, and then return home. But when that period arrived I was advised to remain longer where I was; and thus my stay in Europe was indefinitely prolonged. My first letters, you will see, relate chiefly to my private affairs, and to such casual observation and personal experience as I thought might interest my family and friends. But during the year 1852 Mrs. Stowe's book, "Uncle Tom's Cabin," was published, and it created a great sensation in England. It was soon in the hands, heads, and mouths of all classes; and I, being from a Slave State, a slaveholder, and having a black slave as my constant attendant, was continually made the centre of a little circle of excitement and discussion on the subject of slavery. In these conversations, the various features of our social polity in the Slave States of North America were frequently talked of, with me, or in my presence. This naturally excited my attention, and pointed it in the direction of the contrasted features of the social economy among that people with whom I was sojourning, and set my sharpened faculties to the task of ascertaining in some degree what these accurately were. In a short time, and engendered by the excitement which Mrs. Stowe's book had created, appeared the following appeal by the Stafford House ladies, (as they were called,) at the head of whom was the Duchess of Sutherland, to the women of America:—

“The Affectionate and Christian Address of many thousands of the Women of England to their Sisters, the Women of the United States of America.

A common origin, a common faith, and, we sincerely believe, a common cause, urge us, at the present moment, to address you on the subject of that system of negro-slavery which still prevails so extensively, and, even under kindly-disposed masters, with such frightful results, in many of the vast regions of the Western World.

We will not dwell on the ordinary topics — on the progress of civilisation, on the advance of freedom everywhere, on the rights and requirements of the nineteenth century — but we appeal to you very seriously to reflect, and to ask counsel of God, how far such a state of things is in accordance with His holy word, the inalienable rights of immortal souls, and the pure and merciful spirit of the Christian religion.

We do not shut our eyes to the difficulties, nay, the dangers that might beset the immediate abolition of that long-established system; we see and admit the necessity of preparation for so great an event: but, in speaking of indispensable preliminaries, we cannot be silent on those laws of your country which, in direct contravention of God's own law, ‘instituted in the time of man's innocency,’ deny, in effect, to the slave the sanctity of marriage, with all its joys, rights, and obligations; which separate, at the will of the master, the wife from the husband, and the children from the parents. Nor can we be silent on that awful system which, either by statute or by custom, interdicts to any race of man, or any portion of the human family, education in the truths of the Gospel and the ordinances of Christianity.

A remedy applied to these two evils alone would commence the amelioration of their sad condition. We appeal, then, to you, as sisters, as wives, and as mothers, to raise your voices to your fellow-citizens, and your prayer to God, for the removal of this affliction from the Christian world. We do not say these things in a spirit of self-complacency, as though our nation were free from the guilt it perceives in others. We acknowledge, with grief and shame, our heavy share in this great sin. We acknowledge that our forefathers introduced, nay, compelled, the adoption of slavery in those mighty colonies. We humbly confess it before Almighty God; and it is because we so deeply feel, and so unfeignedly avow, our own complicity, that we now venture to implore your aid to wipe away our common crime and our common dishonor.”

By this time I had seen enough to become satisfied that this, and all such interference, was grossly unjust. I had perceived, that a clever book, written by a woman of genius, founded on an exaggerated and distorted view of slavery—a view which presented the exception for the rule, and left out of sight everything which might tend to elucidate the true rule; and which book abounded in ingenious appeals to the best sympathies of human nature against oppression, and in favor of helpless sufferers:—that such a book had succeeded in exciting excellent people of all classes in Great Britain, until they had become totally blind to the truth in connection with the subject,—blind to the corruption, rottenness, oppression, outrages, and wrongs, with which their own nation abounded, and which should have kept their sympathies where charity begins—at home; at least until they had wrought such changes and reforms there, as might enable them to bring other nations into a court of conscience with clean hands.

From my own observations, I had by this time become convinced, Mr. Thompson, that in Great Britain there was more of social profligacy than in our Slave States, among whites or blacks; more of suffering, destitution, crime, brutality, outrages upon the unoffending and the helpless; more of cruelty and oppression in the treatment of women and children, and all inferior dependents: more of all these things, in a most painful degree, than in our Slave States. I could not, therefore, but feel how cruel, how sinful, indeed, was any such attempt to excite the women of our favored land on the subject of this feature in our social system, whilst wrongs and evils such as these, surrounded the homes, and ever lay along the pathways, of these virtuous ladies on every side. And I could not but think, that, even if slavery were sinful and wrong, and our system in this respect needed reform, such an exhortation to make it came with an exceeding bad grace from those who were members of a body-politic which was productive of more and greater evils.

Under the influence of feelings and reflections such as these, I commenced to take notes of such facts as were continually occurring around me, made memoranda of

some that had previously come to my knowledge, and collected reports or notices of others from the public press. When I wrote, as I frequently did, to our friend, the Major, I communicated this information, as a method of giving form and embodiment to the contrast and comparison of social institutions, which, as I have suggested, I was anxious to have made. It is my wish that only such of my letters written from Europe as relate to, or have a bearing upon, this particular subject, shall be published; unless an exception be made of two or three letters only, which have reference to the Great Exhibition. This may leave a considerable hiatus (or interval unoccupied with letters) during the year 1852 and early part of 1853; but the reason for this can be readily found in the suggestion which I have made.*

I will add, that all the statements which I have made, as statements of material facts, unless it be such as are notorious among educated persons, and all the charges affecting the character of individuals, or of the British people as a nation, are based upon their own accounts of themselves, which accompany these charges, or distinctly refer to the authority upon which the statement is made; and I have ventured to make such charges only where I could furnish some such evidence of their correctness.

In the form of an Appendix, or of Notes to these letters, I will submit such facts and statistics, as will serve the reader in the effort to compare important features in the social economy of our slaveholding community, with those of Great Britain as exhibited by these letters; and will enable him, for himself, to contrast the conduct and character of our people with those of the British people, and so endeavor somewhat to ascertain the effect of slave-institutions upon the virtue and happiness of a nation.

I am tempted to add, Mr. Thompson, that, if the public should ratify your opinion of these letters from Old England, I may give them, one of these days, the benefit of similar missives from (and of a visit by Billy Buck and myself to) New England.

* The Doctor's wish has been complied with.

These are the explanations which I thought it proper to make; and I am, dear sir,

Very respectfully,
Y^r ob[']nt serv[']t,
P. JONES.

To W. T. THOMPSON, Esq.
Savannah, Geo.

LETTER I.

ARRIVAL IN LONDON—BUCK VISITS THE CRYSTAL PALACE—
HIS DESCRIPTION OF IT.

London, July 8th, 1851.

DEAR MAJOR:—I have arrived safely in London. I came on after resting one night only in Liverpool: so anxious was I to reach the Great Exhibition as soon as possible, and have my plough regularly entered for the race.

I had some difficulty in procuring lodgings, owing to the press of people brought here from so many nations by this great Fair; and really I believe I should have had to sleep in the streets, or have taken up with lodgings something worse, but for the aid of a gentleman whom I met by accident. My lodgings are upon a somewhat small scale, though comfortable; and I find the people of the house accommodating enough, though their manner of doing things is so different from that to which I have been accustomed as to keep me somewhat ill at ease. I have been otherwise unwell, too, ever since my arrival, and have not left my room, though it has been with difficulty that I have restrained myself from going out to the Crystal palace. Buck has made his visit there, however, and has given me the benefit of the impression which it created upon him. Finding it advisable for me to keep my room this morning, and having no need for his services, I gave him permission to "go out and see

the sights." He tricked himself off in his best apparel, and started. Soon after he left the room, hearing his voice below the window, I looked out upon the following scene:

"Mister," said Buck to one of the waiters, taking off his hat quite politely, "Mister, can you tell me the way to the Christian Palace?"

"Will you 'ave a cab?" said the waiter.

"No, thank you," said he, with a scrape of his foot; "it's the Great Exerbishun I'm axin' for, sir."

"Oh, yer are, are yer? How will yer take it — warm with, or cold without? P'raps yer'd prefer it iced?"

"No, I'm obleged to you; I wouldn't choose any," said Buck humbly, and puzzled; "I wants to go to the Christian Palace, I say, Mister."

"Oh, yer do, do yer? So I heerd yer say, yer ugly old lamp-post; and I asked yer if yer'd 'ave a cab. P'raps yer'd like me to get yer a 'ansom." [Hansom, you know, Major, is the name of a vehicle which is used in London for the transportation of passengers.]

"Look here, Mister," said Buck, "don't call names. Ef I am ugly, I am as God made me; and I shan't go to you to get handsome, I can tell you; becuse you haint got none of that ar article to spar, Mister."

Buck strode away quite indignant, and worked his way, by hook or by crook, to the Crystal Palace. He returned after some hours, in a state of great excitement.

"How did you like the Crystal Palace?" said I.

"First-rate, Marster. But this here London town is curoser than it. I never spected to see sich a place in all my born days. Why, Marster, hits so big, tell you, can't tell you how big hit is—whar hit begins, nor whar hit cends. I sorter used to think that Pineville was some punkins, tell I seed Augusty, and hit tuk the shine out of it; then I seed New York, and Augusty was no whar 'longside of it. But, Marster, you might take Pineville, an' Augusty, an' New York, an wrap 'um all up together, an put 'um all into one of the pockets of this big town, an' then you couldn't find 'um 'thout sarchin' mighty close."

What about the Crystal Palace?" said I; "What is it like?"

"Well, Marster," said he, "hits a monstrous big glass house, fixed up with iron. Take it bye and large, sir, an' hit's bout as big as our rye pasture; an' hit's sittiwated in a sort o' woods lot that they calls a park, 'bout the size of our brush-arbor field. Hit's as chock full of curositities as a egg is of meat, sir. Thar's trees grow-ing in it 'bout as big as some of the trees in our grove, sir."

"Are the trees in the park large and fine?" said I.

"Tell you what it is, Marster, we've got no sich houses as that in our country, an' no sich curositities in 'um as I seed thar; but when hit comes to trees, sir, we've got 'um — them trees can't shine 'longside of our Georgy woods."

"How did you find your way to the Palace?" said I.

"Kep eternally axin, Marster, tell I found people gwine thar. God knows, thar was people enough in the streets to ax of—more people than ever I seed before, in all the days of my life, I raaly do believe, sir; and some of the outlandishest folks at that. They didn't seem to talk good English talk, nohow; an' 'peared like they couldn't adzactly onderstand me. Ef what half on 'um said hadn't been a huckleberry over my persimmon to onderstand, I mought have found my way to the Christian Palace before I did."

"I observed your failure to understand the waiter," said I, "when you first left the house, and the blunders you committed when talking to him. The man requested to know if he should call a cab (that is, a carriage) for you; and then he asked if he should get a hansom for you (another name for a sort of carriage or cab), and you were quite impertinent in your replies to him."

"Well, raaly! was that what he meant to say, sir? Why, I thought he was tryin' to make divarsion of me. I'll go right straight off, Marster, and ax the gen'l'man's pardon."

As I told you, Major, my apartments are rather contracted; but, considering what the press is just now, I have reason to be thankful that I have done so well.

Everything is neat and clean, and the servants are attentive. It is the custom here, I find, to furnish the supply of accommodations according to the demand. A certain price must be paid for your apartments, and then you are charged separately for everything else. But for what I am informed are customary servants' fees, the prices would not be so very extravagant, considering the crowds who are now swarming into this city. My probable expenses by the week, as well as I can learn, will not exceed fifty-eight shillings, not reckoning servant's perquisites; or about fifteen dollars in our currency. Not so very bad, considering the "jam."

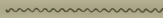
You shall hear from me again soon. Meantime, I am, dear Major,

Your friend and cousin,

To MAJOR JONES,

P. JONES.

Pineville Georgia, U. S. of America.



LETTER II.

DR. JONES VISITS AND DESCRIBES THE GREAT EXHIBITION.

London, July 10th, 1851.

DEAR MAJOR:— I have visited the Great Exhibition, and hasten to write you an account rather of the general impression produced on my mind than of the details. To furnish you with an account of these details would require many days, and then I should have performed the task very imperfectly. You will find it sufficiently well done by the newspapers, which I send you by this mail. In this letter I enclose an excellent engraving, which I assure you presents an accurate picture of one front and end of the building, and gives you a very good idea of the whole.

The building, you know, is chiefly composed of glass, supported by iron pillars, which spring from the wooden flooring. The roof, which is of glass, has been somewhat

darkened and protected by a canvass covering, and the water which falls on it is carried off through the centres of the many thousand iron pillars, which have been made hollow, and thus perform the double purpose of props and gutters. These pillar-pipes conduct the water into drains below, which communicate with sewers beneath the ground. A shower of rain came on whilst I was in the building, and the effect was very extraordinary. A roaring sound in the direction of the roof was heard, as of the surf upon the sea-shore, whilst, by listening attentively, the dashing of a thousand muffled water-falls might be detected within the pillars. The size of the building may be judged of by the fact that the roof comprises a space of about twenty acres. The banners which are ranged along the roof are the flags of all nations; and the prominent feature which you will observe in the centre of the building is the great transept. The main entrance is on the south.

I was indebted to the assistance of a gentleman who had frequently visited the Palace in forming my first acquaintance with it, and you shall have the benefit of somewhat that I saw and learned.

When I had passed by that main entrance, my attention was first called to many narrow, dark-looking passages, branching to the right and left of this entrance. Here, I was told, presided the intellect which governed this vast piece of machinery. The main-springs which give it motion and regulate its action are here seated. In a number of small apartments, a few feet square, connected with each other, the members of the Executive Committee are accustomed to sit and administer the affairs of the Institution, as it may be called. Lieutenant-Colonel Reed, of the Engineering Corps attached to the British army, assisted by a Mr. Dilke, here superintends the whole. A Mr. Cole regulates the allotment of space and the arrangement of articles in the building, and Mr. Digby Wyatt here looks after its plans and structure. Here are also the heads of various other departments, too tedious to mention. On the left is a room more sumptuously furnished than those I have just described, where the Royal Commissioners sometimes assemble.

From this position I advanced into the body of the edifice, and was soon lost in the seething mass of life which stirred throughout the immense enclosure. It is said in the papers that more than fifty thousand persons visited the building on that day. I found people of all nations, apparently, and all tongues, encountering and jostling one another; and there was more that was impressive to me in this mass of men, coming from the quiet of a country home, as I did, than in all that magnificent and curious assemblage of the world's wealth which was ranged on every side of me. Something of the order in which this was arranged you will learn from the number of the Times which I send you. I will endeavor to give you an idea of the character of the articles by such general descriptions of them as I find furnished. Of course, by far the greater number of specimens supplied are by citizens of the United Kingdom of England, Ireland, and Scotland. I am sorry that our countrymen have occupied so small a space in the building. They have filled only a portion of that which was set apart for them, and so far, their contributions are not very remarkable.

The interest of an American who enters the building turns almost instinctively to the machinery exhibited. I mention, then, as first in the list, the splendid *Specimens of various Machines, Steam Engines, Railway Carriages, and Naval Mechanism*. The United Kingdom is almost unrivalled in this field, and the specimens furnished are most admirable. Then come *Civil Engineering, and Architectural and Building Machinery*; in which the preponderance is greatly in favor of Great Britain, but France and Switzerland compete handsomely. Next we have *Naval Architecture*, then *Military Engineering, Ordnance, Armor, and Accoutrements*. In some of these branches the competition is very considerable. Next in order I mention *Agricultural and Horticultural Machines and Implements*. Here, again, there is considerable competition from the United Kingdom, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and, in a less degree, from our country. I expected many more contributions in this line from our countrymen, especially

from the ingenious mechanics of New England. There is a reaping machine exhibited by a Mr. M'Cormick, from the United States, which is very much admired, and will receive a prize, I have no doubt. There is a fine specimen of a plough from the same quarter, contributed by Prouty and Mears; and then there is the plough of your humble servant: both of which deserve success, if they do not obtain it. I was next attracted to *Manufacturing Machines and Tools*. Here the competition with the United Kingdom is very considerable, and here our countrymen enter the lists a little more extensively; but new specimens from their hands are not as numerous as I expected to see them. *Carriages* of various sorts then drew my attention. The United Kingdom has it pretty much its own way here. Our people show some buggies, which may perhaps win favor. I next mention *Philosophical and Surgical Instruments*. Here the competition is very great, and the specimens most wonderful. Following this, I should place *Horological Instruments* — clocks, watches, etc.; in which the competition is very great. Among the clocks is one intended to run five hundred days. There are also many interesting specimens of *Musical Instruments* from many nations. Our countryman, Mr. Chickering, will obtain a prize for his piano, I have no doubt. My attention was next given to the department of *Cotton Fabrics*. Here, perhaps, you naturally expect our people to shine; but I am afraid it will not turn out so. The United Kingdom has a great preponderance in the articles exhibited, though there are some splendid specimens from other countries. France contributes some articles which, for originality and beauty of design, are unsurpassed. Switzerland sends splendid specimens of muslins and ginghams, and our New England manufacturers send some coarse fabrics which are much admired. In *Woollen and Worsted* the competition is greater, and the display is most remarkable. Our countrymen are "no where" in the race. So, again, with reference to *Silk and Velvet*, to manufactures from *Flax and Hemp*, and to *Mixed Fabrics, Shawls*, etc. Saxony sends very rich specimens of silk stuffs for tapestry, furniture, carriages, etc. Satins, laces, embroidery, broca-

telle, etc., rich specimens of velvet, silk, embroidered cambric handkerchiefs, etc., are also sent from Geneva. In *Leather* manufactures there is also considerable competition; and here, especially in the articles of harness and trunks, our people present some claims to rivalry. The exhibition of *Skins, Furs, etc.*, is also very extensive, and very admirable. The department of *Paper, Stationery, Printing, and Bookbinding* next attracted my observation. In this department are 160 fine books, printed in the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish languages, contributed by the Government of Egypt. Think of Abbas Pasha sending literature to the Great Exhibition! There are innumerable specimens of *Printing, or Dyeing*, which I did not have time to examine. The *Tapestry, Carpets, etc.*, exhibited, constitute one of the most interesting departments in the Exhibition; and in it there is remarkable competition among several of the European States. Here again we are far behind in the race. In *Lace and Embroidery, Fancy Work, etc.*, the same remarks may be made. In *Articles of Clothing for Domestic use* the competition is also very extensive; and here some fine articles from our country are exhibited. In *Iron and Hardware* there is very considerable competition between the United Kingdom, Germany, Belgium, and France; though I must confess the English seem to bear away the palm in this line. So, too, they have it very much all their own way in *Cutlery and Edge Tools*. In *Jewelry, Working in the Precious Metals, Articles of Virtu, etc.*, the competition is very remarkable among the European States. Here, in my opinion, the greatest number of prizes in proportion to the number of contributions will be borne away by citizens of France—their goldsmith work is indeed very beautiful. In *Glass*, the display is very remarkable, and the honors very much divided among European States, I thought. So, also, as to *Porcelain, Earthenware, etc.* So, also, as to *Decorative Furniture and Upholstery, Manufactures in Mineral Substances used for Building or Decoration*. So as to various *Manufactures from Animal and Vegetable Substances*, such as straw and shell work, ivory, combs, India-rubber, gutta-percha, hair, feathers, brushes, etc.

Here, again, our people bravely enter the lists in the India-rubber and gutta-percha lines. In *Sculpture, Models, and the Plastic art*, the competition is chiefly among the Continental European States, Italy, France, Austria, Bavaria, Belgium, Prussia, and other parts of Germany. The United States are represented by Powers and his Greek Slave. In *Mining, Quarrying, etc.*, the specimens were very extensive, especially from the various States of Europe. And so in *Chemical and Pharmaceutical Processes and Products*. In the department of *Substances used as Food*, the display was truly remarkable and exceedingly interesting. And here our country is enabled very prominently and favorably to enter into the competition. Here Abbas Pasha, of Egypt, and Mr. T. Bell, of Genesee, in our country, are rivals in the article of wheat. Heath & Burrows, from Australia, refuse to admit the superiority of either specimen to that which they present; Lepelletier, from Algeria, also claims the privilege of entering the lists against them all. Here sugars from Siam, from Canada, from Cuba, from the United States, from Malaga, from India, from France (beet sugar), and from Austria (also beet sugar), are in generous rivalry. But I fear I shall grow tedious if I longer continue the subject. I will therefore only add that the collection of *Vegetable and Animal Substances, Woods, etc., used in Manufactures as Implements, etc., or for Ornament*, was most extensive and curious. It is, of course, from all parts of the world, and names of contributors in this department very familiar to me, such as Mr. Bond, and James V. Jones, of our State, and Colonel Hampton and Colonel Seabrook, of South Carolina, are found alongside of St. Maur, of Algeria, M'Arthur, of New South Wales, Manuel, Cape of Good Hope, and Abdul Hamid, of Egypt.

Perhaps I may return to this subject. In the mean time, I am, dear Major,

Your friend and cousin,

P. JONES.

To MAJ. JONES,

Pineville, Ga., U. S. of America.

LETTER III.

BUCK'S GREETING OF THE QUEEN AND ROYAL FAMILY—INTERVIEW WITH AN ENGLISH GENTLEMAN—CONVERSATION AS TO SLAVERY.

London, August 1st, 1851.

DEAR MAJOR:—One day last week I had the pleasure of seeing the Royal Family of this country. Understanding that they were to visit the Crystal Palace at or about a certain hour, and that they would probably enter by one of the private doors, which was pointed out to me, I determined to obtain a position from which I could see them. I repaired to the spot, but found myself preceded by quite a number of persons. I succeeded, however, in getting near enough to see them, though the view was not as satisfactory as I could have desired. The Queen appeared to be a ladylike but most plain person, with amiable features, and rather under size in stature. The Prince, her husband, was a very fine-looking gentleman, of about middle stature, I thought, and rather intellectual in his appearance. Of the children I did not get a good view.

I was much interested with the enthusiasm of the people around me. They were evidently influenced not only by the sentiment of loyalty, but by a feeling more tender—a sentiment of affection for and sympathy with the good and virtuous wife and mother. I confess that my own heart warmed toward the august lady, as I saw her thus, not with the peculiar bearing of a mighty sovereign, but as the gentle patroness of industry and the arts, and with her husband and children about her, affording to her subjects and the world an example of those domestic virtues which shed so sweet and soft a light upon the hearthstone, as well of the humble homestead as of the royal palace; and, republican as I was, I joined right heartily in the cheers which were given her

before she entered the building. As for Buck, by dint of pushing and elbowing, he managed to get nearer, and mounted on a curb-stone, or step of some sort, which rather raised him above the heads of most of the crowd. He joined lustily in the cheering, and then, turning toward me, and affecting the droll, he said, in his African lingo, "God bress my soul, Massa, she nuttin but buckra folks arter all! I been tink she engel from hebbin, only got petticoat stidy wing."

Some of those around him cheered this speech; which observing, the rogue continued:

"Well, if she no bin engel, Massa, she desurve to be engel; she good sem like engel, dat trute. In my country, Massa," (addressing a portly gentleman, whose fine face, glowing with delight, was turned up to him,) "in Ebo country, dem queen de debbil."

"You had better be careful, Buck," said I, for want of something better to say, "how you declare that the Queen deserves to be an angel. That is as much as to say she deserves to die; and some of these loyal Englishmen, hearing you say that, may charge you with compassing the death of her Majesty."

Buck. "No sir-ree, Massa! me no compass nuttin—nairy time—me only say dat Queen good sem like engel—dat what make her people lub hear so, Massa."

"So it is, my man," said the same portly and good-humored gentleman to whom I have referred; "so it is; and I honor you for appreciating our Queen as you do."

The gentleman shook Buck warmly by the hand. The latter returned the grasp with such a right good will as to bring tears into the Englishman's handsome eyes.

"What is your name, my man?" said he.

"Billy Buck," said Buck, taking off his hat and dropping his African dialect, "sarvant to Dr. Jones, of Georgy, sir: this gen'l'man, sir, my Marster."

"Sir," said the gentleman, turning to me with a bow, "I have been quite pleased with the humor of your servant, and his liking for our Queen."

Myself. "He has been bred, sir, in a country where all classes honor those virtues which are so conspicuous in the Queen of England, and where the sex of your sove-

reign is always treated with respect by the opposite sex — even by the slave.”

Stranger. “You are from the United States, I suppose; and this man is your slave.”

Myself. “Yes.”

Stranger. “Yours is a remarkable country, sir; and certainly such respect for the gentler sex is highly creditable to its people. I have heard it said that there was a chivalric regard for women in America. Does your observation in Europe serve to strengthen the belief that your people are peculiar in this respect?”

Myself. “I have been impressed with the conviction that a more delicate respect for woman, and tender regard for little children, is common among my countrymen, especially in the Southern States, than — if you will pardon me, sir — than among Englishmen.”

Stranger. “Why should this be so? And can you assign a reason for such a state of facts?”

Myself. “Perhaps the subject, as a social problem, should be closely studied, to be thoroughly understood in all its aspects; but I like to think of the fact of which I have spoken, as a blessing from the household and family gods of our people — the *Lares familiares*, sir, as an ancient people once called them. My countrymen, especially in the South, as a general rule, live very much in families. The necessaries of life are sufficiently easy of acquisition to encourage our young men and women in the ready formation of family ties. In a country like ours, it is to the public interest that families should be increased as much as possible; and therefore these relations assume a very high importance in the eyes of society. In a community where the institution of slavery exists, the servants, as slaves, become a permanent portion of, and are completely identified with, the family circle, and thus that circle is enlarged and widened in its sphere and influences. Depend upon it, sir, it was not without a foundation in true knowledge of human nature that those ancient Romans chose the “Decurions of their *Lares*” in every family from among its slaves, and appointed slaves, not freemen, to assist the priests in their sacrifices to these divinities, as Cicero and Horace both inform

us was the custom. You may remember that, in your schoolboy lessons, you found a very pleasant picture, drawn by the latter, of the happy slaves sitting around the family Lares :

‘Positos, que vernas ditis examen domus,
Circum renidentes Lares.’

It is in this way, sir, that I account, in part, for a general prevalence among my countrymen, white and black, of those affections, sympathies, and sentiments which cluster around the homes of a people, and those who are identified with those homes: viz., women and children.”

Stranger. “Sir, you put the subject before me in a striking and, to me, somewhat novel light. I have not been in the habit of thinking of your slaves as living under the influence of such relations between them and their owners.”

Myself. “In that, you and others have not rightly comprehended this institution as it exists among us. To a great extent, and as a general rule, our slaves regard themselves as a part of the family, and bound up with its interests. As a race, they are good-humored and affectionate, and they soon become attached to their owners, unless the latter are cruel to them, which does not as often happen as may be supposed; for the interest of the owner generally forbids it (as the law does), when conscience does not. Your own eloquent Burke, in his letters to Arthur Young, has said that ‘It is plainly more to the farmer’s interest that his men should thrive than that his horses should be well fed, sleek, and plump, and fit for use, or than that his wagons and ploughs should be strong, in good repair, and fit for service.’ If this be right when spoken of free laborers, you will readily perceive how it must be so of those who are the property of the farmer. The attachment of which I have spoken is very often mutual, and strong and life-long friendships are thus formed. Here is my man, for example, to whom I am indebted for the pleasure of this interview with you, sir. Next to my wife and child, I have no such living friend.”*

* See Appendix, K, §2.

Stranger. "Truly, sir, I am happy to have met with you, and your man too. I shall be glad to make your better acquaintance, and will exchange cards with you with pleasure."

I learned, during the day, that my newly-formed acquaintance was a Mr. A——, a gentleman of large landed estate and great wealth in Yorkshire; and that, though now confining himself very much to agriculture, he was highly respected, of considerable influence, and had a seat in Parliament.

In the course of a few days, I received a visit from Mr. A——, and I think our respect for each other was increased by the interview. Buck and he, too, had a long conversation, and he protested that Buck was "quite a trump of a fellow." He invited me cordially to make him a visit at his country seat, and by all means to bring Buck with me. I think he was sincere, and we parted almost as old friends. He has less of that unimpressible reserve which characterizes Englishmen generally than I have ever before met with in a gentleman of this nation, and more of ready sympathy. I think I shall accept his invitation, and so learn somewhat of life in the country among the gentry of England. If I do, you may expect to hear something on the subject from

Your friend and cousin,

P. JONES.

To MAJ. JOSEPH JONES,
Pineville, Ga., U. S. of America.

LETTER IV.

ANECDOTE OF DR. JACKSON AND THE GEORGIAN IN LONDON, WHOSE INDIANS WOULDN'T SHOW—DR. JONES'S PLOUGH A FAILURE IN ENGLAND, BECAUSE HE DID NOT CARRY HIS ROOTS WITH HIM—A FRENCHMAN'S OPINION OF AMERICA—ANECDOTE OF CAPTAIN BLACK—THE DOCTOR CONSOLES HIMSELF FOR HIS FAILURE WITH A SCRAP FROM THE TRAGEDY OF "TOM THUMB."

London, October 20th, 1851.

DEAR MAJOR:—It is true, as you suggest, that I have not, in either of my letters, said anything about the fate of my plough. I wish that the subject could be quietly put aside, and that you did not cause me to renew my grief by alluding to it. It "goes against the grain," as we say in Georgia; but I might as well own up at once, and be done with it—my plough speculation has proven a bit of a failure here, Major.

Before saying more about it, I will tell you a story which the late venerable Dr. Jackson was accustomed to relate.

Many years ago, the Doctor was Secretary of Legation when Mr. Crawford, of Georgia, was Minister of the United States at the French Court. Whilst occupying that post, he had occasion to visit London; and during that visit he was called upon by a citizen of Georgia, who had need for his advice and services. The Georgian had, a short time previously, taken with him to London a party of Creek Indians, with whom he had entered into an agreement for the purpose of putting them on exhibition in Great Britain. Very soon after they had reached London, and the profits of their adventure had commenced, the Indians obtained a taste of fire-water, and at once broke over all bounds of discretion. Refusing to have their powers confined to the "pent-up Utica" of an exhibition-room, they stampeded, and roamed over the

city at large — thus gratifying the curiosity of the cockneys gratis, and utterly annihilating the Georgian's visions of golden guineas in prospective. He had spent his all in transporting the Indians to England, and after this break-down of his plans, was in great embarrassment. He went to the Doctor, as a brother Georgian, stated his distress, and obtained advice and assistance. I mention his case, because it reminds me of my own adventure in one particular. He told the Doctor that he was ruined by having omitted only one little element from his calculation when embarking upon his speculation. All his plans, he said, were well laid in every respect, and the Indians and he were "as good for a fortune as a thrip was for a ginger-cake — only, when it came to the pinch, *the d——d creeturs wouldn't show.*"

Now my case was somewhat similar in one respect, as I have suggested. I, too, had omitted one little element from the calculation. In every other feature my plans were perfect; but unfortunately, Major, my plough *couldn't show.*

You know that the great and distinguishing feature in my invention was its adaptation to cutting up and breaking away roots and other such obstacles. Well, when I met the Committee of the Great Exhibition who were to decide upon the merits of the invention, whose claims I had lodged in the usual and regular manner, you may be sure that I dwelt eloquently upon this new and most important feature. I made a decided impression upon the members, I thought. It appeared to me very plainly that my point was gained, and that the long coveted medal was as good as won, when a great, bluff, beef-eating John Bull of a fellow, in a sort of cut-away coat, with an immense riding-whip sticking out of the pocket, — a perfect gentleman, though, in voice and manner, I must confess, — exclaimed, "Ah, yes! It's all very well, without doubt. But where shall we see it tried? What do *we* know about cutting roots? And where shall we find a bit of ground such as the gentleman describes?"

Gracious heavens! It had never occurred to me before, but it was too true — *there were no new ground-roots in England.* The Committee had no experience in

such matters; and my invention had about as much practical value in their eyes as if it had been designed to turn up the lava on the mountains in the moon.

And here I had been, for several long months, rolling this sweet morsel of hope under my tongue, and spending so many dollars in "projectin'" with the thing, as Buck expressed it—and now to be defeated because they could not "go to the root of the matter," was too bad. Think of a country so "bad off" as not to have any new grounds or clearings, Major! The blow was a smasher; and I felt very much like that little Frenchman who was landed for the first time on American soil, with a party of English or American sailors (the story does not say which), upon a barren spot in West Florida. He looked around at the dreary landscape, the gopher-hills, the black-jacks, the stunted pines, and palmettos, and shudderingly exclaimed, "And dees is Amerique, eh? Vel, if dees is Amerique, je suis perfectment disguust, God d——n!"

I confess that I *was* perfectly disgusted, myself. I did not care who knew it; and thereupon I vowed a vow something like that taken by that witty friend of our youth, the late Captain Black—peace to his memory!

The Captain, (as we always called him, you know,) had once taken up several cases from the county in which he practised as a lawyer to the Supreme Court of Georgia. He had been accustomed to have his own way very much, when not gravelled by some point of law, before the juries of his county; but meeting with indifferent success before the Court of Errors and Appeals, he left the chamber, shook its dust from his feet, and vowed that he would never take another case to the Supreme Court *until he could carry his jury up with him*. He kept that vow, too, I believe, and never did take up another case.

Well, my vow was, that I would never again take a plough to an exhibition in England until I could carry my roots with me.

Notwithstanding this disappointment, I consider that my plough has triumphed; for no one has dared to enter the lists with me. The idea has been on all sides admitted to be a happy one; and I clearly only needed "a

fair field" to insure favor and success. I may therefore exclaim with Lord Grizzle, in his campaign against Tom Thumb,

"Thus far our arms with victory are crowned;
For, though we have not fought, yet we have found
No enemy to fight withal."

The fact is, Major, though I have been trying to put a good face on the matter, yet I am not a little taken down by it, I will confess to you.

I know you are sorry for me; but don't carry that sort of thing too far, and be as quiet about it as you can. I already hear your attempts at consolation. Yes, I know very well, that "it is useless to cry over spilt milk," and that "what can't be cured" — &c. There, you need not finish. I know, I know it quite as well as Poor Richard ever did, or Sancho Panza, or any other grinder of the grist called proverbs. I know, besides, what you would say, but for your compassion at present, that I should have "stuck to my last," and not have been a *suitor* for favors in foreign lands, but have sent my plough to the Georgia fair at Atlanta. I confess that, if I had done that, the want of a few roots would not have been in the way of my luck. But never mind. It is not too late. I can do that yet. I can christen it for Mr. Peters, call it the "Peters' Root Ripper," and so overcome fate, vanquish destiny, and secure a premium.

In the meantime, don't make any more fun or fuss about my temporary failure than you can possibly help; or I shall not continue to subscribe myself

Yr. friend and cousin,

P. JONES.

To Maj. JONES, Pineville, Geo.,
U. S. of America.

LETTER V.

DR. JONES AND HIS MAN VISIT A—— HALL IN YORKSHIRE.

A—— Hall, November 14, 1851.

DEAR MAJOR:— I accepted Mr. A——'s invitation, so cordially extended to me, as mentioned in my letter of August 4th, and repeated a few days since; and have been for two days his guest at this place.

I came by rail of course, and had but a flying glance at the country, except the last eight or ten miles; otherwise I would give you something of a description of it. I could see enough, however, to excite my warmest admiration for the signs of culture and of comfort which abounded on every side. The sensations which a journey for the first time through such a region excites in the bosom of an American, are of a very animated character. Much of that which is common-place to the inhabitants of older countries, impresses him with the freshness of originality. Antiquity itself, or rather that which results from it, is novelty to him. Read as he may about these things, the native of our country can have no correct conception of the progress of the same people through many centuries of civilization, until he beholds the results with his own eyes. Prosperous as we are, and rich in so many kinds of resources in our country, our tastes are yet in their infancy, and we are almost unlearned in the great elements of architecture. The truth is, to one accustomed to our society, the beauty of the parks, and gardens, and public grounds here, the elaborate, substantial, and massive character of the architecture, and the lavish expenditure necessary to create these things, must always be objects of wonder.

I found Mr. A——'s carriage waiting for me at the station where I was to leave the rail; and I then rode several miles through a country still more beautiful, I

believe, than any I had seen. My ride was for the most part along one of those valleys which abound, I am told, in this part of Yorkshire, and are remarkable for beauty and fertility. In it seemed to be concentrated all, or nearly all, of those features which are peculiar to English scenery. On either side were to be seen trim and accurately clipped hedges; graceful slopes, dressed in that neat and tidy beauty, so distinctively English; elegant mansions, or picturesque cottages, surrounded by extensive green crops, stacks of grain ornamentally put up, clusters of handsome trees, and grassy lawns. Occasionally I beheld a lordly dwelling-place, of substantial grandeur, encompassed with parks and beautiful scenery; and then I passed beneath the brow of a hill which was covered with a feudal ruin. From one elevated point the view was magnificent. I stopped the carriage, that I might enjoy it for a few minutes. In my immediate vicinity the prospect was such as I have just described. In the distance, on one side of me, were strange, greyish-colored hills, monotonous in outline, and which, I was told, are called the Wolds. In another direction could be seen the spire of what, the coachman told me, was York-Minster; in another, the silver thread of a river was seen flowing towards the sea; and in yet another lay a bright and sparkling lake, fixed like a jewel in the rich drapery of the landscape.

In a short time we reached a more level country, and soon afterwards came upon the estate of Mr. A——. About a mile from the Hall we entered the park-gates, which were opened for us by a young woman, who came out of the porter's lodge; and we then advanced along an avenue bordered with splendid oak and beech trees.

Presently Billy Buck, who was on the outside of the carriage, cried out in so much excitement as to forget his usual respectful address—"Marster, marster, Joe's dead, ef thar aint a deer." I had scarcely looked out, when he exclaimed—"As God is my judge, marster, thar's two on 'um—three—four—five—w-h-e-w-t, thar's a whole gang, sir—look, look, marster! How on yearth do they git here, sir?"

"They are tame deer," said I, "and are kept in the parks here like cattle."

"Well, raaly! I thought it mighty curous, how wild deer could live here 'mong all the clarins we've been see-in, thick as the woods is jest here, sir. Well, tame or not, hits a beautiful sight, marster. I wish Mars. Joe was here to see hit. Hit 'ud give him the hystrikes, sartain, ef he was to see 'um standin so fare, an he not 'lowed to bring 'Old Nance'" [your rifle's name, I suppose, Major] "to bar on 'um. W-h-oo-pee, what would'nt he give jest to git a crack at one, an then turn Black-Jowler, an Kill-Buck, an Rock, loose on the balance. Now, would'nt ole Rock be in town, with a pocket full o' rocks, an such easy work before him? I 'member, that arter a good day's hunt once, an you had killed a fine buck, when you saw the old feller come in an stalk across Mars. Joe's yard so solemn an dignity like, with his long ears floppin on his shoulders, like Mars. Joe's eperlettes, as you said, you made a bow to him, an called him — *Major Rock Jones*. I think the ole dog would soon git permoted to be a kurnel, ef he was here, marster."

I was as much excited by the sight, I believe, as Buck was; though, as we Georgians say, I did not "show my country" so much as he did, and rather tried to look as though I was used to it. In a few minutes more we came in sight of flocks of the finest sheep and herds of the handsomest and fattest cattle I had ever seen. Then, the grounds on either side of us became very beautiful. On my right I observed a vista in the forest, which seemed to terminate at the top of a gentle hill, on which was situated what appeared to be a Grecian temple or portico. On our left now appeared a scene of the most perfect sylvan beauty. Through the green foliage could be seen an occasional statue, and the waters of a fountain sparkling in the fading sunlight; whilst a brawling brook, now burst into a lovely waterfall, now ran under a rustic bridge, and then spread peacefully into a quiet little lake, on whose bosom were floating some graceful waterfowl. As we came opposite to this spot, and it attracted the attention of my servant, he exclaimed — "Marster, thar's a spring, sir — a raal spoutin spring, sir, comin out of some sort of a varmint's

mouth—did you ever?" At that instant he caught sight of a statue — "Dont look, sir, dont look, marster!" said he, rapidly turning his head in the opposite direction,— "thar's somebody naked thar, sir—what on yearth is they gwine to do, naked thar, sir, this cool day?"

"Its a statue, Buck; a marble statue, nothing else."

"Well, raaly! sure enough, sure enough!" said he.

The waterfowl on the lake next excited his admiration. "Goodness gracious! marster, look at that gander, with a long neck," exclaimed he.

"That's a swan, Buck," said I.

"Is hit good to eat, sir?"

Here the turrets of the Hall appeared in view, and our attention was drawn thitherward, as they appeared above, and at times disappeared behind, the trees, according to the inequalities of the ground, as we approached. Now we came upon the lawn, and then among shrubbery so beautiful as to beggar description; and then we rolled up before the house, which, I had just time to see, was quite imposing, when the carriage stopped, the steps were let down, and Mr. A—— came forward with a hearty greeting and welcome to both master and servant.

After a short time spent in conversation with him, a bell rang, which I was notified was the dressing-bell, previous to dinner. Everybody dresses for dinner in the houses of gentlemen here, Major. I was shown to my chamber, which I found to be a most luxurious apartment, lined with pink paper, and the windows and bed hung with rich silk curtains of the same color. My luggage had preceded me. A servant was in attendance to receive my orders, but almost every comfort had been anticipated. The straps of my trunk were unbuckled, a fire was burning cheerily in the grate, a candle was on the table, water in the richest china basins and ewers, and on one side was a writing-table, covered with paper, envelopes, wax, etc.

About 7 o'clock I was summoned to dinner. I had the honor of a seat by one of the young ladies, whom I escorted to the table at the request of my host; and a very intelligent and well-bred person I found her. The company consisted of Mr. A——'s family (a wife and several daughters), together with several guests; among whom

were Lord B. (a relative of the family), Sir C. C. and lady, and several ladies and gentlemen of the neighborhood. The dinner was as sumptuous as wealth and taste could make it, and the company very agreeable. After the removal of the cloth, the ladies retired, and the gentlemen drew nearer together, and talked over the wine longer than the state of my health made it desirable for me. We discussed the recent Great Exhibition, among other things, and this gave me an opportunity of amusing my neighbors with the fate of my plough. My description and imitation of the Squire, who put the final extinguisher upon my hopes, quite "brought down the house."

When we went up to the drawing-room, I found the ladies very agreeable, and there was some sweet music. During the evening, Mr. A—— insisted upon my repeating the story of my plough for the benefit of the ladies; which I did, apparently to their amusement. These ladies themselves enticed me into a conversation about my family and home, and seemed to feel an interest in learning from me details of this kind, so pleasant to me. I was sensible that it was very kind and courteous in them.

About 11 o'clock, I saw that some of the company occasionally left the room, took up a candle in the entry, where a number were placed, with alumettes, etc., for lighting, and departed, as I supposed, for their chambers. I followed, and retired to my room. A servant announced the breakfast hour of the house to me, and I lay down to rest, and to dream of a home and its inmates far away, as sweet to me as if it were surrounded and filled by the luxuries amidst which I was reposing.

I was at the breakfast-table next morning a little after 9 o'clock—the breakfast hour being from 9 to 11; and there found all the family and two or three other persons. Each seated himself or herself, as he or she came in, without ceremony. On the table were several kinds of bread, and nice fresh butter. Coffee or chocolate, if either was desired, was brought in a small silver coffee-pot, with sugar-dish and cream-pot of the same material, and the person to whom it was brought helped him or herself. If tea were preferred, a silver urn, heated by spirits of wine, was placed by the side of the person wishing it, together

with a small silver tea-pot, etc., and a little caddie of black and green tea, from which he or she helped him or herself, unless it was preferred that a servant should do it. On the side-tables were ham, cold chicken, cold game, etc., to which most of those present rose and helped themselves. By the side of my plate was a morning's paper. At the breakfast-table the plan of movements for the day was arranged. After consulting me on the subject, my host proposed to show me the grounds, crops, etc.; and, learning that I was capable of bringing down my bird on the wing, he suggested that the keeper should meet us with guns and dogs, and that we should knock down a few birds on our way home. Into this segment of the circle of our operations Lord B. and two other gentlemen begged that they might be taken.

When I went to my room, in order that I might prepare for my excursion, I found Buck waiting for me, and at once saw that there was something on his mind. "What is the matter?" said I.

"How long are you going to stay here, Marster?" said he.

"Two or three days, I suspect. Why do you ask?"

"Becase I wanted to know, my Marster, ef I could do 'thout eatin tell we went away. Fact is, Marster, I dont adzackly know what to do; but as to eatin with them white ladies an gen'l'men, an with them silver forks, too, hit aint in me to do it, an its no use tryin. I couldnt do it ef I was gwine to die for not doin it. They tells me they's sarvants too, an so I says to myself when I sets down 'mong 'em; but bombye one on 'em, he says to me, very perlitely,—for they's all mighty perlite; I must say that,—says he, 'What will you ave, sir?' says he; 'what will you be elped to, sir?' says he. An when I looks up, an sees all them nice white gals, dressed jest like ladies, lookin at me, I jest takes an chokes right down, Marster; an so says I, 'No, I'm obleeged to you, Marster,' says I, 'I wouldn't choose nothin.' I knowed how hit was, sir, but I couldnt help callin sich a gen'l'man-lookin white man 'Marster,' to save me; and then they all couldnt keep from laffin, though they tried, I could see. One of the ladies, then, she tried to do some-

thin for me, an first thing I knowed I called her 'Missis,' an off they all went agin, tell they was red in the face. I cant eat with them white people, Marster. I would do anything to obey or obleege you, sir, but I'll starve ef I stays here long."

"Why, I supposed," said I, "that you were by this time accustomed to associating with white servants in London."

"Tell you what, Marster, they wasn't like the sarvants here. The men didn't have them long-tailed blues on, with lace, and buttons, and eperlettes, and the women didn't look so nice and spectable."

"Never mind," said I, "I will arrange it all for you; only do try and make yourself as little the object of ridicule as possible."

Thereupon I pulled the bell, and taking' the servant into my confidence, told him how unaccustomed to eating at the same table with white persons my servant had been, and how embarrassed he was by it, asked him to give my respects to the steward, and request in my name that Buck might have his meals apart from the other servants. The attendant readily promised that this should be done, and Buck was relieved.

I cannot afford room for an adequate description of the park, gardens, and scenery around A—— Hall. Some pleasant winter night, Major, when the children have been snugly tucked away, and Mary and Lizzie have thrust their small gourds into the little stocking-feet, and are darning away against each other as if for a wager, and our cigars are lit, and the hickory fire, kindled with light-wood knots (they have no such luxury here, Major), blazes up cheerfully, I will tell you all about it. I can now only say that the park contains more than a thousand acres, and that the slight sketch I have already given you of it has not done it half justice. I do not know of what architecture the house is, and if I did you would not care much about it; but this I know—that the general effect is most admirable.

We visited the stables, and there I was greatly interested. There were some fifty horses, many of which were hunters, exquisite in form, etc., and of very high

value. The stalls are well ventilated, and as neat and clean as parlor floors. The arrangements for feeding and grooming are very fine, and I learned something there by which I hope hereafter to profit. We next went to the cow-yards, and the dairy; and there I gathered some new ideas for the benefit of our wives, Major. We then proceeded to examine the tool-houses, the stack-yards, and the sheep-folds; and taking horse here, we rode into the pastures and the fields. We visited scores and scores of acres of turnips and other green crops, and I received much valuable information from my host, which I propose to share with you one of these days.

At a point which had been designated by my entertainer we met the gamekeeper, and with him the gentlemen whom I have mentioned. There were three or four fine dogs, and a gun for each of us. We first shot over some stubble-fields, and afterwards entered the preserves, where we soon filled our bags. I am but an indifferent shot, you know; but I found myself knocking the sluggish game over, right and left, with great ease. The bird-shooting, especially, was very different from what you and I are accustomed to, when hunting our partridge. Here we put up half-a-dozen coveys of partridge or packs of pheasants in an hour, and started scores of rabbits. The birds are almost double the size of our partridge or quail, and are not so swift in flight. If, at home, you and I find as many coveys in a day, and after walking many miles, we deem ourselves lucky. And when our birds get up, they are off, like a shot, for the nearest swamp. A few separate shots may possibly be had after that, but it will have to be bush-shooting.

One or two of the party killed more game than I; but I had the satisfaction of bagging more than Lord B——, though he had visited our country (as he said), and had shot upon our prairies. The truth is, none of my companions in sport were *very* expert marksmen; and I could not help thinking, that, if our friends, Jennings and Dawson, of Augusta, (provided the latter can shoot as well as he can talk about it, of which I have my doubts, I confess,) were turned loose here for a day or two, they would soon make deserts of Mr. A——'s preserves.



BUCK'S DANCE AT A..... HALL.

We did not return to the Hall, from our morning's excursion, until the hour for luncheon had passed. We were not forgotten, however; and, after we had refreshed ourselves, were notified, that that meal — which really takes the place of the dinner with us, though most of the dishes are cold — was ready for us.

After our lunch, we adjourned to the smoking-room. We had just lit our cigars, when I observed that other gentlemen, who were tenants of the room and enjoying the same luxury, had been attracted to the windows by something which seemed greatly to please them. Presently I detected Buck's well-known voice, and perceived that he was amusing some one outside with an imitation of the banjo, as I supposed. The strumming by way of interlude, at which I knew he was something of an expert, came to my ear very plainly; and then I could hear his "thrumb-te-thrumb-a-thrumb-te-thrumb-a-thrumb-te-thrumb" — so rapidly articulated, that I suspected he was giving an imitation of a negro jig.

"Ah! what is this?" said my host, who also joined the group at one of the windows; and his face at once assumed the pleased expression which appeared in the features of the other spectators. I went to one of the windows then myself, and found that the apartment was in a wing of the building which opened upon a parterre, rich with evergreen shrubbery, (and, I suppose, in due season, with brilliant flowers,) and lying between this and an opposite wing of the house, in which was situated a conservatory, that also opened upon the parterre. Near the conservatory, Mrs. A——, her daughters, and other ladies, were seated; and on one of the gravelled walks, which bordered the parterre, Buck was in the midst of the maddest sort of a jig, scattering the gravel, and hurling some of it to a distance of many yards, with his broad feet. He made music for himself with the voice, accompanied with appropriate fingering on one of the young ladies' parasols, which he held in the attitude of a banjo. His performance was rapturously applauded; and then one of my host's daughters, a pretty young girl, with a merry twinkle in her eye, said to him—"Mamma is very

much obliged to you Mr. Buck, for the dance : but can't you sing for us, Mr. Buck ? ”

Buck. “ To be sure an sartain, young missis, ef I only know'd what 'ud suit you. Do you like hymes, missis ? ”

Young Lady. (Looking at the other ladies, who exchanged glances of puzzled inquiry.) “ What was it you said, Mr. Buck ? I am not sure that I understood you—hy-ems did you say.”

Buck. “ No ! hymes, missis : preachin songs — praisin God songs, young missis.”

Y. Lady. “ Ah ! I understand. No, not sacred songs, Mr. Buck. We would prefer a sentimental song, if you please.”

Buck. (Puzzled in his turn.) “ A what, missis ? ”

Y. Lady. “ A song in praise of the ladies, Mr. Buck.”

Buck. “ To be sure, to be sure, missis. But in course hits 'bout the black fair sect you 'spect a nigger to sing — aint it, missis ? ”

Y. Lady. “ Of course, Mr. Buck.”

Thereupon Buck thrumbed his fictitious banjo, and sung as follows :

My horse died in Tennessee,
He sont his jaw-bone back to me,
Wake, jaw-bone, Miss Sally is the gal !
Oh wake, jaw-bone, Miss Sally is the gal !

Dat jaw-bone same like banjo ring,
When to Miss Sally gal I sing
Wake, jaw-bone, &c.

Miss Sally 's fat and mighty round ;
The holler o' her foot make hole in de ground.
Wake, jaw-bone, &c.

Buck. “ How you like 'um, young missis ? ”

Y. Lady. “ Oh, thank you—very well, indeed ; but can't you give us another, Mr. Buck ? ”

BUCK SINGS.

I sing this song 'bout woolly har,
Oh, the woolly har !

The buckra gal is mighty far,
 Oh, the woolly har !
 But still she no got woolly har !
 Oh, the woolly har !
 The buckra gal got long red har,
 Oh, the woolly har !
 When she put on dress, she put on ar,
 Oh, the woolly har !
 The yaller gal got coal-black har,
 Oh, the woolly har !
 She tall, and straight, and mighty spar,
 Oh, the woolly har !
 But my sweetheart 's got woolly har
 Oh, the woolly har !
 An none can with that gal compar,
 Oh, the woolly har !
 I sleeps an dreams 'bout woolly har,
 Oh, the woolly har !
 An on my heart I wars that har,
 Oh, the woolly har !
 The woolly har, the woolly har,
 O—h, the w-oo-l-l-y har !

This song was encored, and then one of the ladies asked Buck if he could not give them another specimen of a dance.

“Sartain, Missis,” said he, putting down the parasol. “Did you ever see Juba, Missis?”

“No,” said the lady; “we should like to have it, if you please.”

But when Buck commenced his preparations, she drew back timidly, as if suspecting that she had bargained for too much, and was about to witness some cannibal dance or other. He began by rapidly patting, or clapping the sides of his thighs with the palms of his hands, and at the same time patting his foot, as if to give himself the pitch, and then he pitched, feet foremost, into “Juba,” accompanying himself with the voice.

O Juba Reed,
 O Juba Reed,
 His seed and breed,
 M'Elhany turn and come !

I sint de coon,
 I sint de coon,
 I sint ole har,
 A skippin down
 To Lonnon town,
 To judge de banjo
 Thum de sound.
 I saw de rat
 Run round de flat,
 A bushel o' beans
 Upon his back,
 An ole Ben Dean
 His gander trot :
 Cant he git over !
 John-de-butter-in-de-fat,
 Cant you git over that ?
 Cant you git o—ver ?
 Oh, cant you git——”

Just at this point, the dancer, whose back had been towards the window where I stood, the sash of which was raised for the purpose of better witnessing his performance, who had not seen me, and did not know, probably, that I had returned to the house, turned in his movement, so as to catch sight of me, when he instantly brought up, as if struck with paralysis, exclaiming, “Boss!” and remaining with his mouth upon a wide grin, his right foot put forward, the heel thrust into the gravel, with the foot itself elevated at an angle of about ninety degrees. It looked, sure enough, as though he was answering his own question, and couldn't get over *that*. The immense roar of laughter which succeeded was either a testimony to his very ridiculous situation, or a tribute to his decided success.

It was plain that my presence was as a wet blanket to his fun; so I left the window, saying, “Ah, Mr. A——, I am afraid that the ale at his lunch to-day has succeeded in lightening my man's heels at the expense of his head.”

“Why, you don't mean to say with Cicero, ‘*nemo sobrius saltat,*’ do you, Doctor?”

“No; only that the sobrius never throws quite so much ‘life and metal’ into his saltat, Mr. A——.”

“‘*Itaque Semproniam reprehendit Sallustius non quod saltare, sed quod optime sciret,*’” said Lord B.;

which, being translated for the benefit of the country members, Major, is about equivalent to saying that "Sal-lust found fault with Sempronius, not because he knew how to dance, but because he did it so elegantly." Very neat jest, was it not? Still, all this did not relieve me from the apprehension that Buck might be making a fool of himself in the eyes of these people."

I was informed at dinner that he had been very entertaining, though all his performance after he had seen me was obviously under restraint, as if he suspected that I was observing him from some quarter. Mrs. A—— said that she asked of him the reason for his embarrassment, and what do you suppose the rogue answered?

"Why you see, Missis," said he, "I promised Miss Lizzie to keep good care of my Marster while he was in this country, an he's mighty onprudent sometimes, Missis, an keeps me oncommon busy puttin him through right; an ef I was to let him see me playin the fool too much, he wouldn't think me so respectable like, an might refuse to mind me, Missis."

Mrs. A—— informed me that, during the morning, she had sent for Buck, and had talked with him about our slaves, negro life, negro characteristics, etc.; and that after lunch she had encouraged him to sing and dance for the ladies.

This afternoon I spent in the library, and among the pictures, statuary, etc., in other parts of the house; of which there is a very splendid collection. At night, I retired early to my room, that I might write this letter to you. To-morrow we are booked for C. Park, to witness a run with Sir C. C.'s hounds. This gentleman has been on a visit to this place for the last several days. He left this morning, first inviting Mr. A—— and his guests to the hunt, and to dinner to-morrow. If anything takes place there worthy of note, you may expect to hear from me on the subject. Apologizing for this long letter, I end it with the assurance that I am, dear Major,

Respectfully,

Yr. friend and cousin,

P. JONES.

To MAJ. JONES,

Pineville, Ga., U. S. of America.

LETTER VI.

DR. JONES AND HIS SERVANT JOIN A FOX-HUNT—BUCK DISTINGUISHES HIMSELF ON THE FIELD—IS IN AT THE DEATH, AND WINS THE TAIL—VISIT TO C. PARK—RECIPE FOR COOKING “POSSUM AND PUMPKIN”—BUCK’S STORY OF UNCLE CUDJO AND THE POSSUM.”

A—— Hall, November 6th, 1851.

DEAR MAJOR:—Yesterday morning, after quite an early breakfast, Mr. A—— and his guests, myself and Buck among the number, proceeded to the meet of Sir C. C.’s hounds. Mr. A—— was so kind as to mount me on one of his swiftest and surest hunters, though I was quite willing to bestride a less splendid animal; for I had no idea of making an effort to keep up with the hunt. Though I account myself a tolerable horseman, yet, to say nothing of my health, which may have rendered it inexpedient, I had no desire for leaping hedges, ditches, etc., where there was any risk attending it. Every man to his vocation. I was not accustomed to the thing, and I knew how much of advantage there is in being familiar with whatsoever we undertake to accomplish. Buck, who was specially invited, made choice of a fleet mare, rather against my wishes; for, though I knew he could ride like a wild Indian, yet I thought it seemly that he should be more modestly mounted, and I feared that he might be after making himself rather conspicuous — an apprehension which proved correct.

At the place of meeting, we found Sir C. C. and his friends, with a large retinue of tenants and neighbors, ladies in carriages, etc. More than a hundred horsemen were present. The gentlemen generally were dressed in bright scarlet coats, white leather breeches, top-boots, silver-mounted spurs, and round hats. The master of the hunt was the baronet himself. The huntsman and the

whippers-in wore short red coats and jockey-caps, and the huntsman carried a horn. There was a large number of laborers and cottagers on foot. It was evident that the fox-hunt was quite an institution of itself in England, and I was greatly interested. A pack of fox-hounds was in attendance, numbering more than thirty couples. Sir C. C., it seems, is celebrated for the excellence of his breed, and the condition of his kennel. His dogs have a superintendent huntsman and assistants. They are fed on scalded oat-meal, I was told. The dogs were all under rigid and accurate discipline. The huntsman or whippers-in could call a dog by name, and he would come out at once from the pack. If any quarrelling and fighting occurred, a crack from the whip was instantly productive of peace.

When all was ready, the signal was given, and we started. We penetrated into many thick copses, and the huntsmen beat about with their whips in various directions, until at last a fox was found, and started from his cover; and then away the whole cavalcade went, helter-skelter, a scene of mad hurry-scurry and excitement. I stuck to Mr. A——, who said that he was well acquainted with the country, and, by taking advantage of the ground, and steering skilfully, could sometimes cut off the chase, and thus save me some hard riding. This was just what I wished, and I was thus saved some ugly leaps; though as it was, following Mr. A——, I thought I did very well in that respect several times. At first the pace was rapid. The hounds ran well together, and the effect of their united voices was very fine. We had emerged from the coverts, and gone into the open, as they called it, and for some time we had a very exciting race. But presently we reached another covert, and here another fox was disturbed, and the huntsmen missed the first, the fresh fox going off at right angles to our first chase, and leading us into other coverts, where other foxes were started; and this caused us to go jolting around undecidedly for some time, and with the pack very much divided. Sir C. managed, however, in some way, to bring order out of this chaos, and away we went again, men and dogs well together, upon one track. The fox this time was a fine dark-looking fellow, and Sir C. almost lifted him off the ground

with a fierce scream as he broke away. We followed in fine style for half an hour or so, when we came to some uneven ground, and Sir C., pulling up for an instant, cried out to the nearest whipper-in, "Where's he bound thereway, Dick?"

"Over the river, sir, to the wood, I think. There is some open earth there."

"We must be there before him, and stop that, if it costs our necks," said the baronet, as he rode off rapidly.

But Dick seemed unwilling to go along; and hanging back, he cried out, "Have a care, sir; the water's deep there, and too wide to jump."

"Won't I try it, though!" we heard the baronet say, as he dashed the spurs into his horse and increased his speed.

Buck, who had been riding along with this whipper-in, now sprang to the ground, rapidly slipped his saddle from the horse, tied it by stirrup-leathers and girth round his shoulders and waist, quickly mounted again, pushed the spurs into his mare, and away he went, the only person who followed Sir C.

We rode near enough to see the baronet dash at the stream, and strike the water not more than three-fourths the distance across; but his horse carried him gallantly through. Buck presently reached the bank, and pulled up short. He had not looked for *that*—but his blood was heated with the excitement, and he instantly turned his mare to a short distance, drove the spurs into her, and slap he went, into the swampy mud on the other side. A cheer from Sir C., who had turned his head to watch him, greeted the successful effort, and Buck scrambled through the meadows, and was soon at his side upon dry ground. The fox was headed, and turned up the stream, along which, on our side, we rode until we reached a bridge, which we crossed, and followed the chase. The fox doubled presently, and we were all brought together again. Buck continued to ride near Sir C., and took every leap which he did. After about half an hour, the fox was put into a thick hedge-row, and had us at fault for a few minutes, when out he came, on our side, and a "Tally-ho!" from Mr. A—— brought attention to him.

The baronet and Buck, who were on the other side, both put at the hedge. This time the baronet went clear; but Buck's mare bothered, and down they went, rolling over together. They both quickly scrambled up, however; and to my great satisfaction, I saw Buck swing his saddle round, it having gotten in front of him, and lightly mount again. We scampered away then along the side of a hill, into a thick wood, from which we soon emerged, and away we went, all very much together, through a pretty piece of open. Here the whole field cheered Buck, who was still riding near the baronet, and now without his hat, having lost it in his tumble, and being at the time under too much excitement to stop and look for it.

We came again, after a little time, among the hedges and fields; and again Sir C. and Buck rapidly took the lead — Sir C. occasionally trying the stuff of which his sable neighbor was made, as he subsequently informed us, by taking some rasping leaps.

“By Jove, sir!” said the baronet, “I make no doubt but the man would have put his mare at the steeple of St. Paul's, if he had seen me preparing to try it. He is plucky, sir; plucky as the mare he rode.”

After an hour or so more of heavy pursuit, the fox was run into. The baronet and Buck were the first on the spot. A few others arrived in time to claim the honor of being in at the death. When Mr. A—— and I arrived, the crisis was passed, and the fox was given to the dogs—all except the tail; which Sir C. had insisted on wreathing as a trophy into the red bandanna handkerchief with which Buck had bound up his head in the absence of his hat. He was a comical figure to look at. He was covered from head to foot with mud and dirt, the saddle continued to swing from his shoulders, and the handkerchief and fox-tail were only needed to complete the picture. He gave effect to it by being apparently unconscious that he was such a figure of fun, and by showing his brilliant teeth in an ecstasy of delight.

We had a long ride back to C. Park, and I was very much fagged out by the time we arrived there. I must confess that I was fully satisfied never again to seek sport in an English fox-hunt. The chase, however, was very

much enjoyed by all my companions. It was declared to be a famous good thing; and all united in laughing at Buck's riding, and in praising his pluck.

The dinner was very much like that A—— Hall. There was a little more of display, and very much more of hilarity; but the latter may have been owing to the exciting events of the day. After the ladies had retired, our host had Buck sent for, and proposed that he should join us in drinking a glass of punch to his health, first stirring his own with the tail of the captured fox.

"You have been much accustomed to riding, my man," said the baronet.

"Well you see, Marster, I been use to ridin sense I was so high" (holding his hand about three feet from the floor). "I been use to breakin all Marster's colts, sir; and I is jest fool enough to think I can do what any other man kin on a horse's back, perwided I haint pestered with a saddle, sir. So, when I seed you takin the shine off of everybody in the hunt, and that none on um was gwine to take a brush with you, sir, I jest tuk the saddle off the mar, and put after you with a sharp stick myself sir, for the honor of old Georgy, Marster."

"Well, the honor of old Georgia has suffered nothing in your hands, my man. But don't you join the hunt sometimes in your country?"

"Our marsters sometimes hunts deers and foxes, sir; but we black folks never hunts any varmints but rabbits and possums, Marster."

"Opossums; aha!" said the baronet; and then, addressing himself to me, "they are abundant in your country, Doctor?"

"Not so much so," said I, "as in Australia; but still, in sufficient numbers to constitute quite an object of sport with our slaves, who hunt them at night, and by torch-light, and with whom they are quite a favorite article of food."

"What do they taste like?" said he to Buck.

"Like fat pig, Marster; only more piggerer than pig heself — cepin when they's cooked in a punkin, sir."

"Cooked in a pumpkin! How is that?"

"Why you see, Marster, that's one of the ways we

black folks haves of cookin possum; an powerful good way it is, too."

"Pray tell us how that's done," said the baronet.

"Well, Marster, you must ketch your possum, you know——"

"That, at all events," interrupted the baronet, "is beginning according to Mrs. Glass. I have no doubt but that it is very good. Go on, sir."

"Yes, sir. As I was sayin, when you have kotch him an cleaned him, jest take a punkin, bout big enough to lay him in comftably, Marster, thout dublin him up too much, sir; then take a knife an cut your punkin through the middle, all round, in an out, sir, so that when you take it apart each half has sorter teeth like; then clean your punkin out, sir, put your possum in, sprinkle some salt an pepper on him,—raal kyan pepper, ef you's got it, sir,—then put your punkin together agin close, an like it was fore you tuk it apart; then put it in the fire, an kiver it over with ashes an live coals, an let it stay an roast a good many hours—the longer the better, so you don't let it burn. Arter it's done, sir, you kin take it out, an wipe it clean, an let it cool a little; an when you open it sir, it's amost the nicest thing that ever you did eat. You see, sir, the possum's sorter sorbed the punkin, an the punkin's sorbed the possum, tell, I declar pint blank, sir, ef you shet your eyes, you can't say which is the possum an which the punkin."

"I haven't a doubt in the world of it now," said the baronet, "and will maintain it against all comers."

"Yes, sir. One Mars. Bob Martin larnt me how to cook it that way, sir. Some o' them Green County niggers larnt him, he said."

"But supposing you haven't got a pumpkin for your opossum, my man; what then?" said the baronet.

"Then we jest roasts him dry so, Marster."

"Aha! dry so; and is it really good, dry so?"

"So good, Marster," said Buck, "that the only time I been steal anything sense I was a child, was when I stole some roast possum-meat, sir. Ef you could ford to listen to me, Marster, and the gen'l'men, I'd tell you bout it," said he, his tongue now wagging under the

stimulus of his fox-tail punch, though he looked distrustingly at me.

“By all means,” cried the company, “let us have Mr. Buck’s possum story.”

I glanced consent.

“Well, gen’l’men,” he said, “when I was bout a man grown, I staid in the same cabin with one o’ Marster’s ole niggers, named Uncle Cudjer.” [Old Cudjo, whom you no doubt well remember, Major.] “Well, one night Uncle Cudjer he was gwine a possum-huntin, an he axed me to go long with him; but I had some other fish to fry that night, an so I wouldn’t go with him. But Uncle Cudjer he went an kotch a possum right soon, for he allers could do it. Somehow anuther, when he an ole Ring went out to hunt for um, the possums stood no more chance than a stump-tail b—— than a ole red fox with you arter him, I mean, Marster.” [Bowing to the baronet.] “An so he brought his possum home, cleaned it, put his pepper and salt on it, put it in his little oven, made fire onder it, an then, bein he was sorter tired by this time, he went fast to sleep. Well, late at night I come home; an when I went in, thar was the ole man, sound asleep. I raised up the led of the little oven, an piff—paff—out thar come sich a nice, rich, roast-pig sort o’ smell, hit made my mouth farly water agin. The possum was done elegant; an then close by the ole man’s platter was a nice corn dodger, waitin for the possum. Hit was late sense supper, I had had a long walk in the cool night ar, an was raal hungry, an the sight was too much for my vartue, Marster. I tuk the ole man’s possum, sir, I did, (hit warn’t very big, sir,) an eat it all up. Then I tuk some o’the grease, an sorter saftly rubbed it all over his mouth, sir, an over his hands, sir, an then I washed my own, an laid down an went to sleep myself. Bombye, Uncle Cudjer he waked up, he did, and looked for his possum, an sure enough hit warn’t thar. Then he shuck me, he did, tell he waked me up. ‘You Buck,’ says he, ‘you gran lascal, you been tiefy my possum—heh? Git up; I gwine lick you, you infarnal tief, you!’

“‘Why what’s matter, Uncle Cudjer?’ says I.

“ ‘ You tiefy my possum, I say — you been eat my possum, sar.’ ”

“ Why Uncle Cudjer, what's matter? Are you crazy? ” says I. “ You been eat your possum *youself*. Jest look at your hands and your mouth, ” says I.

Uncle Cudjer, he looked at his hands, then he drewed the back of one on um cross his mouth, then he put both on um upon his stomach.

“ Gor-a-mighty! ” says he, “ wat dis? Me harn say I been eat um, me mouf say I eat um, me tumach say — he dam lie! ”

Under cover of the applause which Buck's story elicited, I suggested to him that it was a good time to withdraw; which hint he was not slow in taking.

We had a merry evening, and joined the ladies at a late hour. These latter I found to be very gentle and attractive. The truth is, Major, the nobility and gentry of this country, as a class, are perhaps the most refined and intellectual in the world. The concentration of immense wealth in, and the passage of it through, the hands of the same family for generations, affords opportunities of cultivating tastes, and creating material comforts, which serve, in these respects, to place the class of which I am speaking far in advance of anything with which we are acquainted. In extensive and magnificent luxury, in style, in arrangements for domestic and household comforts, in the beauty of grounds, and the grandeur of public works, we can bear no comparison with this country. But I am afraid that the concentration of wealth in the hands of the few, (by comparison,) which is the main-spring of all these results, at the same time causes more or less of an abstraction of it from the hands of the many; and thus produces such a disturbance in the laws of harmony which regulate the body politic, as must in some way lessen the advantages, and affect the happiness of the masses who compose it. This seems to be the logical inference. I hope that experience may convince me of its inaccuracy. It will certainly give me great pleasure to find that there is no reason why I should regret the existence of a state of things which is productive of so many pleasant and excellent persons — so many true ladies and gentlemen.

To-day I returned to A—— Hall. To-morrow, or next day, I shall leave for London. Meantime, I am,

Very respectfully,

Y'r ob't serv't and cousin,

P. JONES.

To MAJ. JONES,

Pineville, Ga., U. S. of America.

LETTER VII.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY AND MRS. STOWE
— SPEECHES AT THE MEETING OF THIS SOCIETY, BY PROF.
STOWE AND REV. S. WARD, (A NEGRO,) AND COMMENTS OF
BUCK THEREUPON—BUCK AMUSES HIMSELF WITH A PART
OF THE AUDIENCE.

London, June 1st, 1853.

DEAR MAJOR:—In a letter written last month, I gave you some account of Mrs. Stowe's movements, and of the excitement on the subject of slavery which her presence has caused in England and Scotland. She has now made her appearance in London, and has been honored by all classes in the metropolis.

On Monday evening, the 16th of May, the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society held their annual meeting at Exeter Hall; and she and her staff, viz., Prof. Stowe, (her husband,) Charles Beecher, (her brother,) and the Rev. Samuel Ward, (a blackamoor from Canada,) were the leading cards played upon that occasion. Owing to the expected presence of Mrs. Stowe, there was a very crowded assembly, and numbers were unable to obtain admittance. By making an early start, however, Buck and I were there in time to procure a convenient seat. I took Buck along, not only because I was in the habit of taking him with me very frequently to places of amusement in London, but because I hoped that, if I found the demand for seats greater than the supply, his black face, on that particular occasion, might be of service in pro-

curing me admittance and a desirable position. Although we obtained rather a modest place in one of the galleries, yet Buck was put down, I suppose, by all who observed him, as having something to do with the occasion; and this created such a sensation in his neighborhood as caused him to show his great white teeth with delight.

I will furnish you with an account of the proceedings as they were published in the London Observer of the 23d of May last; omitting, for brevity's sake, the rather long speech of the Earl of Shaftsbury, who presided over the meeting, and addressed it, so soon as it was organized.

“BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

On Monday evening, the annual meeting of this Society was held in Exeter Hall. Owing to the expected presence of Mrs. H. B. Stowe, there was a most inconveniently crowded attendance, and numbers of persons were unable to gain admittance.

The Earl of Shaftesbury presided.

The Secretary attempted to read the report, but, in consequence of the impatience of the meeting, confined himself to briefly stating the income and expenditure of the Society for the past year.

The Rev. J. B. Browne moved the adoption of the report, and the appointment of the Committee for the ensuing year. [Whilst he was speaking, Mrs. H. B. Stowe entered one of the side galleries, and the assembly rose and cheered her loudly for several minutes.]

The Rev. W. Arthur seconded the resolution, which was unanimously adopted.

Mr. Joseph Sturge read the names of the Committee, and of the corresponding members of the Society: viz., Professor Stowe, of Massachusetts [cheers], Charles Beecher [cheers], and Samuel Ward, of Canada [cheers].

The Rev. W. Brook moved the resolution that the maintenance of slavery in a Christian community was a disgrace to humanity, a dishonor to civilization, and an outrage upon religion; and that Christians of all denominations should raise their voice to condemn an iniquity so monstrous, and “to employ all moral and pacific means to effect its removal.”

The Rev. Samuel Ward, of Canada (a negro), seconded the resolution, and was received with applause. He argued strongly against a principle which had been laid down, that

money compensation should be made to slaveholders as a condition of the emancipation of their slaves, and stigmatized it as a compounding of sin, and declared that a slaveholder who freed his slave was only a repentant sinner, and was no more entitled to be paid in money for his repentance than any other sinner. He maintained that the cotton trade of England nourished the slave labor of America. He urged that slavery in America was maintained more by the guilty neglect of the North than the positive acts of the South; for the North had always had a majority in Congress, and had assented to all the laws relating to slavery which had been passed there. He then contended that this conduct of the people in the North arose from the feeling and prejudice against all negroes in the United States; and in speaking of negro pews in churches and chapels, said he knew ministers who had lately been at meetings in that hall who had such pews in their churches. He related an anecdote of one William Hamilton, a negro, who, being refused by a minister the administration of the communion before whites, became an atheist; while, on the other hand, he related an anecdote of the conversion of a negro woman by means of a lady who had no such prejudices, and declared that negro woman to have been his own wife [cheers]. He stated that, so great was the prejudice, that a negro who, at the battle of Bunker's Hill, had greatly distinguished himself, was always placed in the background, behind the whites, in all the pictures of that battle. He stated also that, on his coming to England, Mr. Cunard had refused to allow him to take his meals with the other passengers on board the steamer, out of deference to the prejudices of Americans; and stated that to be an illustration of the influence of slaveholders even upon Englishmen. The reverend gentleman made altogether a very powerful and effective speech, and sat down amidst loud applause.

Mr. Alexander here read apologies for absence from Lord Carlisle and from Count Lavradio, the Portuguese Ambassador.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Professor Stowe, who was received with great cheering, read the next resolution, which declared it to be the duty of the opponents of slavery "to develop the national resources of countries where slavery does not exist, and the soil of which is adapted to the growth of products—especially of cotton—all or partially raised by slave labor; that, in all cases where it is practicable, a decided preference should be given to the

products of free labor, by all who protest against slavery." His (Professor Stowe's) health would disable him from addressing them at length, but he had to make a few observations. At the close of the American Revolutionary War, all their States were slaveholding States. But the Bill of Rights declared all men free and equal; and a slave in Massachusetts was advised, under the Bill of Rights, to bring an action for wages; and having obtained a verdict in his favor, slavery at once fell to the ground in that State. In the Convention, Jefferson, Madison, and others from the South, were so sensitive on the subject that they would not allow the word slave to appear in any of their proceedings, and Franklin participated in that feeling. Jay, Hopkins, and Edwards promulgated it from the pulpit, and no one then would support slavery. When he (Professor Stowe) was a boy, black children were in the same school with him in Massachusetts; and, though some prejudice had existed, the state of things was not then as it is now. In 1820, the great assembly of the Presbyterian Church passed a resolution against slavery. But that feeling was now changed. What had changed it? It was the profitability of the cotton trade, and nothing else [hear]. It was that which spread the chain of slavery over the Union [hear]. What right, then, had Great Britain to interfere, when she sustained four-fifths of American slavery by taking four-fifths of the American cotton [hear]? A Charleston newspaper had justly said that "the world depended on the cotton of America, and that cotton fought and conquered for Southern slavery." Here, then, was a great work for England to do! The price for cotton regulated the price of slaves, and slaves were worth from £100 to £200 each, and, in order to stock a cotton plantation, it took 100, 200, 300, and even 400 slaves. What an amount of capital was required! Here was the point at which free labor, such as had been found in the importation of Chinese, could contend with slave labor; and Great Britain should encourage the growth of free-labor cotton. There were three ways by which slavery in the United States could be abolished — first, by bloody revolution, which no one desired; secondly, by persuading slaveholders that the system was wrong, and that they should give it up; and thirdly, by making slave labor unprofitable as compared with free labor. Let free labor be encouraged; and if cotton consumers did not get rich so fast by free as by slave labor, let them practise a little of the self-denial which they ask slaveholders to practise. He had visited England seventeen years

ago, and he found it now much improved, and a strong feeling of philanthropy existed amongst the higher towards the laboring classes. He concluded by expressing his hope, though he did not expect to live to see it, that slavery would be soon abolished in America. He would live and die laboring in the cause of abolition [cheers].

Mr. C. Beecher seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

Mrs. Stowe and her husband and brother here retired amidst loud acclamations.

Colonel P. Thompson then moved a resolution deprecating the American laws in favor of slavery, — especially the “fugitive slave law,” — and recognizing the new spirit infused into the literature of the day, “holding up slavery to universal reprobation.”

The resolution was carried unanimously, and the meeting separated.

Well, you may imagine, Major, that it was as much as I could do to sit still, and hear and witness all that was there said and done. I doubt if I should have succeeded in doing so, but for the amusement which Buck’s wag-gish looks and comments afforded. By the time of this meeting, he had grown accustomed to going into public assemblies with me upon something of equal terms with those present, and he did not have that air of embarrassment which at first he wore when compelled by the crowd to place himself immediately by my side. Even here he contrived to keep himself somewhat in the background; not so much so, however, but that I could see the comical expression of his face occasionally, when enjoying, as I really do believe he did, the impression which he perceived the whole affair was making on me. His running commentaries on the proceedings amused not only me, but all who were in hearing of him.

When his reverence, the black preacher, was descanting upon the prejudices of our Northern people against negroes, Buck exclaimed, *sotto voce*, but still loud enough to be heard all around him, yet with the utmost gravity, and looking fixedly at the speaker,

“Dat first-rate gemmon say belly true—white buckra allers hate nigger till da git usen to smell um.”

And when the same reverend gentleman complained of the separate pews and galleries reserved for colored people in the churches, "Ki!" said Buck, "dat gemmon talk all sem like fool now. He no know dat cost too much for buckra to set longside nigger—dem brokee desef buyin smellin-bottle."

Again, when Mr. Stowe advised the production of free-labor cotton, as the most effectual method of overthrowing slavery, Buck chuckled mightily, and exclaimed "Dat buckra gemmon talkee de fool now hesef. Wa da been gwine git anybody able to work in cotton-field, in brilin hot sun, but black nigger? I want know dat! An wa de debbil da gwine find nigger wid head to work wid-out buckra man to show um? or dat gwine be willin, cepin he druv?"

Notwithstanding the occasional play of Buck's drollery, when I heard it resolved by Englishmen and Scotchmen "that slavery was a disgrace to humanity, a dishonor to civilization, and an outrage upon religion," and that it should be held up "to universal reprobation," I began to feel that this was getting rather personal, and I found myself repeating the old saw, that "those who live in glass houses should not throw stones," and to think that this nation should be slow to hold up any other people to reprobation on account of faults in their social system, as that was "a game which two could play at," and their side might not always have the "innings."

I lingered near the outer doors of the hall after the meeting had adjourned, for the purpose of having a closer view of Mrs. Stowe. I somehow failed in this. But as we stood there, a party of several ladies and gentlemen stationed themselves near us, perhaps for the same purpose, possibly attracted by Buck, whom they may have been observing, or whom they may have imagined constituted a part of the "fire-works" of the evening. Buck's spirit of mischief was excited so soon as he discovered that their attention was directed to him. Some one hard by spoke of pickpockets, and of the propriety of being on guard against them in such a crowd.

"Massa," said Buck, taking off his hat, and speaking so as to be heard by the party to whom I have referred,

and casting a glance of alarm upon persons near him, "hear dat?"

Myself. "Hear what, Buck?"

Buck. "Hear what dem buckra men say? Dem say de tiefs about."

Myself. "It don't matter. I left my valuables at our lodgings, and have none with me."

Buck. "Wat dat you say, Massa? You no call me valbles? Ainty Massa nigger valble?—what for da no tiefy me? [Taking hold of one of my skirts, and turning to a lady who stood near him, and addressing her with great courtesy and earnestness.] "Missis, you tink da would tiefy dis nigger?"

Myself. "Pshaw, Buck, what do you mean?"

It had occurred to me that Buck was attempting some very dull fun; but at this instance I caught sight of his face, and I saw at once that there was something better in prospect, so I gave him an encouraging look. A pale and solemn gentleman standing by, with a white cravat, and otherwise looking like a dissenting minister, now said to Buck, "What would the thieves want with you in this country, my man?"

This opening was precisely what Buck was wanting.

Buck. [With affected surprise.] "Want wid me, Massa? Ainty dis Inglis people been tiefy slave? Ainty da fadder been tiefy my fadder, an sell 'um in Charlestown? Ainty de fadder been tiefy de fadder for make him slave? What for de son no tiefy de son, for make him free? Heh?"

This produced not a little merriment among the bystanders, who had by this time increased; but they looked as though they were puzzled in the effort to comprehend Buck, and to tell whether he was jesting or not. The same solemn gentleman said, "You are a slave, then?"

Buck. "To be sure, to be sure, Massa! An I want to stay slave. Missis," [again turning to the lady, in whose eye he now saw encouragement,] "Missis, you fadder tiefy my fadder for him to live in good country, me feared you people tiefy Massa nigger for him to live in dis mean country—mean all sem as gar-broth—beg pardon, Missis, ef you blongs to hit."

Lady. "Why do you think this country so mean, my man?"

Buck. "Mean! He mean for true. He mean, Missis, case he people talk so much bout sorry for poor nigger, all time da kill one anudder, an killee da wife, an killee da chile. How come, ef da so sorry for poor nigger, da no sorry for poor buckra? How come da got no feelin for da wimmins, for poor pickininy, for da little chil'n? How come dem buckra men killee da wife, dem wife killee da husband, an dem moser killee da chile? I want know dat! Heh? How come da no gib ebely body nuff to eat? Heh? You come to Georgy, Missis; ebely body got plenty to eat da, an nobody hurt wimins an chil'n. No, no; da don't do dat much in Guinea country, cepin to eat um."

Lady. [Forgetting, or not having noticed, that Buck had (in words) only attributed the paternity of his fathers to Africa.] "What! were they cannibals in your country?"

Buck. "No, not Hannibals; new nigger—Ebo nigger, Missis."

Lady. "I mean, did they eat people there?"

Buck. "Dat trute, Missis; da eat people da for true! An belly good eatin da is, too; speshly dem lilly pickininy nigger, — lilly baby nigger, — when da fat."

Lady. "Oh, horrible! Did they really eat children?"

Buck. [Smacking his lips, and looking voracious.] "Dat trute for true, Missis. You see, Missis, da's some scuse for killin pickininy when you hongry, and eat um. But you people kill um an no eat um; an I call dat great wase, in country wha so many people all time tarvin. Dat make me say he mean country, Missis, an tank God in my player dat me live in better country, wha we's better people."

"But do you ever thank God in the right way, my man, for your blessings? Do you ever pray to him in the right spirit?" said the dissenting minister of whom I have spoken.

Buck. "Ainty I been tell Missis, Massa, how I tank God in my player dat I no bad and hongry like you poor Inglis buckra?"

Here the burst of merriment on the part of all except the solemn minister was uproarious. That gentleman, nothing daunted, returned to the charge.

Clergyman. "Ah, my friend, that is not the right spirit of prayer; that is too much like the Pharisee in the temple—of whom, perhaps, you have heard. You should thank God for your blessings, but confess yourself a miserable sinner in his sight, and pray to be made better."

Buck. "Ki, Massa! What for me play dat lie to God? He know better—he know me no miserable sinner—me Clistian man."

The solemn gentleman shook his head doubtfully and solemnly amidst the hearty laughter of the bystanders.

"Ha!" said Buck, "you no tink me Clistian, Massa? Bible say, sarch me an know me heart, try me an know me toughts. If you know do dat, how you been gwine tell me no Clistian, heh?" And as the solemn minister moved away from his "hard customer," Buck cried out after him, with great earnestness, "Joe's dead, ef me aint Clistian, Massa!"

On the next day there was a soiree at Willis's Rooms, St. James Street, gotten up at the instance of this same Anti-Slavery Society, for the purpose of presenting an address to Mrs. Stowe. I send you a copy of the proceedings, where you will see more of the *bosh* of which the Stowes, like true Yankees, have availed themselves in making a good thing out of their capital.

Your friend and cousin,

To MAJOR JONES,

P. JONES.

Pineville, Georgia, U. S. of America.

LETTER VIII.

SOCIAL PROFLIGACY OF THE BRITISH PEOPLE — ST. ALBAN'S
ELECTION — ST. ALBANS BRIBERY COMMISSION.

London, June 16th, 1853.

DEAR MAJOR:—Buck was right when he intimated, as you will perceive from my last he did, after his manner, that it is a great humbug, for a people so steeped in crime, in profligacy, in poverty and wretchedness, as are the inhabitants of this United Kingdom, to set themselves up as critics and reformers among the nations. It is indeed ridiculous for a people, so overwhelmed with social evils, to talk loftily about “holding” our Slave States “up to universal reprobation”; and to encourage their good and noble ladies in the attempt to excite the women of our States upon the subject of slavery. To show you how very unwise it is on the part of those who are hurling such missiles from that immense glass-house, the social system of Great Britain, I will proceed to furnish you, and through you such of our friends as you may permit (without printing) to read them, some of the results of my observation and experience during the last two years.

One of the features in the character of this people, which has impressed me most painfully, is, what may properly be called social profligacy. I use this term in a very general sense: a sense which embraces corruption of moral principles, and looseness of moral conduct. So far as manners, personal habits, and chastity, are concerned, there has been a great improvement in this country, certainly, since the days of Tom Jones and Peregrine Pickle. And I would not be understood as meaning to say, that among the higher classes of society (and in this term I desire that the better sort of what is called the middle class should be included) in this country, there is to be found that license of speech and of morals which prevailed

in former years. That such looseness of morals among a very large portion of this society, and among some of the higher classes, does still prevail, to a most disgusting extent, I do insist, and expect to show in due time. On the other hand, I am free to admit, that there are no people on earth more refined in manners and virtuous in conduct, so far as regards the relations between the sexes, than, as a general rule, the nobility and gentry and a large proportion of the middle class of society in this country are. But I wish to be understood now as plainly saying to you, that, whilst there has been an improvement upon the coarseness and the vice of the last century in certain directions, there still prevails a high degree of social depravity among the people of this country. It is manifested in the corruption of their system of suffrage; in the vice of betting or gambling, more especially upon horse-races; in the ignorance of the masses; in the amount and character of the crimes committed; in the number of abandoned women of the town; the number of illegitimate children; the profligate intercourse of the sexes; the degraded moral character, generally, of the lower classes, and the great number of juvenile delinquents.

Let us begin with their elections — the source in a free government (which this professes to be) from which many of the streams that give life and character to the body-politic must flow.

The corrupt moral tone of large masses of this population is indicated by the systematic bribery which is practised in their elections. The *bribed*, though not the very lowest of the low (because in such case they would not probably be electors) are not among the more elevated ranks of society. But who are the *bribers*, and whose is the money? The immediate agents of the candidates are attorneys or solicitors, as the general rule; and they employ subordinate agents, who again subordinate their instruments. At the top of this scale, those engaged are entitled by law to write themselves gentlemen, perhaps, and belong for the most part to the middle classes; those at the other end are of the same class with the voters — possibly lower in the social scale. Yet all of these persons are, in fact and in law, but the agents and instru-

ments of the candidates, who come, as the general rule, from the aristocracy of birth or of wealth. And the part these latter play is only the more despicable because of its hypocrisy. They are, in almost all instances, careful not to mix themselves up with bribery or illegal solicitations; and it seems quite the fashion for them to insist, when coming down with the cash, which they well know will be employed in bribery (I dare say their tongues are in their cheeks the while), that it shall, by no means, be illegally employed. But they take very good care not to interfere with their agents, and not to inquire what is or has been done with the money. Thus all classes share the evil, and its consequent moral degradation. Of course there are exceptions to this rule—highly honorable exceptions. Indeed, I do not mean to say that the practice is universal, but only that it prevails to such an extent in the kingdom as greatly to affect its moral character. I will give you some of the proofs.

In the year 1850, (I believe,) Mr. Jacob Bell was elected a member of Parliament by the borough of St. Albans. He was charged by his opponent with having procured his election by illegal means. An Act was accordingly passed by the House of Commons, appointing commissioners to inquire into the matter and report. On Monday, the 27th of October, 1851, that Commission met, and entered on the investigation. It continued its session from day to day, for many days. The result was, a report unfavorable, both to the candidate and to the borough. He was unseated, and it was disfranchised. I propose to send you some extracts, taken from the proceedings of that Commission, and published in a London newspaper, serving to show how the system to which I have referred is managed in this country. I can only send you a portion of the proceedings, as the whole would occupy too much time and space.

“ST. ALBANS BRIBERY COMMISSION.

First Day. Monday, Oct. 27.—This morning this long-expected inquiry was opened in the Town Hall, at St. Albans, by Messrs. F. W. Slade, W. Forsyth, and T. Phinn, Commis-

sioners appointed by an Act passed last session, entitled 'An Act appointing Commissioners to inquire into the existence of bribery in the borough of St. Albans. Shortly before the opening of the court, Mr. Bell, the sitting member, entered, and took his seat near the Commissioners. The court was much crowded, and several jokes respecting 'Bell-metal' and 'Sovereign-alley' were occasionally audible.

Mr. Slade said that this inquiry would, in the first instance, be limited to the proceedings at the last election; but the act gave powers to inquire into an almost unlimited period. All persons conducting themselves properly would be allowed to be present during the examination of the witnesses; but it was highly inexpedient to print and publish anything that might affect the character of persons, and it would be somewhat indecent that the evidence on which the Commissioners' report was to be founded should go forth before the Commissioners had formed their own conclusions, and had reported to the Queen. If, therefore, this rule against prematurely publishing the evidence were infringed upon, it would be the Commissioners' duty thenceforth to conduct the inquiry with closed doors. Mr. Slade then stated that, under the 7th section of the Act, the Commissioners could compel the attendance of witnesses and the production of documents, and could compel answers to all questions; in fact, the Legislature had conferred very extraordinary powers upon this Commission—more extensive, indeed, than had ever before been conferred on any other Commission; and the penalties attendant upon refusing to comply with the requisition of the Commissioners were very severe; but no penal consequence of a criminal or civil nature would attend the disclosure of the truth; for, by the 8th section, all parties faithfully disclosing all matters within their knowledge on the subject of this inquiry, were indemnified from all consequences whatever, whether civil or criminal, and certificates from the Commissioners would protect such parties for any act previously done by them in this borough.

Mr. Bell, the sitting member, was then examined on the subject of the money advanced for the purposes of the election, and as to the circumstances under which he came forward as a candidate. The first communication he received upon the subject of the election was from Mr. Coppock, the parliamentary agent; who told him there was a vacancy at St. Albans, and that if he became a candidate he was likely to be returned, and that the expense of it would be about £2500. Witness expressed himself rather surprised at the largeness of the

amount, and wanted to know what it was for; to which Mr. Coppock replied that there were various expenses and a good deal to pay for agents, and that that would be about the amount; and he thought he could secure him the election for that sum of money. Witness said that he himself, personally, would have nothing to do with it, but would refer him to other parties.

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Mr. Edwards was then called: being lame, he was seated during his examination. He gave his evidence in a frank and manly manner; but when his testimony affected the honor or character of others, he was painfully affected.

Mr. Slade asked, had Mr. Edwards any statement to make?

Mr. Edwards said he was not a volunteer. He had been summoned, and would answer truly; but in his position, it was preferable that his evidence should be drawn from him. In answer to questions, Mr. Edwards then stated that he had long resided in St. Albans. He had been manager of the St. Albans Bank, and a voter for the borough. He took part in the borough elections for twenty-five years. On the 16th of November he received a letter from Mr. Coppock, referring to Mr. Raphael's death, and summoning him to town. He saw Mr. Coppock on the 18th of November, in Parliament street, and Coppock asked witness to act with him. Witness consented. Coppock asked about expenses, and said the Hon. Mr. Craven wished to be a candidate. Witness said £2500 would be the expense. Coppock said he would communicate with Mr. Craven, and would see witness next day. The expenses were irrespective of a contest; and witness said that, in consequence of a contract with the Conservatives, there would be no contest. The £2500 referred to the general expenses of an election, contingent on circumstances. Witness would not, under any circumstances, embark without that amount. Mr. Carden was brought to the field by a portion of the 'third party,' and was then supported by the Conservatives. The third party were 151. Bragg's Conservatives were 50 or 60. Mr. Gape and the Earl of Verulam were of that party. The 151 were polled to a vote at the last election; there was no third party. Witness told Coppock he could poll two to one against Mr. Carden, and he had done so. He first heard of Carden in a letter introducing Mr. Gresham, who said he had 'a candidate' who had lots of money. The name was mentioned — Sir Fitzroy

Kelly. Gresham said he had come to reside near St. Albans, and wanted a 'slice,' as he wasn't going to be 'quiet.' Witness said, 'What do you want?' Gresham replied, 'Ten guineas a day.' Witness offered five. He ultimately decided to ask the friend who introduced Gresham. When Bell came down, Gresham was one of the first whom witness asked to aid his canvass; but, at a meeting to invite Carden, Gresham offered to draw up the requisition inviting Carden. Witness was surprised and hurt, and wrote to remonstrate. [Here Mr. Gresham interrupted the witness, but was silenced.] Gresham wrote an answer (now produced), stating that he knew nothing of the Carden party. Soon afterwards, Carden appeared. Witness saw Carden, and told him that he knew nothing of the town, or he would not disturb it, as Mr. Bell's return was certain. Mr. Carden bowed, and his friends talked 'fudge.' Carden came as a Liberal. Witness took all the packets to Chequers street. He never saw Bell in Chequers street. There was a sort of understanding—a custom—that the Liberals would vote for witness's candidate. Witness held out no promises. When there was anything to give, he always gave it. Head-money was always customary and notorious at St. Albans. Out of 324 Liberals, 250 always looked for head-money; and the opposite party always looked for it. They all looked for it. He should consider it strange if any one voted for Carden without getting money. At previous elections, witness had paid money to fifty of those who voted for Carden at the last election. At the last election, £5 was the lowest and £8 the highest sum paid to the light weights. There were heavy weights. The heavy weights got £75. The mode of business was this:—The town was canvassed all day. In the evening the voters came to him and got their money. That had been the custom for twenty years. The voters stopped below stairs. Witness's brother-in-law stood at the top of the stairs, and introduced the voters one by one. The sum to each person varied at different elections. Most of the voters were engaged at the elections as messengers, spies, and so on, and each one was remunerated as he deserved. Each was put on the footing of a servant. Some were actually and some only nominally employed. Those who got money under the color of work got least. Those who did work got most. The voter's visits to Sovereign Alley and the paying commenced on the 30th of November.

Mr. Slade: Did you keep a list of the persons who came, and an account of the money you paid?

Mr. Edwards: Yes. But I have destroyed the list. I don't want to mention names. I will tell everything else.

Mr. Phinn: But the Act of Parliament renders it necessary for us to know the names.

Mr. Edwards: You see how painful is my position. Does the Act of Parliament compel me?

Mr. Slade: The Act gives us power to compel you. We feel for your position, but these names must be given.

Mr. Edwards: Let me know, in the presence of those around me, my townsmen, what will be the consequences if I refuse to tell the names.

Mr. Phinn: You will be imprisoned until you do.

Mr. Edwards: I have already been in jail eighteen weeks, and would go for another eighteen weeks, sooner than tell the names.

Mr. Slade: But you may be imprisoned for life.

Mr. Edwards: Then I am compelled. I will give the names. I will give every one of them. I will take an alphabetical list of the electors, and will tell all I know of each of them. I won't select names. I won't make fish of one and fowl of another. It shall all come out.

Mr. Slade: You are traducing nobody here. You are to satisfy the supreme power in the state, and simply to tell the truth.

Mr. Edwards: I wish to do so, and I hope it will do good.

Great excitement prevailed in court during this conversation. A scene was about to be enacted such as had never before been witnessed.

Copies of the register were procured. The Commissioners took a copy, and began with the first name — Mr. Edwards being given to understand, when a name was called, that the question was, 'Did that man receive money from you?' Many of the parties referred to were in court at the time, and the answers offered by Mr. Edwards were followed, in each case, by murmuring comments from the audience. At four o'clock about 200 names had been called; these being electors resident in a single parish. For obvious reasons, we do not give the list of those reported by Mr. Edwards to have received bribes; but we may state the results. Two out of three had received bribes, and nine out of ten had received the money direct from Edwards himself. Some had received the money from Mr. Bragg, as the Conservative agent, acting with Edwards, but not allowing Edwards to interfere with his own people; and others had got their bribes through inferior

agents employed by Edwards. A few had declined taking their bribes except through their wives; and in those cases it was found that the parties had voted against Edwards's candidate, or had not voted at all. Nearly all had received their money before the day of the election. Those who had received their money afterwards were parties who had forfeited their words in previous contests. 'But,' said Mr. Edwards, 'there is seldom a forfeit of word in these cases.' The usual sum given by Edwards was £5 — '£5 for his vote, by myself,' being the most frequent answer as the names were called. There were other sums, of £6, £8, and £10, paid; but in those cases vote and actual service were paid for together. In reference to one name, the witness said, 'That was not for his vote. I had taken his room for a committee-room, and there was a bed-room. The price was high, but not too high for election times. Nothing whatever was said about the vote to him. That was quite understood. It was a matter of course that he would vote for my candidate.' In reference to another name, the statement was, 'The £8 was for his work as messenger; and he worked very hard. It was understood he would vote for me. I never even asked that. It was a matter of course.' Another statement, respecting another party, was, 'He got between £10 and £20. But that was for goods supplied. The vote was a matter of course.' Of another the witness said, 'He got the £5 to keep the peace. He is a prize-fighter. I used to have a band of twenty prize-fighters at the elections, but at the last election I only employed one. I gave him £5; and he would have had that if he hadn't had a vote. He used to get it before he got a vote.'

Fourth Day. Thursday, Oct. 30.—On Thursday morning the Commissioners resumed their sittings in the Court House, St. Albans. An immense crowd attended, all other business in the town being suspended by these unusual proceedings.

Mr. Slade said that it had come to the knowledge of the Commissioners that threats had been used to one of the officers employed under this Commission. He now announced that the court was determined to protect, to the utmost of their power, not only their own officers, but all witnesses examined under the compulsory powers granted to the Commission. And if, after this warning, any interruption was offered to the proceedings, the party so interrupting would be dealt with in the severest manner allowed by law.

Mr. Edwards then resumed his seat in the witness' box.

He begged, before beginning his evidence, to state a circumstance which had occurred last evening. A person whom he had employed in 1850 on his farm, as a painter, had that evening sent into him a bill for £5 8s. 6d. That person had received £5 or upwards at the late election, and on the bill now sent in was marked, 'Received £5 8s. on account.' This man had never sent in a bill to him before, but doubtless he had done work for it; but the £5 odd given at the election was not given towards the settlement of the bill.

The reading of the registry, and Mr. Edwards's answers respecting each man, were then resumed. There was a re-reading of St. Albans' parish, the wrong list having been given on the previous day, and the corrections were now made. Edwards's manner was less constrained than on the previous day; he now gave not only the indispensable facts, but with easy unreserve he gossiped about his neighbors, and mentioned stories in extenuation or censure, which were superfluous. The novelty of his extraordinary position seemed to have worn away, and his revelations were tendered with a chatty air, which indicated rather a pleasant understanding with his examiners. At the same time, he affected no candor. He was clear, open, and truthful, and made it apparent that compulsion only could induce him to make the disclosures; and that, being compelled, he related all his election anecdotes accurately. The registry of St. Albans' parish having been gone through, the lists of St. Peter's and St. Michael's freemen were slowly called out. Edwards's comments seemed to be ready marked opposite each name; he did not hesitate for a moment, and it was very seldom that he was not positive in his statements. On delivering his emphatic '£5 by myself to himself for his vote,' no man could doubt that he had told the truth.

Fifth Day. Tuesday, Nov. 4.—On Tuesday, the Commissioners, F. W. Slade, W. Forsyth, and J. Phinn, Esqs., at half-past ten, A. M., resumed their sittings (adjourned from Thursday, the 30th ult.) at the Court House, St. Albans. The court was densely crowded, as Mr. Coppock was in attendance.

Mr. Heywood Edwards (son of the witness Edwards) was first called; and, being questioned as to the 'inducement' suggested by Mr. Coppock to his father, said that his father had told him that Mr. Coppock had promised to get a Government situation for one of his (the father's) sons. Witness had four brothers; none of them had yet obtained any public situation. Mr. Bond Cabbell had got one of the sons into the Bluecoat School. Edwards, Sen., had acted as Mr. Cabbell's agent.

Mr. Edwards, Sen., was now re-examined, and deposed that none of the 'head-money' given by him at the last election had been returned since. Mr. Reding, a Dissenting minister, had been on Mr. Bell's committee, but was not very active, and was not, as witness believes, aware of the election practices as conducted by witness. His (witness') son's statement respecting Mr. Coppock's promise of a situation was correct. But witness had not mentioned the word 'Government' to his son. All that he said was, a 'situation.'

Mr. Francis Edwards, another son of the last witness, said he also had acted as agent between his father and Mr. Coppock. He had carried packets, and had, like his brother, acted as doorkeeper in Sovereign Alley.

Mr. James Coppock, solicitor and parliamentary agent, 40, Parliament street, being called, Mr. Slade asked whether Mr. Coppock had a statement to make respecting the part he took in the St. Albans' election.

Mr. Coppock said he was ready to answer any question the Commissioners might put, but that all he knew respecting the St. Alban's election was in his confidential capacity as solicitor to Mr. Bell. He applied for Mr. Bell's permission to give evidence, as, without Mr. Bell's permission, no power on earth would have induced him to utter a single word on the subject. Mr. Bell first gave a verbal authority; but witness requested and obtained a written authority, which he now produces, and Mr. Bell requested that Mr. Coppock would withhold no evidence that was necessary to carry out the inquiry.

Witness' professional duties led him very much in connection with parliamentary matters, and had done so, for the last fifteen or sixteen years—indeed, ever since Sir R. Peel's celebrated advice, to 'register, register, register!' In 1835, an association, composed of 700 or 800 of the leading members of the Liberal party, was established, and shortly after its establishment witness was appointed secretary of the association. That association was called the Reform Association. Its object was to attend to the registrations throughout England, and assist in the Liberal cause generally. This had placed him in communication with almost every borough and county in England. From that time to this, he had, without hardly knowing how, been in some way or other consulted by the Liberal party whenever there was a vacancy anywhere, and he had been constantly in the habit of watching vacancies. He thus knew something of most places in England; and if he were to go through the list of boroughs and counties, as the Commissioners had done the list of electors in this case, and if he were

asked to state how the members had gained their seats, he believed he could make as extraordinary a statement with respect to those boroughs and counties as Mr. Edwards had made with respect to St. Albans [applause from the audience]. He had not made that statement with a view to applause, but merely to show the extent of the system; for he knew it well, and there was no man in the kingdom who had a greater horror of it than he had. When Mr. Thorley came, witness asked what were his friend's position and circumstances. Was he a producible man? Was he an orator? and many other questions, including what were his politics, as witness acted only on one side. Having been satisfied on these points, he said he would consider the matter. In three weeks afterwards, Mr. Thorley returned, and mentioned Mr. Bell's name, and witness requested Mr. Bell to call, which he did. Having inquired about his politics, and the expense he would be willing to incur,—for it was as necessary on such occasions to know the depth of a member's pocket as of his politics,—Mr. Bell frankly said that his only object was to get into Parliament to promote certain views of his own with regard to the medical profession, which he had for years labored to bring forward, and which he thought he could better advocate if he were in Parliament. He had no ambitious views.

There was at that time no other candidate in the field. The 'third party' were still in negotiation with Sir R. Carden, and were using every effort to get hold of him or some other candidate, without respect to politics, and simply for the sake of expenditure. This had always been the practice in St. Albans; and witness read a letter which he had received from Mr. Geard, in 1836, showing that it was then the established custom of the 'third party' to make the candidates 'bribe and bleed' as freely as possible. Witness believed that the same custom had existed for 100 years. It had always been understood that the great majority of the electors of St. Albans could be bought and sold without respect to principle or anything else. Bell having agreed to the terms proposed, a difficulty arose as to how the money should go. It was ultimately agreed that it was to be sent through witness to Edwards. Witness never saw a farthing of the money; he received it in sealed packets. He knew that the £2500 did go, in some way or other, and the result was the return of Mr. Bell by a large majority, as Edwards had promised. Edwards kept faith with witness on that occasion, as he always did when he got into the fight.

Mr. Forsyth: We wish to know, did you convey, or intend to convey, that impression to Mr. Edwards's mind?

Mr. Coppock: I intended to convey the impression that, if he succeeded in returning Mr. Bell, I should consider myself under an obligation to him on behalf of the Liberals. I gave Mr. Edwards permission to tell every word of everything I promised; and if I promised him anything, I shall not violate or alter the fulfilment now.

Mr. Forsyth: Have you been the means of recommending any persons to Government situations?

Mr. Coppock: Certainly. I have exerted myself to serve several parties who served me. The witness then stated that the Reform Club party owed its origin to the Reform Association, but had no connection with it—that association died four or five years ago. There was not now any organized system of finding candidates for boroughs. He was not aware who told him that Sir R. Carden's limit was £1500; but he heard it through somebody ostensibly acting for that gentleman. The process adopted by the 'third party' was this: they went to a dozen places,—to Westminster Hall and elsewhere,—trying if they could find any one to become a candidate. They asked each person what he would spend. He would say so much. They would reply that would not do, and would mention some higher sum, promising to insure his return if he only found the means. Witness heard from some of the persons so employed that Sir R. Carden would not go beyond £1500.

Mr. Forsyth: What would be the legal expense of returning a member for such a borough as St. Albans, suppose there was nothing spent in head-money or bribery?

Mr. Coppock said that if he found he had to retain a dozen gentlemen of the legal profession, at ten guineas a day, he would put down £1200 for that; and here he begged to say that he did not see the difference between that and giving a poor man 5s. for his vote.

Mr. Forsyth: There is a touch of satire in that, Mr. Coppock, and I don't say but it may be a fair one; but what we want to know is, suppose there was not a dozen attorneys at ten guineas a day, but merely the ordinary employment of professional men,—clerks, messengers, etc.,—and supposing you were asked *bona fide* to enter into a contest in St. Albans without any bribery or head-money, what would be the required sum?

Mr. Coppock said that Sir H. Ward, when he left St. Albans and went to Sheffield, told him that the St. Albans elec-

tion cost him £2400, and the Sheffield election only £160; and that when he dined with his Sheffield constituents they all paid their own bills even. Witness thought that £200 was more than any election at St. Albans ought to cost; but he added that they never would prevent practices of bribery, or undue expenses, until they allowed the ballot.

Mr. Slade reminded Mr. Coppock that there were differences of opinion on that point, and confessed that he (Mr. Slade) was one of those who thought that the ballot would increase bribery.

Mr. Edwards was then recalled, and repeated that Mr. Coppock had distinctly held out to him the inducement of 'a situation for one of his sons.' The promise was made quite voluntarily by Mr. Coppock, and, so far as witness remembered, not at all in the way stated by Mr. Coppock."—*Observer*, Nov. 3d, 1851.

Without too much trying your patience, Major, I cannot send you all the proceedings of this Commission in one letter. I close this by repeating that I am,

Very respectfully,

Y'r ob't serv't and cousin,

P. JONES.

To MAJ. JONES,

Pineville, Ga., U. S. of America.

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## LETTER IX.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BRIBERY COMMISSION FOR ST. ALBANS  
CONTINUED—CONTROVERTED ELECTIONS IN 1852.

London, June 20th, 1853.

DEAR MAJOR:—As I feel sure that you will be interested with the detail of circumstances connected with this bribery commission, and as it serves so well to illustrate what I have said as to the tone of morals in this country, I shall proceed to furnish you with a few more extracts from the proceedings of these Commissioners :

## "BRIBERY COMMISSION AT ST. ALBANS.

*Ninth Day. Tuesday, Nov. 11th.*—The ninth sitting of the commission was held this day at St. Albans. The questions were of a routine character, and the answers were but little varied. Upwards of 100 electors were severally called to the "confessional," and acknowledged with the greatest nonchalance, and to the amusement of a crowded audience, having received £5 and £10 for their votes from Edwards, Blagg, Vass, and others. Most of them admitted having been bribed at previous elections for Wilks, Craven, Raphael, and Repton; but the majority professed that the money was in payment of "services," not "bribes" for votes. One of the early witnesses was the house-painter, who had, as Edwards stated, received a £5 bribe, but who subsequently furnished his painting bill for £5 6s. 8d. due by Edwards, and who persisted in saying that the £5 was given not as a bribe, but in payment of the painting bill. Another witness was a blind man, with whom the commissioner held the following colloquy:

Did you vote in 1847?

Ans.: I did.

Commissioner: For whom?

Ans.: For some gent as is dead.

Ques.: For Mr. Raphael?

Ans.: I heerd so. Another man received £5 at the last election and £10 in 1847. He said both sums were for services.

Ques.: Why did you receive more in 1847 than at last election?

Ans.: Oh, I had two votes (as a £10 householder and a freeman) in 1847.

Ques.: Then the £10 could not have been for services?

Ans.: Yes, it was.

Ques.: Were your services the same in 1847 as at last election?

Ans.: Yes, quite the same.

Though pressed to explain the contradiction, the witness would not admit that he had been paid for his "vote." On concluding his evidence he was asked if he wanted a certificate; he replied that he should like one. The Commissioner said: But you are in a dilemma. If you did not receive money for your vote, you don't want a certificate; and if you did, you have told us a falsehood. The witness then withdrew without making any further application.

Mr. George Sealey Waggett's name was called. "Here," shouted a bold voice; and then, amidst great laughter, the long-missing Waggett appeared. He is a small, emaciated, ghastly pale man; an Irishman, with a native accent, but slightly deteriorated by his long residence in St. Albans. His wife keeps a lodging-house there; and he, Birchmore, and Skeggs, had levanted to Boulogne, and a royal proclamation offered £200 to recover the wanderers. In reply to questions, Waggett frankly answered that he had received £5 at the last election, and £5 in 1847, for his vote.

Commissioner Forsyth: I hope, Mr. Waggett, your health is improved by the mild climate of France [laughter]?

Mr. Waggett: Thank you, sir, I'm much better [great laughter].

Mr. Graham here asked: Did you receive more than £5 for your vote at the last election?

Waggett: No; no more

Graham: Or since?

The Commissioner said that their powers did not extend to embrace this question. Mr. Waggett then withdrew, and sat near Hayward, one of the companions of his continental trip. Hayward has adopted the foreign style of dress, and now wears a formidable beard and mustachios. Birchmore, one of the "missing witnesses," appeared in the box amidst much merriment. He was dressed as a farm laborer, and is about 60 years old. He admitted that he had been bribed by "Muster Edwards," and had been lately "abroad." Skeggs, another of the "travellers," also about 60, dressed as a laborer, in answer to a question which he did not hear, said he was "no scholar," though he had boasted to his townsmen that he had learned "French." Another voter named Smith said he had received £67 for the band, and for his "services" to Bell's party, but he ultimately voted for Carden, on the purity principle [laughter].

Commissioner: Why did you change sides?

Ans.: Because it was more to my interest.

Ques.: Why so?

Ans.: All I can say is, that I found it so.

On further question, the witness admitted that he had received a notice to quit from his landlord's agent, Mr. Law (who was also Alderman Carden's agent). He had voted for Carden, and has not quitted his house, nor is he now likely to quit it. But there were no direct threats proved, and the witness did his best to serve his landlord and the landlord's agent.

Another witness, who had received money from Edwards to vote for Bell, nevertheless, ultimately voted for Carden on the "purity principle," because on looking over his books he found that the balance of customers lay in the direction of Carden's party [laughter]. Another voter who, at the last election, received £5 for his "services," and whose juvenile appearance led the commissioner to question him on the subject, said he was not yet 21. He knew that he had no legal right to vote, and he knew it when he was voting.

Mr. Graham, the solicitor, here urged to have questions put to the witnesses who had absconded, respecting the pecuniary supplies for their trip to the Continent; but the commissioner decided that they had no power to go into that subject.

Above 100 persons having been examined, the Court, at half-past three o'clock, adjourned to Wednesday.

*Tenth Day. Wednesday, Nov. 12th.*—On Wednesday the Commissioners met at the usual hour, and ninety more of the electors were called, and put upon their defence, to answer or to admit the criminatory charges brought against them by Messrs. Edwards, Blagg, Vass, Harris, and others. On Tuesday about 100 were similarly examined; and on the preceding Friday 60 were heard. The general result, therefore, is, that out of the 483 persons who are on the register for the borough of St. Albans, more than one-half have been arraigned, and that ninety-nine out of a hundred have pleaded guilty to direct, tangible bribery and corruption. On the first occasion of the Commissioners resorting to the unexpected and most effective expedient of summoning the individual electors, and compelling each man to speak, on his oath, for himself, there was very considerable difficulty in getting at the truth. The summons came upon the majority like a thunderbolt; and although there were many who, saturated with the St. Albans *morale*, carelessly regarded their offence as locally inoffensive, there were others, "influentials" and tradesmen, who were dismayed at an official exposure which risked their social position in the town and neighborhood among their own class, and who, not having had the repose for philosophical reflection accidentally afforded to Mr. Edwards, could not, all at once, resolve to make a "clean breast of it."

The following are specimens of the cases elicited this day:

Wm. Thompson voted for Sir R. Carden last election, but received no money. In 1847, he received £10 to vote for Raphaël, but nevertheless he gave his vote for Craven.

John Cockington, cordwainer, said he received £3 from Edwards at last election. He voted for fifty years with the Liberals, and never voted on the other side except once. He would have voted for Bell whether he got money or not. He had never received money before. He understood that the £3 was to drink Mr. Edwards's health.

The Chief Commissioner: Do you think you can make us believe that?

Witness: Yes, sir [laughter].

Mr. Commissioner Forsyth: Were you to spend the whole of the £3 for brandy and water?

Witness: I was to spend it as I liked. On my oath I don't think the money was for my vote. Never got £3 from Mr. Edwards to drink his health at any but election times.

Mr. Commissioner Forsyth: We give certificates to all those who speak truly, and tell us they received money for their votes; but of course as you say you were not paid for your vote, you don't want a certificate?

Witness: No, sir.

George Gooch, gunmaker, said that Edwards left £5 with witness' wife last election, but he did not know of it till two days afterwards. He wished her to return the money, but she would not. She spent it on her children. He voted after all for Sir R. Carden. Did not get any money from Sir R. Carden's party. Got £15 at the 1847 election from Mr. Blagg and Mr. Edwards.

Mr. Commissioner Forsyth: You were paid rather high.

Witness: Our trade always is, sir [laughter].

Henry Goodman received £7, in 1847, for promising to Mr. Wilkes, but he afterwards mistook the name, and voted for Repton [a laugh].

W. Drayton said he received £10 from Repton's party, in 1847, to abstain from voting.

Mr. Blagg explained that the race was very close between Wilkes and Repton, and the object of Repton's party was to send away as many as possible of Wilkes's promisees.

Mr. Commissioner Forsyth: And is it customary, then, to give the voters money to break their promises?

Mr. Blagg: Not to break their promises, sir. Very few of the St. Albans voters ever break their promises; but it is not unusual for a voter to find it convenient to go away on a "journey" at election times [a laugh]. I have known cases

of voters being sent away in coaches and four, and of coaches and four being sent after them to fetch them back again.

The Court intimated that certificates would not be granted to any voters who did not come forward to give their evidence, and that such persons would, therefore, be subject to prosecutions for having received bribes. The proceedings were then — four o'clock — adjourned to next day.

*Eleventh Day. Thursday, Nov. 13th.*—This morning the Commissioners again resumed their inquiries, and a few more witnesses were examined, each of whom, after his humble confession, retreated into an obscure corner of the court, waiting for his certificate of protection from the Commissioners.

Mr. Thomas Blanks deposed that he acted as an agent for Carden at the election in December last, and voted for him. He was not paid for his vote. He did not think he was paid for anything. Before the election, Mr. Low, Alderman Carden's agent, authorized him to draw a few pounds to pay flag-bearers, bandmen, &c.; and if he had overdrawn a little, he was not aware of it. He paid no head-money at last election. He wished he had the power.

Mr. Phinn: Why do you wish that?

Witness: Because we could then have fought on equal terms.

Mr. Phinn: Oh! you objected to the purity principle?

Witness: To be sure I did. I never would have agreed to vote for Carden, if I thought he was coming forward on the purity principle. Because no one can get into any borough on the purity principle [laughter].

Mr. Phinn: Well, did you go to London hunting for a candidate?

Witness: Yes, I went with some others, and saw a good many persons; some we never asked, and others declined to stand.

Mr. Phinn: Did you speak about money to them?

Witness: Undoubtedly. No one can get into any borough without it. We said, "A good sum will be required if there is an opposition: but come on the ground and see, and then you will not like to leave it, perhaps." We mentioned £1500 or £2000, according to circumstances.

Mr. Phinn: You were not particular as to a thousand, I suppose?"

Witness: Oh, no, sir [laughter].

Mr. Forsyth: Were you to have £250 of it?

Witness: No, sir; that was on another occasion. While they were searching for a candidate there was a meeting at my house. Like others, I took up the affair as a matter of business, to get what I could out of it. We asked Mr. Norton, of Waterloo-place, to stand. We believed he had almost consented to our conditions.

Mr. Phinn: What were the conditions?

Witness: As I told you just now — £1500 or £2000. At the meeting at my house, Simpson, Webster, and three or four others were present. Simpson said, "Have you a candidate?" We said, "No; but we expect to get one." He then said, "You had better compromise this affair." We asked in what shape? He said, "Oh, there will be a certain sum to pay to Mr. Blagg, Mr. Debenham, Mr. Edwards, and myself, and there will be about £250 left. If you like you may take that, and whack it, or share it, between you" [laughter]. Mr. Simpson was a sort of middleman between us and the other party. We did not accept the proposal, however. We thought we could do better if we stuck to our own candidate.

Mr. Forsyth: Well, did you do better?

Witness: No, we ought to have done better than we did.

Mr. Forsyth: You said that the expenses at St. Albans were a mere milk score compared with other boroughs. How do you think so?

Witness: Well, I consider that in Malden, in Essex, for instance, they spend more money than they do here. I never received any there, because I was not a voter. I was not in St. Albans in 1847. I have been about two years only in the borough. I took up the late election, as I have said, as a matter of business. There are few people in St. Albans who do not move at election times. I joined with the stream.

Mr. Phinn: But Mr. Edwards was the stream, was he not [laughter]?

Witness: Yes, but he had the bag, and we wished to have one for ourselves. We wanted to fight Edwards on his own principles [laughter].

Mr. Forsyth: You have certainly made a most candid statement, Mr. Blanks.

Mr. Phinn: Had you any agreement with Mr. Pocock or Tucker as to your destined share of the money?

Witness: Oh, no. The money was to pass through their hands, and of course they would take care of number one [laughter]. I heard nothing of purity when Carden was first

taken up. When Carden came to town, I asked him several times whether he intended to win his election or lose it. He said he would very much like to win it, if he could. "Then," said I, "You must do as others do, and come out with the money." I did not mince the matter with him [laughter]. He said he could not do that, as he was pledged to the contrary; but that if he had not been pledged, it would have been a different thing. As it was, he would not give a shilling for a hundred votes.

Mr. Phinn: Did he say that if he had not been pledged, it would have been a different thing?

Witness: No, he did not exactly say it, but I inferred from what he did say, that the question would have been open if he had not been pledged. I suggested to Low that money should be spent; but he was so jealous of Carden's reputation, that he would not hear of it. I cannot say who started the "purity" principle. It came from some of us "Puritans," as we are now called.

Mr. Phinn: Oh! do they call you Puritans?

Witness: Yes, sir.

Mr. Forsyth: It must have come upon you rather unexpectedly, Mr. Blanks, and been quite a shock to your feelings.

Witness: My feelings were rather shocked, I confess, sir. I thought it no go [laughter]. I believe Mr. Joseph Bennett was the person who first started the purity principle. I voted for Alderman Carden, notwithstanding, because I did not like to run away from him after helping to bring him forward. I think Alderman Carden would have been elected for an expenditure of less than £4000. I remember attempting to bet with Alderman Carden that he would win his election. I offered to bet him £1000.

Mr. Forsyth: And, supposing you had lost, what would you have done?

Witness: I would not have paid him at all [laughter].

Mr. Forsyth: Something has been said as to your having settled in St. Albans for the mere purpose of acting at elections. Is that true?

Mr. Blanks: No, that is not true. I came here to get a living.

There was great laughter in the court throughout this most extraordinary series of question and answer.

Shortly before one o'clock, the examination of all the witnesses who came forward was concluded, and the Commissioners then announced that they had determined on adjourn-



ing the further proceedings to the 1st of December, to give time for the production of still absent voters, and the examination of Messrs. Wilks, Craven, and Repton, the candidates at former elections. They had to thank the mayor, and all parties concerned, for the great assistance they had given them in the course of the inquiry; and a general feeling of satisfaction was expressed throughout the court at the urbane and considerate manner in which the Commissioners had discharged the very stringent duties and powers conferred on them by the act of Parliament." — *Observer*, November 17th, 1851.

That Mr. Coppock did no injustice to his countrymen, when, in the course of this investigation, he declared, that he could make "as extraordinary a statement," with respect "to the boroughs and counties" in "most places in England," if "he were to go through the list" as "the Commissioners had done the list of electors in this case," "as Mr. Edwards had made with respect to St. Albans," I found subsequently proven, in effect, by numerous proceedings in the shape of bribery commissions set in motion during the following year.

In the spring of 1852, the conservatives, under the leadership of Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli, came into power. A few months thereafter, Parliament was dissolved, and writs for new elections issued. The elections took place during the month of July, in that year. Both parties charged each other with bribery and corruption at these elections; and following the example which had been set in the St. Albans bribery affair of the year before, disappointed aspirants, or their friends, flooded the House with petitions against the successful candidates, in the hope of unseating these, or of exposing the frauds by which they were elected. There were no less than 120 of these petitions. Thus, under the influence of party excitement, a mass of startling facts has been given to the world, serving to show the fearful extent to which corruption, in this direction, has tainted the population of Great Britain.

A number of the members against whom petitions have been filed, have been already unseated; and others are still before the Commissioners. I will send you a few extracts, showing what has been proven in these cases.

But before doing this, I ought to tell you of Buck's experience at an English election, as he was present on one of these occasions, and gives quite a graphic account of it. This will have to be done in another letter: so I end this, with the assurance that I am, dear sir,

Yr. friend and cousin,

P. JONES.

To Maj. JONES, Pineville, Geo.,  
U. S. of America.



## LETTER X.

BUCK ATTENDS THE SOUTHAMPTON ELECTION—HIS REPORT OF IT—HIS STORY OF HIS GRANDFATHER AND HIS OLD MASTER—ENDEAVORS TO COMFORT AN EMANCIPATED SLAVE.

London, June 25th, 1853.

DEAR MAJOR:—In the autumn of 1851, Kossuth, the great Hungarian patriot, landed at Southampton, in this country. Much excitement prevailed among the people generally in anticipation of his coming. I partook of the interest which was felt, and went down to Southampton for the purpose of being present at his reception. I took my servant with me, and remained several days. Whilst we were there, Buck became acquainted with a brother negro, who was a resident of that town, John Malachi by name. By occupation he was a waiter and jobber about the place, and had acquired means enough to make him an elector of the town of Southampton. He was quite polite and hospitable to Buck, and they became great friends and cronies. This man happened to meet with Buck in the summer of 1852, a short time before the elections, and insisted that he should go down and pay him a visit. At Buck's urgent solicitation, I permitted him to go for a few days; and thus it was his destiny to be in Southampton on the day of the election (July 8th, I think). You shall have his account of what transpired.

"And so you witnessed the election at Southampton, I suppose," said I, when he had returned. "Tell me about it."

"Marster," said he, "thar was a heap more fuss than at our 'lections, an more speechin, an 'bout as much drinkin; but I do think though, it was ginerly better liker than the knockneed whiskey that some of our gen'l'men qualifies themselves with at 'lections. First come Sir Sandy Coburn (I bleve that was what Jack Malachi called him, sir) an Mr. Wilcox an thar friends; an they put up at one place; an they had fine ribbins of one color, an flags of same color, an all sorts smart things writ on some on um. Then come tother side, Mr. Vanstart an somebody else name Bailey or Bailiff, or some sich name, an they put up at another place, an they had ribbins of another color, an flags too. An sich a beatin of drums an blowin of horns, you never heerd the like, an sich a callin o' hard names. You'd a thought the people would a fout every minit, but they didn't; leastwise, not much, though they got into a snarl with tother side heap o' times, that would a ended in a gineral sloshin around 'mong our suvrins. They had a law thar, they told me, that nobody should treat at the taverns, but Lord bless your soul, Marster! thar wus plenty on it gwine on 'bout in places. Well, in the mornin yearly, says Jack Malachi to me, says he, 'Come,' says he, 'an less go over an see Mr. Tucker; I wants to see ef they's a gwine to stick up to thar promise to git me a place to sweep the pier-head.' 'Well,' says I, 'I'm agreeable, Mr. Malachi.' So as we went along—'Look thar, stag,' says he, 'look at them stoopid lookin men thar, inside Mr. Whatthisname's fence. Them's Wig voters,' says he; 'them's reglar 'lectors—been drinkin all night—an now they's pumpin water on 'um, an givin 'um some bitter beer, to git 'um all right for duty to day. They's kep 'um locked up,' says he. 'Them's Wigs,' says he, a pintin at 'um, an laffin."

"'They looks more like pigs,' says I.

"'Well, any how, them's Wigs,' says he; 'an to my notion, all Wigs is mighty nigh pigs,' says he; 'only don't you go an tell 'um I says so, because I've promised to give 'um one vote, perwiden they sticks up to their word,' says he.

“ ‘Look here, Mr. Malachi,’ says I, ‘I don’t like what you says ’bout Whigs,’ says I, ‘becase thar’s Whigs in my country,’ says I, ‘though they is gittin sort ’o seedy now; an all our good ole revolutioners was Whigs,’ says I, jest so; ‘an I don’t like to hear ’um called by no sich hard names. Ole Marster (that’s Marster’s father as was, when he was livin) was a raal Whig,’ says I, ‘an fit clean through the ole Revolution war,’ says I; (‘Marster’s got his cocked hat yit, up in the garret of his house; leastwise, what the moths is left of it,’ says I,) ‘an I’ve heern him say a thousand times, that the Tories was all gran-rascals and traitors,’ says I, jest so. An what’s more’n that,’ says I, ‘I’ve heern my gran-father say same thing, an he allers called hissself a Whig,’ says I, ‘down to his dying day, as mos all them ole revolution niggers did,’ says I.

“ ‘Was your gran-father in that war, stag?’ says Mr. Malachi, says he — its the man’s funny way of callin me, sir; stag, stidy Buck.

“ ‘Well, I reckon he was, horse,’ says I.

“ ‘An he fout ’long with your ole Marster?’ says he.

“ ‘Yes sirree—bub! he done *that*,’ says I.

“ ‘Who did he fight?’ says he.

“ ‘Them ole British and Injuns,’ says I.

“ ‘Whar did he fight?’

“ ‘In Ameriky,’ says I, ‘onder General Morgan at the Cuppens, an at King’s Mountain, an the Eutaws,’ says I, ‘besides heap o’ other places. An I’ve heern ole Marster say he saved his life onct from the Injuns,’ says I.

“ ‘How was that?’ says Mr. Malachi.

“ ‘Well,’ says I, ‘they was in some sort of a fort up on Broad River, I think it was,’ says I, ‘’long with Col. Clark, an the Injuns ’tacted the fort. They druv ’um off, but when ole Marster seed the red-skins runnin, he called out to his men to foller him, he did, an jumped over the trenchments, an tuk arter um, an first thing he knowed, a great many more Injuns ris up from whar they was hid, an fired on our men, an killed so many on ’um,’ says I, ‘that ole Marster had to order his people to git back into the fort,’ says I, ‘quick as they could. As they was doin so, ole Marster was wounded, an fell down in a open place betwixt the woods an the fort,’ says I. ‘When our

people got back into the fort, they give the Injuns dozier, I tell you, an kep 'um off. But thar was a mighty grievin over ole Marster, for they could see him lyin on the ground jest like he was dead. But he wasn't dead though, only out of his senses from the hurt an loss o' blood,' says I. 'He had fell down,' says I, 'in a sort of a wet, marshy place, an bomby the water cooled him like, an he sorter come too,' says I, 'and raised himself on his elbow to try and git up. When the Injuns seed that,' says I, 'they sot up a mighty yell, an fired away at ole Marster; an some on 'um run towards him to take his har — as grandaddy used to say,' says I ('that means to sculp him, Mr. Malachi,' says I), 'but our people poured sich a hot fire into 'um,' says I, 'that they gin that up as a bad job, an kep in the woods. Ole Marster was so weak, that he had fell back, but he tried to git up agin, an the Injuns they fired away on him agin, an whenever he moved the least bit in the world, rip—rap—rap—rap, fell the bullets all round him,' says I. 'When grandaddy saw that, says he, Joe's dead, says he, if I kin bar that any longer, says he, an with that,' says I, 'he lipped over the trenchments, an run down the hill, an tuk ole Marster on his back, an toted him up into the fort. I heern him say,' says I, 'that the bullets fell like hail round him, but nairy one teched him. One on 'um knocked off ole Marster's hat, an made a hole through it, you could put your thumb in—its thar to this day—an grandaddy, he went back,' says I, 'an picked up the hat,' says I, 'an got into the fort, 'thout so much as a scratch,' says I. 'An so, arter sich Whig doins as them in the fambly,' says I, 'you kin see why I take up for the Whigs so boldly, Mr. Malachi,' says I.

“Well, stag,' says he, 'your ole Marster must a been a good man, and your grandaddy too,' says he. 'But them Wigs in your country is Yankee Wigs, an them Tories is Yankee Tories. I spose your Wigs is good an spectable, but the Tories is the spectable ones here,' says he. 'I allers has voted for the Tories,' says he, 'becase they's honest. They don't go for no more liberty than they kin possibly help, an they says so,' says he, 'an you know whar to find 'um,' says he; 'whul them Wigs is allers saft-soapin the people 'bout liberty an reform, an

all that, an jest takes it out in talkin; they never does nothin,' says he; 'I'm gwine to vote this time for *intrust*, not for principul,' says he. 'I'll split my vote, one an one,' says he.

"'What do you spect 'um to give you?' says I.

"'They's promised to git me Parkins' place,' says he, 'to hand ropes an sweep the pier-head,' says he, 'an ef I thought they wouldn't be as good as thar word, I'd jest see 'um on tother side o' Jordan,' says he, 'fore I'd vote for 'um. They's promised more places than they kin fill, I know,' says he, 'but I hope they means to do far with this one,' says he.

Presently we seed Mr. Tucker, an Mr. Malachi, he says, says he, 'I spose I shall have the place,' says he.

'How do you mean to vote,' says Mr. Tucker.

'One an one,' says Mr. Malachi.

'You must vote, then, for Sir Alexander and Mr. Vanstart,' says he, an he writ the names down on a card for him.

Arter a while, the percessions begun to form, an then I saw Mr. Andrews, the gen'l'man that was Mare, when we come down to see that Govner Koshoot, the great Hongry man. An Mr. Andrews he spoke up powerful fine for the Whig *candidates*, and called one on 'um 'a larned gen'l'man,' an tother one, he said, says he, 'was dentified with a great company, whose intrusts was the intrusts of the town of Southampton;' an then he said somethin 'bout 'Peninsular steamboats,' and somethin that sounded like 'go ahead;' an when somebody put a question to him that he didn't like, he said somethin bout 'dash his wig! an dash his folly.' Presently, he begun agin, an said somethin 'bout the slow rate Lord Darby's *Government* had been travellin at, but ef the Whigs only could turn him out, 'they'd put the *Government* train up to faster speed; then they'd go in a express train with a ingin named economy.' Here a ole sailor in the crowd sung out, says he, 'Blast your eyes,' says he, 'stick to your coaches Mr. Mare, you're too slow to get upon a ingin.' This sorter put the Mare out a bit, sir [you know he is a coachbuilder, sir]; but he did mighty well, I thought, for a coachmaker, sir. While this was a gwine

on, the strikers for the *candidates* was mighty busy canvassin the voters, as Jack Malachi called it, though I didn't see any canvass myself, sir, cepin on the ships, sir."

"Did you see any money given for votes," Buck?" said I.

"No, Marster, I didn't. I heern people on both sides say thar was sich things gwine on; but I didn't see 'um. Ef you'd a heerd one side 'buse tother, you'd a made sure 'twas done. 'You're bought and paid for,' one man 'ud say to another. 'You're booked in the Mare's coach, you are,' says he. An tother one, he says, 'It's a lie,' says he, 'its you that's bought. You're a five punder,' says he. An so they went on; but ef thar was any money paid for votes, it was onbeknowns to me. But I heerd lots o' promises made by the strikers, of what they'd do for the 'lectors, ef they'd vote with 'um.

Bomby the percessions marched to the polling booth, an then sich cheers an yellin, as one side 'ud give for thar *candidates*, an tother 'ud groan at 'um, sir. Then tother side 'ud yell, an tother 'ud groan. An they 'ud make all sorts o' noises to keep from hearin each other. Nobody was perlite, but the *candidates*, an they was very much so, bowin and smilin at the 'lectors. But the way that crowd yelled an shouted, sir, would a beat a camp-meetin, holler! Presently, when the crier got some silence, that everlastin Mare [I bleve it was] got up, an perposed our *candidates*. I calls 'um *our candidates*, Marster, becace I allers could'nt help takin sides, when I seed two roosters a fightin, an I spose I would a jined one side any how, in my feelins; but main thing was, thar was Whigs in our country, an the Tories was 'spised thar. Well, whoever it was perposed our *candidates*, he made out that the whole world was a lookin on, and would be turned topsaturvy ef they was'nt 'lected. Then our side, we hurra'd an shouted mightly, an tother side they groaned and bel-lered, tell you'd a thought there was a little yearthquake an heap o' big bulls in the crowd. That made our Mare mad, sir, sartain, an he turned so red in the face, tell he was almost black, an he said, 'dash his wig, ef that was'nt too bad.' But the madder he got, the more fuss they

made, 'tell they drowned his voice, sir, an all he could do was to grin, an make motions an shake his fists at 'um. Then somebody perposed the tother *candidates*, an he made out like all the world and the rest o' mankind was a lookin on, an would be turned topsaturvy tother way, ef thar men was'nt 'lected. The other side people they cheered an yelled, an we hissed, an groaned an hooted with all our mights. But I dont think we done it as well as tothers did, becuse we 'spected to beat the race, an we was'nt so spiteful like. Then come the time for the *candidates* to make speeches, an the way they was sweet on the free an independent 'lectors was the way. All on um agreed 'bout that adzactly, though they couldn't set horses together 'bout nothin else, sir, cepin that everything good was in thar party, an everything bad in tother, an that ef they was not all 'lected the country 'ud go to pot.

“But to my mind, Marster, the best speech was made by our Sir Coburn. I can't 'member it adzactly, but I know he told um what nice people *they* was, an how honest *he* was, an allers had been, ef he had been a Tory *onct* (I was sorry to hear that), an how he had quit the Tories, becuse they was gwine wrong, an how the Whigs was right, leastwise the present time Whigs. ‘As for them first Whigs,’ says he, ‘them Walpul Whigs,’ says he, ‘they mought a been corrupt,’ says he, ‘but they was the *old set*,’ says he; ‘the present Whigs,’ says he, ‘is the men what has made sweetenins cheap, an 'bolished slavery an corn-laws.’ Oh, he spoke up powerful fine, I tell you, Marster! I didn't think so much of tother speeches. Still, tother ones done mighty well, an ricommended thar side powerful strong. Well, sir, then the 'lection come on, an our *candidates* they got in, an then me an Malachi went home.

“When we got to Mr. Malachi's house, we found a ole nigger thar, name Johnson, who was waitin to see me, onderstandin I was from Ameriky. He lived somewhar close by, he said, an had come from North Carlina. He blonged onct, good while ago, he said, to a Scotch gen'l-man, name McDaniel, who was a marchant in North Carlina, an was tuk with a gallopin kunsumtion, an started



to come over to this country to see his kin, an git cured, ef he could; but he died on the passage. The ole man said he come long with him as his sarvant, to nurse him; which when he died he give him a little property, an sot him free. An so he staid in this country; but he wouldn't a done so, he said, ef he hadn't a got married mighty yearly arter gitten here, an he allers had been powerful sorry he stayed; for he was 'nuff happier as a slave in North Carlina,' says he, than he was here. We sot up mos all night, talkin; for I knowed heap o' people that come from North Carlina to Georgy, what he knowed, or had heerd about; an 'peared like hit done the man good, sir, to talk 'bout ole times in North Carlina.

"'Ah, Mr. William Buck,' says he, (he was a mighty perlite ole nigger, Marster,) 'ah,' says he, 'ef I could only jest see the ole North State onct more, an git some raal Macklenburg big hominy, fried with midlin, an hear a good corn-song, an go to a camp-meetin, 'pears like I could die more happier,' says he.

"'Did you have corn-shuckins much in your time,' says I.

"'That we did,' says he; 'an I was much of a man round the pile, sir, I tell you; an bless your heart alive, man, it would a done you good to a heern me give out the corn songs,' says he; 'speshly Stompin-down-my-Riley, an Miss Aggy-pulled-the-whip-saw-down. Ah me! All that's past,' says he, 'an I never shill hear the like o' that agin, I reckon,' says he.

"'Would you like to hear a corn-song now, Mr. Johnson?' says I.

"'Sartain,' says he.

"So I started right off, Marster, into one on our ole shuckin songs."

"What was it, Buck?" said I, quite interested in his story.

"You've often heerd it, sir —

'Dis nigger am a mighty man,  
 Oh, Bomba-lidg-a-bombala!  
 My head is made o' big bombshells,  
 Oh, Bomba-lidg-a-bombala!  
 My tooth is made o' glass bottels,  
 Oh, Bomba-lidg-a-bombala!'"



## LETTER XI.

## SPECIMENS OF VARIOUS ELECTION BRIBERY COMMISSIONS.

. London, July 1st, 1853.

DEAR MAJOR:—I comply with my promise, and send you extracts from the proceedings of various other bribery commissions, which were appointed by the House of Commons, upon petitions growing out of the elections of 1852, to which I have referred.

## " KINGSTON-UPON-HULL.

On Saturday this Committee renewed their inquiry at twelve o'clock. The members were the Hon. Mr. Labouchere (chairman), Mr. W. Bagge, Mr. Raikes Currie, Mr. R. Davison, and Hon. H. F. Berkeley.

The examination of John Walker was continued. He stated that he had received several sums of money from Wilde, for the purpose of the election, and that he paid for refreshment for several voters. Wilde told him generally there was 'plenty of tin,' but he did not say where he got it from.

Cross-examined: Was never called upon by Wilde to render any account, but received from Wilde altogether between £30 and £40. Witness had received £50 for his evidence before the Committee. Did not consider this bribery [laughter]. Rollett came to him to get the information he had given in his evidence, and they talked together 'about the baseness of the electoral system generally,' and this had been a standing opinion of witness for many years [laughter]. Prior to the passing of the Reform Bill, a freeman always got £2 for a split vote, and £4 for a plumper; but since that system was abolished, the new voters were the most difficult to manage. They did not know their price. Witness was speaking of the £10 householders in the former case. Now the 'market price' had dwindled down to 30s. a head. There was also the custom, on both sides, of giving refreshment. It was usual to set down a freeman as for six days' pay. Some did not get paid;

and had it been otherwise, there would not have been the bother of this petition [laughter]. Out of between 4000 and 5000 voters polled at the last election, witness would say that 1000 were accessible by this means. The practice had existed less extensively at this election than at former ones. Voters were 'set down' as messengers, not for employment, but for their votes. There were none of the 'open houses' of the old time, but voters were introduced by a member of the Committee to the landlord of a tavern, and they were then allowed to order and have what they liked. Witness would say that between 400 and 500 voters were 'set down' in this way at Saville street—the term 'setting down,' in Hull, meaning that they were to have 30s. each for the colorable employment of messenger, but in reality, for giving their votes. The members of the district committees sent voters to Saville street with notes for this purpose, addressed 'X Y Z,' alias to Wilde, who told the bearer it was 'all right;' the voter's name was set down, and he knew he would be paid for his time.

. . . . .

Charles Robinson, block-maker and freeman, said, on the night before the election, he was walking with other voters, and met Walker, who took them to 21 Saville street, and had their names 'set down.' They went in singly; and afterwards to the Queen's Arms, where they were treated with drink.

Walker gave witness the 30s. as they were going to the poll; and the other men subsequently received the 30s

The Committee here adjourned to Monday.

#### HUDDERSFIELD.

The Committee in this case, which also met for the first time on Saturday, were, Right Hon. Spencer Walpole, Mr. G. Tomline, Mr. James McGregor, Mr. T. A. Mitchell, and Mr. F. W. West.

. . . . .

Mr. Edwin James opened the case for the petitioners, as one of bribery and general treating. Mr. Stansfield's Committee held its sittings at the George, which was one of the finest hotels in the West Riding, and the members of that Committee were charged with having taken an active part in the malpractices committed. Mr. Willan came forward in opposition to Mr. Stansfield, in consequence of a requisition signed by

500 voters, and at three o'clock on the day of the election Mr. Willan was actually at the head of the poll by a majority of fourteen votes; but at this critical moment, a volley of intoxicated voters, who had been bottled up at the George, were suddenly uncorkscrewed, rushed to the poll, voted for Stansfield, and gained the election [laughter]. The learned counsel continued to state he should show that treating of the most barefaced and unblushing description went on at the George, and that payment was made to publicans in respect of votes given in 1847 and votes at the last election.

Evidence was then called to show the existence of the Committee at the George, of the system of paying publican's bills, and that, out of sixty-five publicans on the register, fifty voted for Stansfield.

The Committee adjourned to to-morrow Monday)

#### GUILDFORD.

This Committee, consisting of Lord Seymour (chairman), Hon. R. A. Christopher, Mr. R. B. Sheridan, and Hon. W. E. Duncombe, assembled at eleven o'clock.

Mr. Serg. Kinglake opened the case, describing it as one of bribery and treating. Mr. Thurlow claimed the seat, on the ground that, on a scrutiny, he would be able to prove a majority over Mr. Bell. The bribery and treating resolved itself into colorable employments, such as flagmen and alleged promises of appointments on railways, of one or more influential ones of which Mr. Mangles was director.

Thomas Rivers, a sawyer, of Guildford, deposed that White, an active agent of Mr. Bell, promised him and his brother to get them places if they would vote for Mr. Bell. They were employed as flagmen, and voted for Bell.

G. Causton deposed to having paid voters employed as flagmen, and was particular in paying none who were not voters. Paid them 5s. a day, and had abundance of money from White, from whom he received, in all, £15.

Voters Carpenter and Tilbury were examined, but their evidence contained no point of particular interest, and the Committee adjourned till to-morrow.

## RYE — MR. MACKINNON UNSEATED.

Mr. Merewether and Mr. Rodwell appeared for the petitioners, and Mr. Edwin James and Mr. Welsby for Mr. Mackinnon, the sitting member.

Prior to the commencement of the proceedings, Major Curtis, who was standing in the body of the committee-room, addressing the chairman, said, 'I hope there will be no compromise of this. I believe it is going to be attempted. I will be no party to it.'

The Hon. Chairman: We cannot entertain anything of the kind.

Mr. Merewether then opened the case, stating that Major Curtis, the old member for Rye, having retired, Mr. Pomfret opposed Mr. Mackinnon at the last election, having received a requisition from 260 voters, out of the total constituency of 510. The result of the poll, however, was, for Mackinnon 240 votes, for Pomfret 208; and it would be for the Committee to decide how it was that the 260 votes for Mr. Pomfret had been reduced to 208. A key, however, to this, would be found in the corrupt practices of treating that were carried out. Mr. Curtis, having retired, lent his influence and interest, and agents, in favor of Mr. Mackinnon, and gave a grand dinner at his place at Peasmarsh, to 300 voters, to celebrate his own retirement from the representation, and Mr. Mackinnon's appearance in his place. Messrs. Butler and J. Smith, former agents of Mr. Curtis, carried on the arrangements of the committees on behalf of Mr. Mackinnon, and no fewer than thirty-four open houses for drink and dinners were to be noted in Rye alone, twenty of the landlords voting for Mackinnon.

A witness named Parsons was under examination, when,

Mr. James interposed, and said he was afraid that the dinner that had been given by Mr. Curtis would be found to be so mixed up with Mr. Mackinnon's agents, that the Committee would hold it to have been treating under the Act, and that Mr. Mackinnon must submit to a resolution declaring that bribery by treating, and through his agents, had taken place, but without his personal knowledge, or any imputation on his character.

The room was then cleared, and, on the re-admission of the public, the chairman said he wished to know what course the counsel for the petitioners intended to take, consequent on the announcement from the representatives of the sitting members.

Mr. Merewether said he proposed, on behalf of his clients,

to adduce sufficient evidence before the Committee to prove the case of the dinner at Peasmarsch.

The Hon. chairman said that the Committee had anticipated that would be so ; but it was their opinion, under the circumstances, that it was desirable they should take further time to consider the course the Committee ought to pursue, and they would therefore adjourn until Monday.

Evidence was then adduced with reference to the dinner at Peasmarsch. Richard Lankester and J. E. Davey, voters for Mackinnon, deposed to having been there, and that they were regaled with meats and drinks, and the 'port of Rye,' for which they did not pay. Jeremiah Smith, land agent for Mr. Curtis, and election agent for Mr. Mackinnon, spoke to having ordered the dinner, which cost £220, but which Mr. Curtis had not yet paid him, though he kept an open account with Mr. Curtis.

The room was then cleared, the Committee deliberated, and declared

'That W. A. Mackinnon was not duly elected to serve in the present Parliament for the borough of Rye — that it was a void election, and that he was, by his agents, guilty of treating.

The chairman added, 'This resolution is founded upon a point that arose in an earlier part of our proceedings, and I therefore have to intimate that the Committee entertain doubts whether they shall not think it their duty to take further proceedings under the circumstances of this case ; and therefore adjourn until Monday, at twelve o'clock, when we shall expect to see the parties here ; but on that day we shall not expect you to be prepared with any witnesses.'

The Committee then rose.

#### CAMBRIDGE — MESSRS. MACAULAY AND ASTELL UNSEATED.

On Tuesday the Cambridge Election Committee re-assembled, and Mr. Sergeant Wrangham announced that, as bribery by the agents of the sitting members had been proved, he could not successfully contest the charges made in the petition. But the sitting members were anxious to state to the Committee that they were utterly unconnected with the acts of corruption, and had done their utmost to prevent them. The Committee then decided to hear the sitting members before the close of the case ; and as Mr. James, counsel for the petitioners, stated he had a list of 100 persons, bribed with

£10 each, it was agreed that he should confine himself to some of the prominent cases.

Some witnesses were then examined, and several cases of bribery were proved.

Mr. Macaulay then stated that Messrs. Balls and Fawcett, of Cambridge, had told him that Mr. Astell had agreed to stand for the borough, and that £1200 would be the expense. Messrs. Macaulay and Astell advanced that sum, and also a further sum of £200; but they specially insisted that no part of the money should be expended in an illegal way. They had never since demanded or received any account of how it was expended, but they were both quite unconnected with, and ignorant of, any acts of bribery or corruption.

Mr. James, in remarking on the acts of bribery, said it could hardly be denied that the Carlton Club had supplied money for the purpose; but the Reform Club, and the Carlton Club, and the members of the House of Commons would be doing themselves a great injustice if they wished to screen such doings. It was all very well to say that the accounts of the Carlton Club were audited and published. He (Mr. James) did not mean to say that money for electioneering purposes was supplied from the eight or ten guineas a year subscription paid to the club, but from the private resources of the members.

Mr. Hildyard: Mr. James, you must confine yourself to a statement of the facts. I cannot sit here and permit myself to be addressed in this manner, as I know the accounts of the Carlton are regularly audited. I also state that no sum is subscribed by that club in any way for the purposes of elections, and I believe you are making a false statement when you state that.

Mr. James said that, with reference to the courteous manner in which Mr. Hildyard had told him he was making a false statement, he of course received it as a counsel discharging his duty.

Mr. Hildyard explained that he meant nothing personally offensive.

After some discussion, the Committee consulted together on the evidence; after which, the chairman read the following resolutions of the Committee:

‘That Kenneth Macaulay, Esq., and John Harvey Astell, Esq., were not duly elected as burgesses to serve in the present Parliament for the borough of Cambridge. That the last election for the said borough of Cambridge was a void elec-



tion. That Kenneth Macanlay and John Harvey Astell, Esqs., were, by their agents, guilty of bribery at the said election. That it was proved that Charles Nurrish was bribed by the payment of £10; Joseph Dealtry, by the payment £6 10s.; Henry Mansfield, by the payment of £10; George Richardson, by the payment of £10; John Sharman, by the payment of £10; Thomas Butcher, by the payment of £5; W. Baker, by the payment of £4; John Hawkes, by the payment of £19; Thomas Lee, by the payment of £7, and £1 in furniture. That Samuel Long, Joseph Sterne, William Taylor, William Peake, and William Gilbert, were guilty of bribery at the last election for the said borough of Cambridge; but it is not proved that such bribery was committed with the knowledge or consent of the sitting members. That there is reason to believe that corrupt practices have extensively prevailed at the last election for the said borough of Cambridge.

“DERBY.

On Saturday, the select Committee appointed to try the merits of this petition met in committee-room No. 2. Sir John Pakington, chairman; Col. Knox, Mr. Moncrieff, Mr. Tudway, and Mr. Corbally.

This Committee re-assembled yesterday, Mr. Robert Ingham in the chair. The other members of the Committee were Mr. W. Stirling, Mr. W. M. Milner, Mr. J. B. Stanhope, and Hon. A. Kinnaird. The committee-room was much crowded

Sergeant Fern, of the Derby police, deposed to having, on the morning of the election, gone to the County Tavern, in consequence of instructions from the last witness. Certain signals were communicated to him. He went up stairs, and at the top met Kallow, who attempted to stop him, but witness put his finger to the side of his nose [laughter], upon which Kallow said, “That’s all right.” Witness also said, “It’s all right; Radford sent me.” Kallow allowed witness to go into the room, where he found Morgan before a table with a small book and two or three pieces of paper. He took Morgan into custody and searched him. In Morgan’s pocket he found one £10, and six £5 notes of the Bank of England, and in his trousers’ pockets a bag containing £134 in sovereigns and half sovereigns, and the celebrated “W. B.” letter. He also found four cards on Morgan; two of these cards had on them, “Mr. T. Morgan,” and the other two, “Mr. T. Morgan, Chester.”

The pieces of paper he found on the table turned out to be bank notes [laughter]. Witness lodged Morgan in the lock-up. Asked him his name, and where he came from, and he replied it was on his card. Next day Morgan told witness he came from Shrewsbury, and not from Chester. Witness asked him why he put Chester on his card, and Morgan replied, because Frail had expressed a wish to him that he should do so. Morgan also stated to witness that the night before the election a man had brought him a bag of gold, and in the morning another and some notes. The man who brought the money was a tallish thin man, dressed in drab clothes. It was nearly dark when he brought him the first money, and he therefore thought he should not know him again, unless he had some conversation with him. Witness knew Thomas Lund, who answered this description. Morgan told witness he paid the money away to persons who brought checks. He entered the numbers of the checks in his book, and the sums he paid for each, adding that "if they had not found his book they would have been bothered." Morgan said he did not know that the persons he gave the money to were voters, and that when he was coming from Shrewsbury he thought it was to act as a poll-clerk, and that if he had really known what they wanted him for he would have seen them hanged first [laughter]. Morgan also told witness that if he had been in the room two minutes earlier, he would have seen a man in a brown coat, who had paid away twice as much money as Morgan. Morgan also said Derby was a poor place; that they gave as much money for one vote at Shrewsbury as they gave at Derby for twenty [laughter]. The money the Derbyites had given him would not have lasted him two hours at Shrewsbury.

Cross-examined: Did not pump Morgan; Morgan indeed did not require pumping [laughter], for he had been imbibing that which was calculated to make him loquacious, *i. e.*, brandy and water [laughter]. On their way to the lock-up they had two quarts of ale. The magistrates who took Morgan's statement were of both political parties; Morgan was confused and excited, and on hearing the noise outside the court said, "tell 'em if I get free I'll give them a few barrels of ale." When witness arrested Morgan he fell apparently stupefied over the fire-place, and exclaimed "Lord deliver us" [laughter]!

J. W. Mellor and G. Hervey, constables of the Derby police, corroborated the previous evidence, and produced the book spoken of by Fern as being before Morgan on the table.

Charles Bird, messenger to Mr. Horsfall's committee, was engaged by Mr. Simpson at the last election, at 4s. a day. Mr. Webster was there frequently, on the occasion of canvassing for Mr. Horsfall. Mr. Webster directed letters in the committee-room, and Mr. Gillam assisted him. Saw the Coxes there. Saw Mr. Walker, Mr. Ackerman, Mr. Lewis, and Mr. Mosely, and witness voted for Horsfall.

On cross-examination witness said he was not kicked down stairs by Mr. Horsfall for being drunk, but he was shoved down [laughter]. Was not drunk, neither was he sober, but a little amidships [laughter].

The Committee then at four o'clock adjourned to twelve to-morrow (Monday).

During the proceedings a list of from 120 to 130 voters, stated to have been bribed, and upwards of 100 persons who were stated to have bribed them, was handed in to the Committee."—*Observer, March 7th, 1853.*

Here is what the editor of the *Observer* says of these proceedings and others like to them:

#### "THE ELECTION COMMITTEES.

The cause of the Ballot comes on apace. Bribery seems to be more rampant; at all events, it is more bold than ever. Fourteen election petitions, terminating in unseating the members on the grounds of bribery and treating, and that, too, when fifty others yet remain to be disposed of, are strong evidences that the present system, with all its guards and contrivances against the offence, is very little better than a mere sham. The detection of the offence has been much facilitated of late; but detection is not enough; it is prevention which is required. Now, as long as men hope that bribery will not be discovered by an opponent, or will not be betrayed by a supporter, they will practice it. Nothing but the assurance that though they may practice it, they will practice it in vain, will ever restrain them. An effective ballot would produce this result, and is the only thing that will produce it. While you know that if Hodge takes your money, he will in 999 cases out of 1000 give you his vote, you will (or at least your agents will, for now no candidate ever perpetrates bribery!) offer him money for his vote. But if it was once thoroughly understood, that though Hodge might take the money, he might not give the vote, and that there were no means of knowing whether he did give it or

not, the money would not be offered. Who is there that ever thinks of giving payment to a stranger to go and deliver a message a mile off, when he is well aware that, though he may afterwards find the message has not been delivered, he can never hope to discover the rogue who took his money but did not perform the service for it? And the case is still stronger as to the giving of the vote than as to the delivery of the message; for while the latter is a lawful, the former is an unlawful thing, and therefore the promise to perform it is a promise not only not binding in morals or in law, but is one of which morals permit and law commands the disregard."—*Observer, March 7th, 1853.*

Allow me to present you with a few more rich specimens, in the following:—

“COCKERMOUTH.

The proceedings in this Committee directed against General Wyndham, the other member, possessed no features of particular interest. The general tenor of it was, that a number of flag bearers, employed by the “yellow party” were paid after the election by Ratley, and were billeted in bodies of 12 to 20 at different public houses, the landlords being voters.

Evidence was also called to prove agency, and one witness deposed that his employment was to ‘take off his hat and shout’ for Wyndham, for which he was paid.”—*Daily News, 18th, 1853.*

“THE CANTERBURY BRIBERY COMMISSION.

The Commissioners, Messrs. Slade, Chisholm Anstey, and Bircham, reassembled on Monday, and Mr. Alderman Brent, on being called, said he could produce no colored tickets for any elections, except for the year 1847, transcribed in Mr. Rutter’s book. Witness had always been a liberal at the elections. A place was given to one of his sons 17 years ago, and to a second son 14 years ago; to the third son three years, and to his fourth son just as the Whigs were going out, before the Derby Government came in. He believed he never gave Thomas Adams money. One of his sons is in Somerset House, with a salary of £150 a-year, to be further advanced, and his two other sons have £90 to £100 a-year, also advancing. Witness sometimes used his influence successfully in obtaining appointments for supporters of the Liberal members.

Mr. Jonathan Rutter said: He is a Liberal. He kept the accounts of the Liberals in 1847, and he voted then for Conyngham and Smythe. He, on that occasion, received £900 from each of the two candidates, and spent it all in the election, except £14 8s. 10d. Part of the money supplied by the Liberals was given to one Goodwin, who distributed it amongst about 30 voters. Goodwin distributed the money, partly in bribery and partly in treating. Jacobs, a broker, and Cobb, were similarly employed. Witness never bribed a voter himself. But he gave other men money, knowing that it was to be used in bribery [sensation]. £1600 was spent at the election for Conyngham and Smythe, £100 of which was spent at the Fountain in good things [a laugh]. I (said the witness) paid the money for the color tickets on the occasion, and a very tedious job I had of it [a laugh]. The same system of color tickets was adopted at the election previous to 1847.

Mr. Bircham: I am a member of the Reform Club, and my experience, Colonel Romilly, is the same as yours. I know of the existence of a private fund from general rumor, but who are the parties into whose hands the money is paid, or through whose hands it passes, I know nothing [applause].

Colonel Romilly here said he had to contradict an imputation that the object in not resorting to corrupt practices on his side was because it was contemplated to unseat the opposite party on petition. No such idea was entertained. They thought they had good prospects of success.

Mr. Alderman Brent was here recalled, and said that £450 was paid to his account, and which appeared in his banker's book. He paid £200, the balance of it remaining, to Mr. Coppock, and nothing passed between them on the subject beyond a joke by Coppock, to the effect that "the smallest donations were thankfully received" [laughter].

Mr. Alderman Plummer, deputy chairman of the elections' committee, deposed that he had known of the existence of the color system at Canterbury since 1845, and he had always opposed it. He was the only person that did so.

George Goodwin, brewer, said he took an active part for Conyngham and Smythe in 1847. He got a list of 30 voters from Rutter, with instructions to give them £5 a-piece for their votes after they had polled for Conyngham and Smythe. The rumor that he had put any of the money in his pocket was false. He gave the names of three or four of the thirty persons, but "if it were to save his life," he could not give the

remainder. (The chairman admonished him that he must give them at a future period). He had no account of the way in which the money was distributed.

Edward Southey deposed that he assisted Goodwin, but had none of the money. The witness gave a droll account of his having occasionally shifted from the "Blues" to the "Reds," and he repeated, amidst the derision of the audience, that he had none of the money, but that the contract having been made with the voters, he took them to the poll.

The Hon. Mr. Smythe deposed that he was successful in 1841 at a single election in Canterbury. He can't admit that he came forward as a Conservative, or as a "Pink," or a "Red;" nor can he admit that when he stood in 1847, it was a "Blue" [laughter]. His election in 1841 cost him £6000 or £7000. He had no agent. He cannot tell who had the distribution of the money, but he knows that the money went out of his pocket. His election in 1847 cost £1000. It was on a less liberal scale than in 1841. The witness, before answering further questions, wished to ask was he to be exempted from criminating himself? The Chief Commissioner said that whoever gave his evidence there satisfactorily, would be entirely exempted from penal consequences. Mr. Smythe then proceeded to state that in 1841, a very large issue of color tickets occurred, viz., to the value of £2000. He has no documents of them, as they were burnt by the advice of Mr. Lushington, formerly governor of Madras. Witness' opponent was Mr. H. Wilson, on whose side color tickets were also issued, the two together being £4000. At the election for 1847 he handed over £900 without reference to whether it was for legal expenses, and knowing the character of the borough, he asked no questions; at any rate it was comparatively cheap [laughter]. The number of the names in the accounts connected with bribery was 60. In 1841 the expenditure was larger on the "Red" than on the "Blue" side. The money on the Blue side is more dexterously managed and goes further [laughter]. The Canterbury people, like the people in other boroughs, are very backward in promising. Witness opposed bribery, but is not prepared to say what he should have done in reference to color tickets. He thinks that Mr. Gurney Crowdell, the chairman of what is called the Conservative Club, received some of the £6000 or £7000, of which £2000 was paid before the election, and the remainder afterwards. Of the £7000, £400 was paid in respect of a petition. The Canterbury petition was paid off against the St. Albans [laughter]. I don't think

(said Mr. Smythe) it was done by Brown or Coppock, but by the "whip" of the party. I was very much astonished and gratified at it.

The Hon. Butler Johnstone deposed that he and Mr. Gipps were successful candidates at the late election, but were afterwards unseated. He and Mr. Gipps had coalesced, and each paid £300 into Mr. Kingford's bank. During his canvass the freemen used to come up to him and ask him favors, and he said to them, "Do you know who you are talking to—do you want to ruin me?" He had heard that the "Blue" party were trying to lay a trap for him to bring about a petition, and he suspected it. Had paid £1300 in all as the expense of his election. Wished it included in the expense of the petition. He understood that there were a great many color tickets during the election. He was told that the freemen of Canterbury were legitimately entitled to it. He understood that both sides always had colored tickets, and in his unsophisticated innocence he thought they had [laughter]. After he had paid the last £300, Dr. Lochee said something about a further sum being required, and he was fully prepared to advance it; but Dr. Lochee said, "You have paid £1000, and I do not think you ought to be called upon to pay any more;" but he was afraid of Alderman Brent, and what in Canterbury was called "the Bifron's purse," that was the purse of the Marchioness Conyngham [laughter]. The marchioness had a very large income, and it was rumored that when she saw the election going against her son, Sir William Somerville, she would come down handsomely with her thousands, as she was understood to have done [loud laughter]. When he heard this, and that the marchioness' purse was to be opened against him, he felt fairly in the fight, and that he would not be beaten even by her [laughter]. He understood also that the other side were prepared to have recourse to bribery, but he was anxious there should be no act of bribery committed by either him or his friends. Heard of the vacancy at Canterbury, through Brown, the parliamentary agent, and became a candidate from wishing to serve Lord Derby's Government. Understood that the color ticket system had been in existence half a century in Canterbury on both sides.

The Committee then adjourned to next day.

The Commissioners sat again on Thursday, and a witness named George Davey deposed that he paid three voters named White £6 each for their votes, and to prevent them from voting for the "Reds."

James Godwin named eleven other voters whom he had bribed in 1847. Witness was exchequered that year for £1900, and Government had called on him to pay £100. Lord A. Conyngham agreed to use his influence with the Excise for witness, if witness supported him at the election, and they both performed their promises.

Mr. Kelson, builder and surveyor, deposed to having dispensed bribes in 1847, by order of Bennett, when the election was "getting desperate." In 1852, Mr. Pont gave him £160, with which witness bribed forty voters. There was a body of electors in Canterbury, called the "Butter Market Troop," led by Mr. Mathews, a magistrate. Pont gave witness £10 to go away to the Isle of Man, when the Committee sat on the Canterbury election, and sent another £10 after him.

F. Cobb deposed that he got £35 from Rutter, and he gave Beale £5 for a pair of "straps" [laughter], as a blind for his vote.

Southey was re-called, and denied having received any money, but said that he paid £50 of his own for treating, in 1841. He had always been foolish with his money at elections, but never had received any recompense.

J. Vincent, of the Builders' Arms, got £60 from Pont at the last election. He kept £15 for himself, and bribed voters with the remainder.

G. F. Smith, manager of the color ticket department, said nearly £1600 was spent in tickets in 1841, and £365 in 1852. There were color tickets at Sir B. Brydges's election, and at the county election. The last election for Canterbury was the poorest he had ever known; he had spent thousands before, and only hundreds then.

Samuel Blint was employed to ascertain the price of the voters, and found that they ranged from £5 to £10 each.

The Commissioners then adjourned to next day."—*Obs'r*, May 23d, 1853.

Here follows some specimens of the manner in which these elections are managed in the land of the shillalah:

"CLITHEROE.

The Committee on Monday came to the following resolution, by which Mr. M. Wilson is unseated:

That the Committee had unanimously determined that Matthew Wilson, Esq., was not duly elected as a burgess to serve



in the present parliament for the borough of Clitheroe. That the said election for the borough of Clitheroe was a void election. That Matthew Wilson, Esq., was, by his agents, guilty of bribery or treating at the last election for the said borough; but that no act of bribery or treating was proved to have been committed with the consent or knowledge of the said Matthew Wilson, Esq. That it was proved that Henry Taylor was bribed with the payment of £30. That extensive and systematic treating, together with other corrupt and illegal practices, prevailed at the last election for the said borough. That violent and tumultuous proceedings appear to have taken place at the said election; and that hired bands of men, armed with sticks and bludgeons, were introduced into the said town for purposes of undue influence and intimidation. Mr. Sergeant Wrangham applied to have the opposition to the petition declared frivolous and vexatious; but the Chairman stopped him, and said there was no chance of the Committee acceding. The learned counsel then withdrew the application, and the proceedings terminated."—*Observer, March 7th, 1853.*

“ MAYO.

The inquiry before this Committee proceeds on the petition of Sir Robert Lynch Blasse, of Alhavallee, Mayo, and of W. Kearney, of Bullenville, and other electors, alleging that the return of Mr. Ouseley Higgins and of Mr. Moore, the sitting members, was obtained by intimidation, violence, and outrage, exercised towards electors in the interest of Colonel M'Alpine, the unsuccessful candidate, who, with his agents and friends, was by large bodies of persons, riotously assembled, and incited by Messrs. Higgins and Moore, forcibly detained in their hotel at Castlebar on the nomination day, and prevented from attending the nomination until the arrival there of a troop of cavalry and the police, under whose escort they had to be conducted to the Court-house. It is also charged that for several days before the election, riotous and tumultuous assemblages took place, and that the supporters of Colonel M'Alpine were assailed, beaten, and injured.

The petitioners were represented by Mr. O'Malley, Q. C., and Mr. Bovill. Counsel for Mr. Higgins were Mr. Edwin James, Q. C., Mr. Meagher, Mr. W. P. Hale, and Mr. James C. O. Dowd. Mr. Moore had retained on his behalf Mr. Sergeant Kinglake, Q. C., and Mr. Wells.

The committee-room was crowded during the day, and amongst those present was a sprinkling of Roman Catholic priests, who are alleged to have taken a conspicuous part in promoting the return of the sitting members.

The allegation of want of sufficient qualification against Mr. Moore is abandoned.

Mr. O'Malley opened the case for the petitioners at considerable length.

After a discussion as to the admissibility of the poll-books, on the ground of their not having been tendered for seal and signature to Mr. Higgins, which the Committee overruled.

Captain Archdall was sworn and examined. — He deposed that he was a captain in the 52d regiment at Swinford, one of the polling places, during the interval from the 19th to 28th July. On the 23d, there was a great mob and disturbance, and the violence of the mob was so directed against the voters of Col. M'Alpine, that he had to escort them from a house where they were shut up. Was of opinion that it was not safe for these voters to go to the place of polling without a military escort. The mob disregarded the bayonets, which knocked off their hats and passed across their faces before they made way through the mass. Was engaged in escorting the voters the whole of the first day. The voters were threatened with sticks and stones. Witness ordered his men to load, and the Riot Act was read three times. The house in question was shut up, with police inside and out, and the windows were shut up. In the night witness was awoke by a noise, and saw a man from the window with a gun, and the mob attacking him. Several young poplars were cut down and thrown up into barricades with stones on the Castlebar road. The military cleared these barricades.

Cross-examined by Mr. James.—Was an Irishman of the county of Mallow. [Laughter.] Had not been at many elections. The proceedings of elections at Mayo were generally rather lively. The escort he took on the 23d consisted of thirty soldiers and three voters. [Laughter.] Did not know that when he took them to the poll nearly the whole of the constituency had been polled out; but he believed it was so. Witness was not frightened. [Laughter.] Was not aware that there was a little pelting on both sides. Witness remained in the neighborhood of the court-house, and remained there to escort voters. Did not know that the voters were Roman Catholic voters retained by Mr. Jackson, who was a Protestant, in his house, thereby raising a *furor*. Was not suffi-

ciently versed in election tactics to know what the "cooping" of voters meant. Witness escorted on the 24th about fourteen or fifteen voters altogether. Understood that many of these had been up on the 23d, so that they might probably have polled twice. They could not have been much frightened on the 23d, if they went again on the 24th. The barricades were about the height of the committee-table—[laughter]—and his men cleared them away in about ten minutes. There were a few boys and women behind them, as at Paris. [Laughter.] There were no omnibuses to form the barricades, but they were chiefly young poplars and stones. The poplars were eight or eleven inches in diameter. The keepers of the barricades did not resist the "charge." Bivouacked with his men in an empty house. Did not in the process of escorting the voters see one that was hurt.

By the Committee.—Some of the voters I escorted were struck, but not injured. On the second day there was comparative tranquillity.

Mr. E. Day, a private gentleman in the neighborhood of Swinford, was next examined. He deposed to having taken four voters in the interest of Colonel M'Alpine to Swinford at the last election, where he arrived at about three o'clock in the morning. Thought it better to travel all night so as not to encounter the mob. When they arrived at Swinford, the mob collected about the cars, and carried away three of the voters. Witness jumped down from the car to recognize the assailants and rescue the voters, and the mob took the gun he carried from him. There was a good deal of violence and disturbance. One of the voters returned the next morning, but the third disappeared altogether, and did not vote. There were stones thrown, and threats held out against the voters. All the county tenants who came to support M'Alpine took refuge in his house. It was a difficult matter to get any voters up; they were so much alarmed. The Roman Catholic priests were very active on the occasion; and when M'Alpine's voters came up, they interfered with them, and urged them to vote for those they called "the two most popular candidates."

Cross-examined.—Was not aware that there was any system among Roman Catholic landlords to compel tenants to give their votes. Three of these voters were tenants of properties of which witness was the agent, and in his absence, when away from one of the four voters he took, he voted for Moore and Higgins. The voters had as much as they liked to eat, but he did not know about drink at Swinford. Stones were thrown

by the mob at the voters. Did not know that they were as large as the tumbler on the table before counsel, but stones in Ireland grew larger than that. [Laughter.]

Sir Robert Arbuthnot was under examination with reference to intimidation at Ballinrobe, when the Committee adjourned to this day."—*Daily News*, April 18th, 1853.

I am afraid that I have overtasked you, Major, with the matter that I have furnished you in relation to election bribery and corruption; but I was anxious that what I had said on the subject should be found to be fully borne out by the facts. You will see that I have sent you only comparatively small portions of the proceedings in a few of the many Commissions before which bribery and corruption were proven. But my aim has been to furnish just enough for you to form something of an opinion as to the whole—enough for you to be satisfied that the remark of Mr. Coppock before the St. Albans Commission, which I have quoted, was well-nigh, if not wholly, correct; and that the moral character of the people of this country, as a whole, in the matter of the precious and inestimable right of suffrage, is tainted, foully tainted, with fraud and corruption.

Respectfully, your friend and cousin,

P. JONES.

To MAJ. JONES,

Pineville, Ga., U. S. of America.

## LETTER XII.

PASSION OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE FOR BETTING AND HORSE-RACING — QUEEN'S VISITS TO THE RACE-FIELD — QUEEN'S PLATES — DONCASTER RACES — THE 'MARQUIS OF EXETER'S AND DUKE OF GRAFTON'S "WINNINGS."

London, July 8th, 1853.

DEAR MAJOR:—I have intimated that the passion of the people in this country for betting and horse-racing seriously affects their moral character. This habit is indulged in by all classes; and the horse-race receives direct encouragement from all — even from the Queen upon her throne, to the ragged and crippled beggar, who stumps his weary way to the Derby, and, as he proceeds, begs for pence, which he will stake upon the event of the race. When I said that the horse-race received encouragement from the Queen, I meant that it was sanctioned as well by the royal presence upon the race-field as by the more substantial aid of the royal and national exchequer. You will find both these statements confirmed by the following extracts from English papers:

"The Queen and Prince Albert went to Ascot races on Thursday, accompanied by the whole of Her Majesty's illustrious guests staying at the Castle. Her Majesty returned at half-past five o'clock, and the same evening gave a grand dinner, which was served on the magnificent service of gold plate in the Waterloo Gallery. Her Majesty had afterwards an evening party."—*Hull Packet, June 17th, 1853.*

(IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.)

"On the vote of £221,361 to defray the expenses of administration of the Poor-laws, a desultory conversation took place, in which Sir H. Verney, Sir J. Trollope, Messrs. Baines, Hindley, and W. Williams took part. The vote was agreed to.

. . . . .

£1700 were voted for certain offices in Scotland, and £6464 for officers of the Lord Lieutenant's household in Ireland.

On this latter vote being proposed, Mr. W. Williams protested against a portion of it: viz., £1574 16s. 2d. for fifteen Queen's plates. Public opinion was outraged by plates being given for horse-racing.

Mr. Stanford supported the vote, as it had a tendency to improve the breed of horses. In connection with this subject, he called attention to the betting-houses, which were now the *foci* of all the blackguardism in London.

Sir De L. Evans said he had received several letters complaining of betting-houses.

Sir W. Joliffe, in the absence of Mr. Walpole, said that betting-houses were under the most serious consideration of Government, and measures were anxiously contemplated to remedy the evil."—*Observer, January 7th, 1852.*

Conveniently blind, Mr. Stanford "supported the vote, as it had a tendency to improve the breed of horses;" and yet, though in the same breath he calls attention to the fact that the betting-houses were *foci* of all the blackguardism in London, he shuts his eyes to the effect of these *foci* (receiving so much of their light as they do from the encouragement of the great, the powerful, and the rich, who indulge in horse-racing) upon the breed of men.

The subject did, indeed, attract the attention of Government, and a bill has been passed with reference to the reformation of these houses. But is this anything more than skinning over of the wound? The betting-houses were but one of the ulcers by which the great social canker manifested itself on the surface, if I am not very much mistaken. If I have rightly observed this people, the passion of which I speak has incorporated itself, as it were, with their very social constitution. Betting-houses, like betting-books, are but instrumentalities by which the great scheme of horse-racing, steeple-chase riding, etc., is operated.

I never found time to attend the races at Goodwood, or at Epsom, which are the two most celebrated in England, I believe; but I did make a visit to Doncaster, another, though a less famous, English *stadium* in Yorkshire. At the instance of Mr. A——, of A—— Hall, whom I have

already introduced to your acquaintance, I met him at these races in the autumn of 1852. The races commenced on Tuesday, the 14th of September; but I did not get there until Wednesday, the St. Leger day, as it is called. I went by train, of course, and was reminded of the throng which is found on our roads when our people are repairing to mass-meetings, or to State agricultural fairs. Though Doncaster, as a race-course, be not so fashionable or so famous as Goodwood or Epsom, yet we have the authority of Southey for saying that "A greater number of families are said to meet each other at Doncaster races than at any other meeting of the same kind in England." My fellow-travellers were as much excited, apparently, by these races, as ever you saw our people agitated on their way to a mass-meeting which constituted part of the machinery of a presidential campaign. I must own, in passing, however, that we were much more comfortably provided for, and protected in our seats within the carriages, than are the passengers upon our roads on the occasions to which I refer.

I was met, very soon after my arrival, by Mr. A——, who had kindly taken care that I should be provided for as to lodgings, etc. In the course of the day, I was introduced by him to several notabilities. Some noblemen with distinguished names, members of the House of Commons, and gentlemen of eminent position, were either thus introduced, or pointed out to me. So many people have written about the race-courses in England, that the subject is threadbare; and as my purpose is rather to give you an idea of a system than to amuse you with details, I shall not dwell upon these details now, but will content myself with sending you a condensed statement of what I witnessed. The following contains such a statement:

#### "DONCASTER RACES.

Doncaster fully maintains its position amongst the most important race-meetings in the kingdom. And whilst retaining a fair portion of aristocratic patronage, its popularity with the million is fully upheld, notwithstanding the great and increasing rivalry of the numerous meetings in other parts of the

country. On the present occasion, the stewards were the Earl of Derby, R. G. Lumley, and Lord Ribblesdale. The clerk of the course was Mr. R. Johnston; judge, Mr. Clark; starter, Mr. Hibburd. On Monday the Great Northern Station at King's-cross was a scene of continual bustle, nearly all the trains being heavily freighted, chiefly by the professionals of the sporting world. The hunt after lodgings produced the usual results—exorbitant prices. Nothing under eight or ten guineas was talked of for even decent accommodatiou.

*Wednesday.* — The town was alive at an early hour, and crowds poured in from all parts of the surrounding district, in coaches, omnibuses, gigs, and other vehicles. The throng was increased later by the arrival of monster trains from Sheffield, York, Lincoln, Manchester, and other large towns, besides a great influx of Londoners. The weather took an unfavorable turn, and a heavy rain continued throughout the whole of the afternoon, to the inconceivable mortification of the multitude, especially those who had ventured forth without waterproofs or umbrellas. There was, however, as numerous an attendance as usual upon the St. Leger day. The following is a list of some of the fashionables present:—The Marquises of Normanby and Exeter, the Earls of Glasgow, Scarborough, Chesterfield, and Caledon; Lords Maidstone, Clifden, Exmouth, Milton, Bolingbroke, Anson, Galway and lady, R. Clinton, W. Powlett, John Scott, D. Kennedy, F. Kennedy, G. Manners, Wenlock, F. G. Leveson Gower; Sirs G. Armitage, T. Wichcote, C. Monk, C. B. Houston, S. Blane, Robert Bell, J. Trollope, R. Bulkely, Tatton Sykes, E. Baker, G. Boswell, W. Booth, Robert Pigot and lady; Hons. G. Anson, Colonel Stanley, Captain Rous, F. Villiers, G. W. Fitzwilliam, F. Lawley, A. Ellis, H. Forester, Courtenay, Major Needham, Admiral Paulett, Major Pitt, W. E. Duncombe and lady; Generals Hunter and Rietter; Colonels Taylor and Wyndham; Captains Ramsden, Little, W. Peel, Haworth, Key, Cookson, White, De Horsey, Ives, Hepworth, Thoroton, Lowry, Walters, Archdall, Cunningham, etc.; Messrs. G. H. Boswell, W. Bosville, Bowes, E. Denison, J. E. Denison, Drinkald, C. L. Fox, G. Fitzroy, F. Fitzroy, Gregory, Greville, F. Foljambe, Sandford Graham, W. E. Hughes, A. Heathcote, Honeywood, A. Johnstone, Jaques, R. Newton, G. Littledale, R. G. Lumley, Meiklam, Magenis, Milner, Osbaldiston, R. E. Oliver, Payne, Portman, Ramsden, R. Read, J. M. Stanley, Skipworth, B. Stanhope, Thornhill, Thelluson, Vernon, Webster, Wauchope, G. Wentworth, etc., etc.



The Cup-betting in the evening was confined to Kingston, Teddington, and Stilton—the two first named being so close together that it was difficult to say which had the call; Stilton's party did not appear to be at all sanguine. For the Cesarewitch several lots of twelve were taken against the field, Lady Evelyn—who at one time was quoted at as little as eight to one, but left off weak at eleven to one—and Le Juif, heading the selections in every instance. It was mentioned in the course of the day that the Marquis of Exeter had accepted the stewardship vacant by the close of Lord Derby's term of service.

The first event was a match for 200 sovs. between Lord Clifden's Pelion against Lord Glasgow's Conspiracy, which was won in a canter by the former. The St. Leger stakes for three-year olds; the second to receive 100 sovs. out of the stakes; the winner to pay 100 sovs. towards expenses, 25 to the judge, and 25 to the starter; St. Leger Course; 116 subs.; six started:

|                                       |           |   |
|---------------------------------------|-----------|---|
| Lord Exeter's Stockwell.....          | Norman    | 1 |
| Duke of Richmond's Harbinger.....     | Flatman   | 2 |
| Mrs. Bowes's Daniel O'Rourke.....     | F. Butler | 3 |
| Mr. Pedley's Trousseau .....          | Templeman | 0 |
| Mr. J. Scott's Songstress .....       | A. Day    | 0 |
| Mr. Duncombe's Alfred the Great ..... | Basham    | 0 |

Betting at starting: seven to four against Stockwell, five to two against Daniel O'Rourke, three to one against Songstress, seven to one against Harbinger, and ten to one against Trousseau.

The start took place a few minutes before three. Alfred the Great jumped off with a decided lead, followed in rotation and at wide intervals by Harbinger and Stockwell, Scott's two next, nearly abreast; the pace as good as Alfred the Great could make it. No change whatever took place until near the Red House, where Alfred the Great was joined by Harbinger and Stockwell, the latter immediately after giving way. Harbinger then showed in front, but was headed in a few strides by Stockwell, who went on by himself, and won in a canter by ten lengths, Harbinger beating Daniel O'Rourke by a length.

The Municipal stakes, of 200 sovs. each, for two-year olds; second to save his stake; Red House in:

|                                  |           |   |
|----------------------------------|-----------|---|
| Lord Derby's Umbriel.....        | Norman    | 1 |
| Mr. Payne's Warwhoop.....        | Flatman   | 2 |
| Mr. W. H. Brooker's Incense..... | Templeman | 3 |
| Lord Glasgow's Doublethong.....  | J. Marson | 4 |

Betting : five to four on Umbriel, five to two against In-  
cense, and three to one against Doublethong.

Won very easily by a length.

*Thursday.*—The day was beautifully fine ; the course bene-  
fitted by the rain, and was in capital order, and the attend-  
ance good. The sport excited considerable interest. The  
opening event was a handicap sweepstakes of ten sovs. each,  
with twenty-four subs., for which Mr. Morris's Charity added  
a fourth victory to the previous successes of the Stebbing  
stable. Mr. Worthington's Jaquenetta and Mr. Stephen's Ace  
of Trumps were second and third.

The Scarborough stakes, of twenty sovs. each, were won in  
a canter by Captain Scott's Allegro.

The Eglinton stakes, of ten sovs. each, with 100 added,  
presented the largest field of the day, there being forty-eight  
subs. Lord Clifden's Pelion (Charlton) was the winner, Lord  
Derby's Longbow (Butler) being second, and Lord Caledon's  
colt by Simoom third.

The Cleveland handicap of twenty sovs. was won cleverly  
by a neck by Mr. Meiklam's Evadne, beating Mr. Coombe's  
Brawn and Mr. Flintoff's The Reaper.

The sweepstakes of ten sovs. each, with fifty added, had  
twenty-five subs. Was won in a canter by Mr. Merry's  
Lambton.

*Friday.*—This was a lovely day. The stand was crowded ;  
and there was a greater show of the fair sex than on any of  
the previous days.

The Doncaster Cup, value 300 sovs., was a magnificent con-  
test, and was won by a neck by Mr. Stanley's Teddington, Mr.  
Morris's Kingston being second, and Hungerford a bad third.

The Doncaster stakes, of ten sovs. each, had 80 subs. ; only  
two were placed—Lord Derby's Longbow first, and Mr. Dun-  
combe's Alfred the Great second.

The Town Plate of seventy sovs. was carried off by Mr.  
Dawson's Lerrywheat."—*Observer, Sept. 20th, 1852.*

The Earl of Derby, who, as you will see, was one of the  
stewards of this meeting, and was the successful compe-  
titor for some of the stakes, is, perhaps, you know, one of  
the most eminent men in England. He was recently  
Prime Minister. The Marquis of Exeter was the fortu-  
nate owner of the horse which won the St. Leger, and  
is to succeed Lord Derby in the stewardship. This noble-  
man is descended from William Cecil, Lord Burghley, the

statesman of that name so celebrated during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He is the head of one of the most distinguished families in England, a Knight of the Garter, a D.C.L., and Lord Lieutenant of two counties, &c. As far back as 1836, Southey, in his "Doctor," copies a paragraph from a Sunday newspaper, containing the following reference to this noble Marquis :

*"Pleasures and Profits of the Turf.* — We stated in a former number, that Lord Exeter's turf profits were for the previous season, £26,000."

I might as well copy the rest of the paragraph, as it serves to illustrate this subject. It is as follows :—

"But we have now before us a correct and consecutive account of the Duke of Grafton's winnings from 1811 to 1829 inclusive, taking in merely the value of the stakes for which the horses ran, and which amounts to no less a sum than £99,211 3s. 4d., or somewhat more than £5000 per annum. This, even giving in a good round sum for training and outlay, will leave a sufficiently pleasant balance in hand ; to say nothing of the betting book not often, we believe, light in figures. His Grace's greatest winnings were in 1822 and in 1825 : in the former of these years they amounted to £11,364 5s., in the latter to £12,668 16s. 8d."

By this account you will perceive that the profits of the first of these noble lords, earned by horse-racing in one season, were \$130,000, and that the latter for a long series of years was in the receipt of a larger annual income in the shape of "winnings" by horse-racing than the annual salary of the President of the United States.

Horses belonging to the Duke of Beaufort, and other distinguished noblemen and gentlemen, were competitors in these races at Doncaster ; and many such persons were present sharing the sport. One of the stakes was contributed by the town of Doncaster, and we are told by the author whom I have last quoted, that the corporation built a "grand stand upon the course," and contributed "annually a plate of the value of £50 to be run for."

I find that I cannot dispose of the subject within such

limits as should be allotted to one letter. I shall therefore conclude this here, and call your attention again to the matter in my next. Until which time I shall remain

Your obedient servant and cousin,

P. JONES.

To MAJOR JONES,  
Pineville, Ga., U. S. of America.

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LETTER XIII.

PASSION OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE FOR BETTING AND HORSE-RACING — THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ADJOURNS FOR THE DERBY DAY — RACES AT GOODWOOD AND AT EPSOM — EXTRAORDINARY WAGERS — MR. COBDEN PLAYS THE PART OF WILKINS FLASHER, ESQ., AND GEN. BROTHERTON EMULATES THAT OF MR. FRANK SIMMERY — TRIAL OF A CELEBRATED TURF-MAN FOR FORGERY — SUICIDES BY PATRONS OF THE TURF.

London, July 14th, 1853.

DEAR MAJOR:— Besides the celebrated race-courses which I have already mentioned, there are many others in all parts of the country. There are races and steeple-chases at Liverpool, steeple-chases at Oundle, races at Newmarket, at Salisbury, at Malton, at Chester, at Northampton, at Stockbridge, at Winchester, and at various other places in England and Ireland. But none are so fashionable, nor attract so much of admiration and interest, I believe, as the races at Goodwood, and Epsom. The Derby stakes, of which you have often heard, are run for on the latter course; and the House of Commons itself suspends business and adjourns for the Derby day, as you will see from the following which I clipped from the Observer a few weeks since:

“Derby Day.—Lord J. Russell gave notice that on Monday next he should move to adjourn the house over Tuesday next, as Tuesday was the Queen’s birthday; and, as there was but one order for Wednesday, he should move the further adjourn-

ment until Thursday, as Wednesday will be the Derby day (cheers).”—*Observer*, May 23, 1853.

I enclose you extracts from the *Observer*, in which you will find parts of an account of these races at Goodwood, and Epsom. If you find them too much for your patience, you have my permission to skip them. But they, or others like them, are necessary to a comprehension of the subject, as I have brought it to your attention :

“GOODWOOD RACES.

Stewards: The Earl of Zetland, and the Hon. H. F. Lawley.

Judge: Mr. Clark. Clerk of the Course and Starter: Mr. Hibburd.

This meeting—the greatest of our racing festivals—opened on Tuesday last with brilliant success. Notwithstanding that the weather had borne a rather threatening appearance, all the trains from London Bridge on that day left the station with monster freights; and Brighton, Worthing, Bognor, Chichester, and Southsea received an extraordinary influx of visitors.

Tuesday, July 27.—In the morning there were some heavy showers, but suddenly the wind veered to the east, the sun shone forth brilliantly, and all was joyous anticipation. On the Grand Stand the number of fashionable visitors was greater than is remembered to have ever been seen before on a first day. There was a large and distinguished party from Goodwood House (the Duke of Richmond's seat), which included Duke Bernard of Saxe Weimar, H. R. H. the Duke of Cambridge, Prince George of Mecklenburgh Strelitz, Prince and Princess Edward of Saxe Weimar, the Duke and Duchess of Beaufort, Duke and Duchess of Bedford, Marquis of Waterford and Drogheda, Earl Derby, and a long list of aristocratic noblemen and gentlemen. The day's proceedings passed off with the greatest quietness and order. Owing to the high class of the company, the duties of the police were comparatively easy, and a lucky descent made by the London detectives upon a body of no less than fourteen well-known 'professionals' among the light-fingered gentry—all of whom were seized at the same time, and committed by Mr. Henry, the magistrate, for three months to the House of Correction—no doubt tended greatly to lessen the fatigues of the police during the remainder of the meeting. The usual official return of the sport will be found below.

The first race on the card was the Craven Stakes (Handi-

cap) of 5 sovs. each, with 50 added, a mile and a quarter, 13 subscribers—a fine race from the distance home, was won by Mr. Powney's Lamartine (A. Day) beating Maria by a head, Lithograph third, and six not placed. Sweepstakes of 300 sovs. for four year olds, the second to save his stake, 3 miles and 5 furlongs, 11 subs., by Mr. Nicholl's Newminster (Templeman) beating Harpsichord easily by two lengths, Phlegethon third, and Midas. Fifty Pounds Plate, added to a Sweepstakes of 5 sovs. each, the winner to be sold for 100 sovs., with allowances if to be sold for less, T. Y. C., 13 subs., by Mr. Y. King's Gold Dust (Bundy), beating in a canter by four lengths Vivandiere, who beat Mustang by half a length. The Levant Stakes of 50 sovs. each for two year olds, the second to save his stake, half a mile, by Mr. Osbaldeston's Sister to Mountain Deer (Hiett) beating in a canter Lascelles, William Rufus third, and five others. The Gratwicke Stakes of 100 sovs. each, h-ft., for three year olds, the second to receive 200, and the third to save his stake, one mile and a half, by Earl Derby's Longbow (F. Butler) beating Father Thames by a head, Nabob, a bad third, and Houlakin, King Pepin, Claverhouse, and Red Hind. The Ham Stakes of 100 sovs. each, h-ft., for two year olds, the second to receive 200, T. Y. C., by Duke of Richmond's Refraction colt (Templeman), after a very close race with Defiance, winning by a head, Phrygia, Belgravia, and Kitty of Coleraine filly close up. Sweepstakes of 50 sovs. each, for three year olds, one mile and a half, by Lord Exeter's Stockwell (Norman) beating Harbinger by a length and a half.

The Cup Day—Thursday.—The extreme fineness of the weather, the number and rank of the visitors, and the excellence of the racing, combined to render this one of the most successful cup days ever witnessed. The racing commenced with—

The Sussex Stakes of 25 sovs. each for two year olds, T. Y. C., which was won by Mr. H. Drewe's Defiance (Rogers) beating Belle Sauvage filly (Flatman) in a canter by five lengths. The First Year of the Bentinck Memorial Stakes, for two year old, T. Y. C., by Duke of Richmond's Refraction colt beating Sittingbourne by half a length, Auld Acquaintance third, and Belgravia, William Rufus, and Talfourd. The Racing Stakes of 50 sovs. each, for three year olds, one mile, by Lord Exeter's Stockwell (Norman), (the favorite at 5 to 4), beating in a canter by a length Maidstone, Father Thames, and Lucio. A Sweepstakes of 200 sovs. each, for two year olds, T. Y. C. Mr.

Greville's Exhibition and Mr. W. H. Brook's Incense divided the stakes, Incense walking over The Molecombe Stakes of 50 sovs. each, for two year olds, by Mr. Howard's Elmsthorpe (A. Day), beating Estrella in a canter by two lengths, and Margaret of Anjou.

The Goodwood Cup, value 300 sovs., the rest in specie subscriptions of 20 sovs. each, with 100 added; the second horse to receive 100 sovs. out of the stakes, the third 30; two miles and a half.

Mr. Morris's Kingston, 3 yrs., 7st. 4lb. (carried 7st. 6lb.).....	Flatman	1
Mr. Howard's Little Harry, 3 yrs., 6st. 13lb.	Cowley	2
Mr. J. M. Stanley's Teddington, 4 yrs., 9st. 3lb.	F. Butler	3
Mr. Merry's Hobbie Noble, 3 yrs., 7st. 4lb.	Knott	4

The following also started, but were not placed: Newminster, Frantic, Stilton, Buckhound, Hervine, and Allegro.

Betting: 7 to 4 against Stilton, 5 to 1 against Little Harry, 6 to 1 against Kingston, 6 to 1 against Hobbie Noble, 10 to 1 against Teddington, 12 to 1 against Newminster, and 20 to 1 each against any other. Hobbie Noble took the lead till the turn out of the course, when Buckthorn went three or four lengths in advance of Hobbie Noble, the latter being twice as many before Allegro, who was in the van of the ruck. Buckthorn carried the running to the half-mile post, and there gave way, and Hobbie Noble again obtained the lead, which he held to the distance, where he was passed by Little Harry, leading, Kingston, and Teddington. A fine race home with this trio ended in favor of Kingston by half a length, Little Harry beating Teddington by three parts of a length; Hobbie Noble a bad fourth, Frantic fifth, and the others beaten off.

This race was followed by the Second Year of the Third Bentinck Memorial Stakes for three year olds, Gratwicke Stakes Course, won by Duke of Richmond's Harbinger (Flatman), beating easily by a length the Nabob and Longbow. Longbow went on the wrong side of the post at starting.

The Duke of Richmond's Plate of 100 sovereigns. New Mile:—

Mr. Jacques's Vivandiere, 4 yrs., 6st. 10lb.	Weils	1
Mr. E. Parr's Sanita, 3 yrs., 6st. 7lb.	Hiett	2
Mr. W. Hale's Merry Peal, 4 yrs., 7st. 4lb.	T. Smith	3

The following also started, but were not placed:—Landgrave, Radulphus, Catalpa, Newport, Miss Hayes, Timid Fawn, No-Chance, Alfred the Great, The Bishop, Sagacity,

by Venison out of Passion, ch. c. by Birdcatcher out of Hecate, Plumstead, and Knavery.

Betting: 6 to 1 each against Alfred the Great, Catalpa, Radulphus, and Plumstead, 9 to 1 against Timid Fawn, and 10 to 1 each against Sanita and Miss Hayes. Won by a head, a length and a half between the second and third, and Timid Fawn a bad fourth.

The Anglesey Plate of 50 sovs., gentlemen riders, Craven Course; won by Capt. Lane's Agis, aged, 11st. 12lb. (owner), beating Roller, Caloric, St. Patrick, and John of Berwick.

Friday.—The 50th anniversary of this unrivalled meeting was brought to a conclusion with one of the best day's sports ever remembered. For the various races to-day, 66 horses started, and the amount of the prizes realized £2535. The gross total for the week is as follows:—Number of starters, 256; value of the stakes, £16,135. Lord Ribblesdale and the Hon. F. Lawley have accepted the stewardship for 1853.

After the races were over, a great number of betting offices in London closed their establishments. It is said that twenty of the owners have shut up shop. Up to ten or eleven o'clock on Wednesday night, many hundreds were received to back different horses for the cup, one man in the neighborhood of the British Museum having received nearly £500, after the result of the stakes was published, with which sum, as well as the immense amount which must have been deposited on other events, he has decamped. It is reported that the sum wanted from another party of Camden Town is over £80,000, one individual alone losing £20,000."—*Observer, August 2d, 1852.*

"EPSOM RACES.

This annual sporting festival commenced on Tuesday, under the most propitious influences; bright skies and pleasant breezes compensating in some degree for the dreary weather which attended the early meetings of the season. The 'opening day,' never attractive to the masses, did not draw more than an average attendance to the Downs—the majority being, as usual, composed of that class who have a direct interest in the sporting business of the day.

THE DERBY DAY.

Wednesday, May 25.—The attraction of the Derby has this year surpassed all precedent. Never, perhaps, was so vast a multitude collected upon any similar occasion on the Downs as on Wednesday last. From an early hour in the morning the trains continued to arrive in quick succession, each adding its numbers to the crowds that poured into the town and blocked up the streets.

Besides the immense number of visitors who preferred the ready and rapid mode of transit by the rail, hundreds of persons, tempted by the extraordinary fineness of the weather, came by the road, which was thronged with vehicles of every grade and fashion—from the costermonger's donkey-cart to the aristocratic barouche or four-in-hand—recalling the almost forgotten glories of the highway on the Derby day. The brilliancy of the sun produced, however, its invariable consequence, in the clouds of dust with which the outsiders were completely enveloped.

Praise is due to the officials at the London Bridge Station for the arrangements by which the public were admitted to the trains without the slightest difficulty or confusion, and for the order and regularity with which the transit of so vast an assemblage was effected to and from Epsom.

The first race (the Carew stakes) being over, the excitement commenced in earnest, as the time for deciding the great event of the day approached. At length, after an anxious interval, the telegraph boards in the enclosure announced that twenty-eight of the thirty-two horses named on the card were prepared to compete for what Mr. Disraeli has called 'the blue riband of the turf.' The horses soon afterwards cantered up the course from the paddock, which, for the accommodation of owners and trainers of horses, was again thrown open by Mr. Arthur Heathcote. After due time had been allowed for the inspection of the horses, Mr. Hibburd, the starter, took charge of the *troupe*, and conducted them to the starting-post, and at the first signal got them away in beautiful order. At this moment it would be difficult to imagine a more animated and exciting scene than the course presented. The Grand Stand was resplendent with summer fashions, and the private stands were crowded with the members and friends of the stewards and gentlemen of the Jockey Club—in short, a more brilliant meeting, both as regards the number of visitors and the fineness of the weather, has never been seen on Epsom Downs.

It is some years since the Derby was invested with so much mystery, interest, and importance—a circumstance chiefly attributable to the Cineas and Honeywood movements. They, however, who, with an unprejudiced regard, scrutinized West Australian and Sittingbourne when they pulled up after the race for the Two Thousand, had never any doubt of their being first and second for the Derby. Through good report and evil report, West Australian firmly maintained the lead in the ring, and fully did he justify the confidence of his backers. It doubtless will be well remembered that Mr. Bowes achieved a similar triumph last year with Daniel O'Rourke; in 1835 he won the Derby with Mundig, and in 1843 with Cotherstone.

The sport came off as follows :

The Derby stakes, of fifty sovs. each, h. ft. for three-year olds; colts 8st. 7lb., fillies 8st. 2lb.; the second to receive 100 sovs. out of the stakes; New Course (one mile and a half); 195 subs.:

Mr. Bowes's West Australian, by Melbourne.....	F. Butler	1
Duke of Bedford's Sittingbourne, by Chatham.....	S. Rogers	2
Mr. Powney's Cineas, by Touchstone or Epirus	Bumby	3
Mr. Howard's Rataplan, by The Baron		4

The following also ran :—Baron Rothschild's Orestes, Lord Londesborough's Mayor of Hull, Count Batthyany's Stone Plover, Mr. E. R. Clark's Mr. Sykes, Mr. Mare's Pharold, Lord Exeter's Filbert, Mr. Perren's Ionic, Lord Derby's Umbriel, Duke of Richmond's Pharos, Captain Lane's Ninnyhammer, Lord Clifden's Cheddar, Lord Caledon's Prince Leopold, Mr. B Way's Brocket, Mr. Knowles's Talfourd, Mr. J. M. Stanley's Orinoco, Mr. Howard's Lascelles, Mr. Oliver's Ethelbert, Mr. Surteeson's Honeywood, Mr. Rowan's Finn ma Coul, Mr. J. Aylingen's Rattle, Mr. Thompson's Coomberland Stathesmon, Lord Glasgow's Barbatus, Lord Eglinton's Vanderdecken, Mr. Wilkins's Peggy.

An excellent start, all getting off in a cluster except Coomberland Stathesmon, who was some lengths behind. Cheddar and Cineas started in front, but they had scarcely proceeded half-way up the hill when Umbriel took up the running, with Cheddar, Cineas, Orestes, Ethelbert, Ninnyhammer, and Rattle well laid up; and directly in their wake were Pharos, Honeywood, and Filbert; West Australian, and Sittingbourne in close attendance upon him, being the next two. No material

change occurred until they arrived at the turn into the straight, when Umbriel began to drop off; Rattle immediately went on with the lead, but at the road was passed by Cineas, and at the same time West Australian, with Sittingbourne at his quarters, was seen to draw forward. At the distance, these two singled themselves out, and a very exciting race home ended in favor of West Australian by a neck. Rataplan, who left the ruck in the last quarter of a mile, and gradually improved his position, finished about half a length behind the third. Honeywood and Rattle were the next two. Barbatus pulled up lame. Run in 2min. 55½ sec. Amount of the stakes, 5425 sovs. Jerry Kent was scratched at 10.30 A. M.

The Epsom Town Plate of 55 sovs. (handicap) for all ages; one mile :

Mr. Drinkald's Snarry, by Sleight of Hand	Aldcroft	1
Mr. Reeves's Abdallah.....	Bartholomew	2
Mr. Magenis's Sandhurst	Oliver	3

The betting opened at six to four against Telescope, but closed at two to one against him; two to one against Snarry. A fine race with Snarry, Abdallah, and Sandhurst. Won by a neck, the second beating the third by three-quarters of a length; Telescope a bad fourth.

The Great Exhibition Plate of 100 sovs. (handicap) for all ages; one mile and a quarter :

Mr. Magenis's Clair de Lune, by Lanercost.....	Oliver	1
Mr. Wiggan's Forrester (h. b.)	Wells	2
Mr. Y. King's Narcissus.....	Charlton	3

Betting: Six to four against Narcissus, three to one against Clair de Lune, five to one against Forester, six to one against Puritan. Won cleverly by a length, a neck only between second and third. Sweetheart and Iresine were fourth and fifth.

THE OAKS DAY.

Friday, May 27th. — The anticipations of a numerous and fashionable attendance for the Oaks were fulfilled by the result; for, although the Downs were not encumbered with an enormous mass of human beings, as on Wednesday, the company was far more select. The large proportion of private carriages with fashionable parties on the hill, and the number of ladies on the grand stand, rendered this a most successful termination of the meeting. The private stand and the en-

closure exhibited the usual array of leaders of the turf and business men. The morning, though fine, was exceedingly close and sultry, and certain indications of an approaching thunderstorm were observed. No change, however, took place in the weather until after the Oaks race, when the rain began suddenly to descend, accompanied by thunder and lightning; and so violent was the storm, that it caused a general rush of the company to every available place of shelter. The grand stand and all the booths on the course were instantaneously filled to suffocation; but numbers, unable to get under cover, were thoroughly drenched in a very few minutes. For nearly an hour the rain fell incessantly, and the last two races were run in a perfect deluge.

The following are the details of the day's sport :

The Members' Plate of fifty sovs.; the winner to be sold for 200 sovs. if demanded; one mile and a quarter.

Lord J. Scott's Young England.....	Whitehouse	1
Mr. J. Dawson's Honesty.....	Barker	2
Mr. Cooper's Desdemona.....	Wells	3
Mr. Vickers's Psaltery.....	Castleman	4

Betting: Even on Desdemona, five to two against Young England, nine to two against Honesty, and five to one against Psaltery. Honesty made play, and, after the first half-mile, was joined by Young England, who waited to the distance, when he went in advance, and finally won very easily by a length and a half; a good race for second place Honesty, beating Desdemona by a head, and a neck only between third and fourth. The winner was claimed."—*Observer*, May 30th, 1853.

In what I have sent, you have seen enough, I am sure, to convince you that this practise is not only intensely fascinating to the English people, but that it may be said to constitute a prominent feature in their social system. It obviously affords a common ground of interest, on which the Sovereign and the Chartist, the Peer and the Radical, do often meet and sympathize. Here, whilst their inmates are absorbed in the same engrossing speculation, the donkey-cart jostles the duchess' chariot. And here the cripple on crutches looks up into the face of the splendid horseman for a factor of thought, which may enable him also to solve that problem of

chances upon which they each propose to stake, or have staked, their money, and on which the brains of each are at work. Is it any wonder that the passion of betting, and its results, are so all-pervading?

What are some of those results? Southey, in the same work to which I have referred, tells us that "horse-races excite evil desires, call forth evil passions, encourage evil propensities, lead the innocent into temptation, and give opportunities to the wicked. And the good which arises from such amusements, either as mere amusement (which is, in itself, unequivocally a good, when altogether innocent), or by circulating money in the neighborhood, or by tending to keep up an excellent breed of horses, for purposes of direct utility, these consequences are dust in the balance, when compared with the guilt and misery that arise from gambling." It is easy to see how such a practice, thus pervading all ranks of society, and receiving the sanction and encouragement of—nay, fostered and sustained by—the great and powerful of the land, will nurture, as one of the "evil propensities" above referred to, a fondness for betting, or gambling in chances generally, among all classes of people. That ingenious and gifted author, Mr. Charles Dickens, saw it when he sketched the following scene:

"'I see there's a notice up this morning about Boffer,' observed Mr. Simmery; 'poor devil, he's expelled the house.'

'I'll bet you ten guineas to five he cuts his throat,' said Wilkins Flasher, Esquire.

'Done,' replied Mr. Simmery.

'Stop; I bar,' said Wilkins Flasher, Esquire, thoughtfully. 'Perhaps he may hang himself.'

'Very good,' said Mr. Simmery, pulling out the gold pencil-case again. 'I've no objection to take you that way—say makes way with himself.'

'Kills himself, in fact,' said Wilkins Flasher, Esquire.

'Just so,' said Mr. Simmery, putting it down. 'Flasher, ten guineas to five Boffer kills himself—within what time shall we say?'

'A fortnight,' suggested Wilkins Flasher, Esquire.

'Confound it, no,' rejoined Mr. Simmery, stopping for an instant to smash a fly with a ruler; 'say a week.'

'Split the difference,' said Wilkins Flasher, Esquire; 'make it ten days.'

'Well, ten days,' rejoined Mr. Simmery.

So it was entered down in the little books, that Boffer was to kill himself within ten days, or Wilkins Flasher, Esquire, was to hand over to Frank Simmery, Esquire, the sum of ten guineas; and that if Boffer did kill himself within that time, Frank Simmery, Esquire, would pay to Wilkins Flasher, Esquire, five guineas instead.

'I'm very sorry he has failed,' said Wilkins Flasher, Esquire. 'Capital dinners he gave.'

'Fine port he had, too,' remarked Mr. Simmery. 'We are going to send our butler to the sale to-morrow, to pick up some of that sixty-four.'

'The devil you are!' said Wilkins Flasher, Esquire. 'My man is going, too. Five guineas my man outbids your man.'

'Done.'

Another entry was made in the little books," etc.

That persons of some distinction in this country might have sat for the original of this picture, you will see from the following extract:

"EXTRAORDINARY WAGERS.

Mr. Cobden has not hitherto been ranked amongst the class called 'sporting men,' and yet he has made a 'sporting bet.' We doubt if he would find a recognition amongst the 'swells' of the Turf Club, or be able to establish a *locus standi* with the 'legs' of Tattersall's. And yet he has laid a wager that tops some of those fast-uns. In a speech to the members of the Peace Society at Manchester, the Honorable member for the West Riding talked of any probable invasion of England as a moral impossibility: it was all Lombard street to a China orange, in sporting *parlance*. He then and there offered to forfeit £10,000 down—to the Editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, in the event of an invasion of Great Britain and Ireland—we hope Ireland is included this time—on condition that the editor aforesaid would pay in the meanwhile 1s. a week, or £2 12s. a year to the Manchester Infirmary. This was

certainly long odds, as they say in the Ring. Still there were no 'takers.' The editor was not tempted by the 'capital prize' of £10,000 to take a ticket in this 'peaceable' lottery, and for a while there was to be found no one courageous—or humane—enough to 'book' the proposed venture. At length a man-of-war—a regular believer in 'guns and drums and wounds'—heaven save the mark!—comes boldly forward, and declares his resolution to pay the £2 12s. a year to the Manchester Infirmary. Lieut. Gen. Brotherton is the happy man, that looks upon himself as the destined lucky recipient of the 'great national sweep' of full £10,000—no bad prize money for the commencement of a campaign. In reply to the challenge of the soldier, Mr. Cobden names his solicitor, and desires that the bond should be promptly prepared. The full 'pound of flesh'—the warrant and the forfeiture of the bond—is to be nominated after the true and regular forms of law. The court awards it, and the law approves it,

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We have in our minds a great many such 'bubble bets,' that have come to nothing, and all without the aid of dramatic incident or effect. Instances are numerous enough of such extravagant and baseless wagers, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing. There is one at hand, so apt and appropriate, that we shall quote it here entire—the more so, as it is not entirely foreign from the question at issue, and that it reproduces, in the language of the learned Chief Justice Lord Ellenborough, who was moved for a new trial, the somewhat apposite statement that in those days French invasions were *annually threatened, and were deprecated weekly in every church.*

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The following is an accurate abstract of the case, which will not be read without interest in the present day. The time is 1812, and the scene the York Assizes, and the Court of King's Bench, at Westminster. Before proceeding any further, however, it is but fair to inform the reader that General Brotherton has declined to 'take the odds,' as will be seen by his last letter, also subjoined; and that, therefore, the affair, as regards the parties, is virtually at an end. The moral, of the case, however, remains the same, and is held fully to bear out these observations.

'Case on a Bet—*Gilbert v. Sykes.*—At the York Assizes in March, a trial came on in which the Rev. B. Gilbert was plain-

tiff, and Sir Mark M. Sykes, Bart., defendant. It appeared that the baronet, at his own table, in a dinner party, during a conversation respecting the hazard to which the life of Bonaparte was exposed, had offered, upon the receipt of 100 guineas, to pay a guinea a day as long as he should remain alive. Mr. Gilbert suddenly took up the offer; but, finding that the sense of the company was against making a serious matter of a bet proposed at a moment of conviviality, he said, 'If you will submit, Sir Mark, to ask it as a favor, you may be off.' This the baronet refused to do; the 100 guineas were sent by Mr. G., of which Sir M. acknowledged the receipt, and he had continued paying the guinea a day for nearly three years. At length he declined further payment, and this action was for the recovery of the sum still due upon the contract.

Mr. Topping, for the defendant, contended, first, that there was no serious intention of betting upon the part of Sir M. Sykes, but that he was surprised by the hasty acceptance of the offer of the clergyman. He then, on the supposition that it was regarded as a real bet, advanced an argument that Mr. Gilbert, having thus a beneficial interest in the life of Bonaparte, might be induced, in case of his invading this island, to use means for protecting from personal danger an inveterate enemy of his country.

The judge, after stating the evidence to the jury, with his observations, left them to decide the fact whether there was an intention of betting on the part of Sir M. Sykes, and reserving the point of law. The jury returned a verdict for the defendant.

On April the 16th, the case was brought before the King's Bench, where Mr. Park moved for a rule to show cause why the verdict for the defendant should not be set aside, and a new trial granted — the verdict having been found against all the evidence produced. He recapitulated the circumstances of the transaction, and said that Baron Thompson, in his charge to the jury, had treated the contract rather as for an annuity than a wager; and, however hastily it had been adopted by the plaintiff, put it to them whether it had not been persisted in by the defendant. It was no wager that Bonaparte would come to his end by violent means.

Lord Ellinborough, in granting the rule, said that he was very sorry this question should come to be argued in a court of law; but unless there was, in the nature of the bet, anything of an immoral or impolitic tendency, it was a legal contract, and must be supported. He would not declare what

relief might be obtained elsewhere, under all the circumstances; but, as the defendant went on paying for three years, the fact of the contract seemed to be clearly established, and the jury had certainly gone beyond their province in finding for the defendant.

The case was again brought under consideration before the Court of King's Bench, on June 11 and 15. After the counsel had held their argument respecting the nature of the contract, and the interest of the parties in the event which was its subject, Lord Ellinborough said, that although the Court might differ as to the grounds of their opinion, they all concurred that no new trial ought to be granted in this case. The objection to this wager was its tendency to produce public mischief. At a time when the enemy's threats of invasion were annual, and deprecated weekly in every church, could it be said that, in the event of Bonaparte's landing, the interest of 365 guineas per annum to preserve his life was too remote? Besides, one great object of the nation ought to be to obviate the suspicion of attempting the assassination of Bonaparte, with which it had (he hoped unjustly) been charged; and to prevent a war of assassination, with which any attempt of that kind would not fail to be revenged. He could not say that the verdict for the defendant was proper on the ground that the bet was not deliberately entered into; but, looking into all the circumstances of the conversation upon which this contract was founded, and the contract itself, he thought the rule for a new trial ought to be discharged.

The other three judges delivered a similar opinion, and the rule was accordingly discharged."—*Observer, February 7th, 1853.*

The "evil propensities" which this practice encourages are thus partially indicated. In the following report you have further evidence of the same sort, and of "the opportunities" which it affords "to the wicked," as well as of "the guilt and misery" which arise from such gambling.

"CENTRAL CRIMINAL COURT, OCT. 29.

Before Mr. Justice Cresswell.

Forgery.—Ignatius Francis Coyle, who has been long connected with the turf, and was mixed up with the celebrated 'Running Rein' case, surrendered to take his trial on a charge of feloniously uttering a forged promissory note for £1150,

with intent to defraud Henry Viscount Clifden ; another count charged an intent to defraud Alexander M'Eachey Alleyne.

Viscount Clifden deposed that the promissory note now produced for £1150 was not written or authorized by him to be written. He never was under any obligation to the prisoner.

Cross-examined : The signature is not like witness' handwriting. Witness knew the prisoner as a betting man. He betted with him, and had won and lost.

Captain Alexander M'Eachey Alleyne (the prosecutor) deposed that he was formerly in the 89th regiment. He is now 26 years of age. After returning from Canada, in 1846, he for the first time had bets on the turf, on race-horses. In 1849 he knew the prisoner, and betted with him. In June, 1849, he lent the prisoner about £200, and from that time to June, 1850, he lent him other sums, in all about £2000. In January, 1850, he owed him £1700 for money advanced, &c., and he (prisoner) came to witness' lodgings on the subject of the debt, and said he had Lord Clifden's note for £1150, which was a perfectly good security. The prisoner handed witness the note, and witness gave him a check for £350. He afterwards lent the prisoner £150. At the Derby, in 1850, witness had transactions jointly with the prisoner, and lost between £8,000 and £10,000, partly on the prisoner's account, and partly on his own. The prisoner's share of the loss was nearly £3000, but witness charged him only £2300, and actually paid that sum for him. After the race, he applied to the prisoner, who requested witness to meet him at Furnival's Inn, and witness, with his brother (Captain Holder Alleyne), went to Wood's Hotel, Furnival's Inn, where he saw the prisoner and his friend, Mr. Charles Coghlan. The prisoner said something about his time being come, and was leaving the room in despair, when Captain Holder Alleyne followed, and they both returned together. The prisoner then said to witness that he had forged Lord Clifden's name on the note, in order to raise money to send to his brother in Australia ; that if witness would not prosecute, he would do all in his power to repay him ; that he was wholly ruined, but that if let off, he would work for witness all his life, and would never forget his kindness. He threatened to throw himself from the monument, and all sorts of things, and at last prosecutor consented to take his promissory note, payable on demand, for £4300, and a memorandum, produced, stating that this promissory note was for cash advanced and other liabilities incurred, including Lord Clifden's note,

and that said note was not genuine. The note was never presented to Lord Clifden for payment. In January, 1851, witness instituted proceedings at the police court against the prisoner, but the proceedings were withdrawn, and in July last the present indictment was preferred.

Cross-examined by Mr. James, Q.C. : Witness had retired from the army. He became acquainted with the prisoner in 1847. They were on intimate terms. He never lodged with him. He had dined with him after the bill was said to be a forgery. Witness was not a defaulter at the Derby in 1850. The proceedings at the police office were withdrawn on Coyle's promising to pay the money. Mr. Clarkson was witness' counsel at the police office. He did not recollect hearing Mr. Clarkson say that the charge was withdrawn because it was believed that prisoner had uttered the forgery without a guilty knowledge. After that, witness went before the grand jury. During the interval a malicious prosecution had been got up against prosecutor, in which prisoner was a witness. Witness and his brother, Captain Holder Alleyne, were indicted for defrauding Mr. Kennedy of a large sum of money. The case was removed, at witness' instance, to the Court of Queen's Bench. Witness was in America at the time the alleged offence occurred. He never received £2700 of the money of Kennedy. His brother did win £7000 of Kennedy on a bet, and that was the subject of the indictment against witness and his brother. Witness never received a shilling of it. His brother made him a present of £500, and lent him another £500 shortly after winning the bet, but this was no part of the money won. Mr. Kennedy was a lieutenant in witness' regiment. Witness' brother had placed £1600 to witness' account, but it was no part of the proceeds of the bet. He does not believe it came from that money, but he does not know from what source it did come. His brother promised to give him money when he won the match. He had a celebrated trotting mare which he matched with Kennedy to do a certain number of miles in an hour, and in ten days after the match came off, witness received the money. This was in January, 1847. Kennedy left the regiment and went to India. Kennedy took proceedings in Chancery, but withdrew them and instituted the malicious prosecution. Witness left the turf, he is happy to say, in 1850. He never plays. [A letter was here shown to witness.] That letter is in my handwriting.

Mr. James : I see that in that letter reference is made to something about 'borrowing a house to do a plant,' and there

is also something about some 'nice young fledglings.' Can you tell us the meaning of those expressions?

Witness: I don't know the meaning of them. This letter was sent to a person who was my intimate friend. I don't know the meaning of 'borrowing a house to do a plant.' I suppose it means making bets, or that sort of thing.

Mr. James: Is it play?

Witness: No, I never play.

Mr. James: What is the meaning of a 'fledging,' upon the turf? [Laughter.]

Witness: I suppose it means a man who bets. I can give no other explanation.

Mr. James: Upon your oath, do not the expressions in the letter mean to get inexperienced persons in some place for the purpose of robbing them?

Witness: No. A man may go to a place, and people may bet with him.

Mr. James: Do you know a person named Flower?

Witness: I have seen him, but I don't know him. I don't recollect hearing that he was a man of considerable wealth.

Mr. James: Was he a 'fledgling?' [A laugh.]

Witness: I should say he was.

Mr. James: Did he 'get it over the head and ears?'

Witness: I should say he did.

Mr. James: Pray what means 'getting it over the head and ears?'

Witness: It means what I had at the Derby in 1850 [a laugh]. I heard that Kennedy lost about £8000 by betting [a laugh]. Witness proceeded: After 1850 witness repeatedly betted with the prisoner. Witness was not excluded from the betting ring at Newmarket. In autumn, 1850, prisoner made a bet for witness in Cambridgeshire, and witness asked him to pay Mr. Lutt £100 out of the money he owed. Witness dined with prisoner during the present year, but he only saw him on the subject of his debt. Witness paid his losses on the Derby with his own money. He did not say in a letter, 'I want money badly, and I want some nice fledglings to do a plant.'

Re-examined: My mother is a lady of fortune, and she has assisted me. I have sold some property which realized £5000 or £6000. The transactions with Captain Kennedy took place in 1847, and I never heard of any criminal proceedings until the prisoner was charged with this offence. I do not know how the prisoner became acquainted with the affair of Mr. Ken-

ned. There was no inquiry before a magistrate, but they went behind my back and preferred a bill. The expressions relating to 'doing a plant' and 'fledglings' were not my own expressions, but were reported by me as a message from another person.

Captain Helder Alleyne, elder brother of the prosecutor, deposed to the admission by the prisoner, at Furnival's Inn, of the forgery of Lord Clifden's name. Cross-examined: He does not consider himself a defaulter. He owed £12,000 after the Derby, in 1850. He does not know that he was posted as a defaulter on the settling day. He had won about £3000. He left the army solely because he wished to leave it. In Canada he formed an acquaintance, he was sorry to say, with Mr. Kennedy. Witness added: I won 7000 guineas of him, which he paid me. He was not an old man. I don't know that he was at that time not more than 19 years of age. The money was won upon a trotting mare, called in America 'Fanny Jenks.' I altered her name to 'Pigeon' [a laugh]. She was a very good Pigeon [renewed laughter]. The terms of the match were—£100 that she did not trot 12 miles in the hour, £200 she did not do 14, £400 she did not do 15, £800 she did not do 16, and the amount was increased to £3200 that she did not trot 18 miles within the hour; and there was also a bet of a thousand guineas that she did not do 15 miles in the hour. The mare had trotted several matches in America, and was well known by the name of 'Fanny Jenks.' Mr. Kennedy might have heard of her as being a fast trotter in America, but I can't tell whether he knew it was the same mare I brought to England. I did not tell Mr. Kennedy that the mare was fit to trot for a man's life at a time when she was lame. I am not aware that Mr. Kennedy left England entirely ruined by his losses. I first heard of an indictment being preferred against me about two years ago. There was an arrangement that the trial should take place, but my solicitor withdrew the record. I believe that my brother, who is a clergyman, also occasionally made bets on the turf through my brother Alexander. I at present stand in the position of a gentleman at large. [A laugh.]

Re-examined: I have had the good sense to quit the turf altogether.

Mr. Humfrey: What occupation do you follow now?

Witness: A married man [much laughter]. My brother has not betted since he has been ordained as a clergyman. The bets were made for him while he was at college.

Mr. James then addressed the court on behalf of the prisoner, in an eloquent speech, and said that the offence charged occurred two years ago, and that the subsequent conduct of the prosecutor showed that he did not believe the prisoner to have had a guilty knowledge of the forgery. Counsel then commented upon the betting transactions of Mr. Alleyne, and said that this was a dispute between betting men, which ought rather to have been settled at Tattersall's than in a court of justice. This prosecution was instituted in order to prevent the prisoner from giving evidence in Kennedy's case.

The learned judge then summed up, and said that if the charge of forgery was true, the jury had nothing to do with the motives of the prosecutor in preferring it.

The jury, after a brief deliberation, returned a verdict of guilty. Sentence was deferred."—*Observer*, Nov. 3d, 1851.

I can afford room for two more cases only, which still more strikingly illustrate "the guilt and misery" that arise from this fashionable and popular English practice and pastime.

"SUICIDES.

An inquest was held by Mr. W. Payne, at the Barley Mow, Upper Thames street, on the body of William Mimmack, aged 59, who committed suicide on the 6th inst. About 7 o'clock in the evening of Friday week, deceased went into a coffee-house in Upper Thames street, and having engaged a bed for the night, about a quarter past seven he was, at his request, shown to his room, and nothing more was heard of him until ten o'clock on Saturday morning, when he was found hanging by a rope round his neck tied to the post of the bedstead. He was lying flat on the ground, from which his head was not suspended more than from seven to eight inches. A doctor was sent for, who, on his arrival, declared that life was extinct, and had been so for some time. During his absence from home his family received from him a letter posted in Knight Ryder street, conveying his intention to commit suicide. A book was found in his pocket in which were made the following entries:—'Thames street, six o'clock—I now fly in the face of my friend and Maker. Horse-racing has killed me. It would be a good thing if it was made felony to bet on any of them.' Another was dated March 5, 1852.—'Another miserable day, and yours has been the same. God's will be

done. I am a poor wretch. This punishment I deserve.' The last was a scrap of paper, on which was written the following: 'My poor brothers appear so happy, and I am so miserable that I must join them. The little money is left in my bureau at home, if I have any. The Lord have mercy on me. It is a rash act. Everything is against me — even the elements.' The jury returned a verdict of 'Temporary insanity.' — *Obs.*, March 15th, 1852.

Betting and Suicide.—On Tuesday, Mr. Langham, deputy coroner for Westminster, held an inquest at St. James's Workhouse, Poland street, Oxford street, on the body of Geo. Bear, aged 42. Deceased was in the service of Lady Charlotte Dundas, and that lady having been out of town for some time, he had been residing at the George the Fourth public house, Leicester street, Regent street, with the landlord of which he had been long acquainted. Mr. Pope, the landlord, said deceased was never cheerful or communicative, but a few days ago he told him that if one of two horses he mentioned won the Derby, he should be 'all right;' and on Wednesday last he went to see the race, in company with a gentleman's servant named John Davis, who could not be produced at the inquest. On Saturday last deceased went as usual to the Earl of Zetland's to know if there was any communication for him from his mistress, and he then appeared in his usual spirits, and went to bed about his usual time that night in a double-bedded room. About seven next morning he was seen in bed alive and well; but about eleven he was found lying in the bed quite cold, with a large incision of an oblique direction across the bend of the left arm, dividing the arteries and tendons. From the absence of witnesses who could give material evidence, the inquiry was adjourned."—*Observer*, June 7th, 1852.

With these cases, I take leave of the subject, and am,
sir

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant, &c.,

To MAJOR JONES,

P. JONES.

Pineville, Georgia, U. S. of America.

LETTER XIV.

WANT OF EDUCATION AMONG THE MASSES IN THIS COUNTRY
 —THE STATE OF CRIME IN THE UNITED KINGDOM—NUMBER
 OF OFFENCES COMMITTED BY WOMEN AND CHILDREN—
 NUMBERS OF WOMEN OF THE TOWN, AND ILLEGITIMATE
 CHILDREN.

London, August 1st, 1853.

DEAR MAJOR:—I next call your attention to the general prevalence of ignorance, or rather the absence of education, among the masses in this land of boasted civilization.

In that useful book known as "Chambers's Information for the People," published by William and Robert Chambers, of Edinburgh, I find it stated that "Probably from a tenth to an eighth of the people of England and Wales are now receiving school instruction"—[*Vol. I., p. 459, Phil. Ed.*] At page 460, I also find it said that "Education is actively conducted in America, and it is calculated that about a sixth of the population are at school." But there are some tests of the absence of education among this people which are truly surprising. It is said that the Registrar General's returns for England and Wales, for the three years 1839, 1840, and 1841, show that, out of 367,894 couples who were married during those years, 122,457 men and 181,378 women signed the register with their marks. That is to say, not very far from one-half (very nearly one-half the women, and a few more than one-third of the men) were unable to write their names. This seems to be confirmed by what I find in "Chambers's Information for the People," to the effect that "Of the 121,083 couples married during the year ending June 30th, 1839, there were 40,587 men, and

58,959 women, who, being unable to write their names, were obliged to sign by marks. The proportion of men unable to write was thus thirty-three per cent.; of women, forty-nine per cent.; medium, forty-one. The trustworthiness of this test was confirmed by the registration of the ensuing year; when, amongst the 124,339 couples, 41,812 men and 62,523 women were found to sign with marks; and the proportion in various districts was also nearly the same." In the "British Almanac" for the present year, I find that the total number of marriages registered in England and Wales for the year 1850 were 152,783; that of this number 47,570 were men, and 70,601 were women (more than one-third); who signed the register with their marks.

Referring to the rural population, the "British Almanac" for 1851 says that "Generation after generation has vegetated on the soil, from time immemorial, without receiving, for the greater part, any school or book education — just like the produce of the fields, which grew up, and was cut down in its season, as they were. They have been left as much alone as though the country had still been in a savage state. Civilization has, in fact, only been extended to them by reflection from those above them, *whose numbers in proportion to their own are one to four or five.*" You will scarcely be surprised at this when you shall have read some of the instances and examples of this imperfect civilization which I have in reserve for you. And now I ask, is it any wonder that crime ventures to stalk abroad in the dark night of ignorance which envelopes this people?

For no blessing conferred upon our country does a kind and beneficent Providence more deserve our gratitude than for our exemption from crime, as compared with other lands, and especially with this United Kingdom. I will state a few facts for your information on this head:

In the "British Almanac" for the present year, I find the following table. A similar statement is contained in the "Companion to the Year Book of General Information."

"ABSTRACTS OF PARLIAMENTARY DOCUMENTS.

Number of Persons Committed for Trial or Bailed in the Year 1851.

	Offences.	Convictions.					Execut'n of Capital Sentences.			
		Death.	Transportation for various periods.	Imprisonment and all lighter Punishments.	Insane, etc.	Acquitted and discharged.	Executed.	Transportation for various periods.	Imprisonment for various periods.	Free Pardon.
ENGLAND AND WALES.										
Offences against the Person	2,218	40	144	1,263	10	761	10	30		
Offences against property with violence	2,060	28	714	827	1	490		25	2	1
Ditto without violence	21,906		1782	15,564	9	4551				
Malicious offences against Property..	305	2	94	54		155		1	1	
Forgery and offences against the Currency	808		67	647	1	93				
Other offences	663		35	318	1	509				
Total *	27,960	70	2836	18,673	22	6359	10	56	3	1
SCOTLAND.										
Offences against the Person.....	981	1	35	690	10	245	1			
Offences against Property with violence	665		177	296		192				
Ditto without violence	1,923		270	1,208	11	344				
Malicious offences against Property..	54		2	36	1	15				
Forgery and offences against the Currency	126		15	74	1	36				
Other offences	252		3	173	1	75				
Total †	4,001	1	502	2,507	24	907	1			

* Of the total commitments, 22,391 were males, and 5569 females.

† Of the total commitments for Scotland, 2892 were males, and 1109 females; of the whole, 509 were not more than sixteen years of age, and forty-nine were above sixty; 830 could neither read nor write, 2398 could read and write imperfectly, and seventy-seven had had a superior education. Under the head of insane, etc., are included seventeen persons who were outlawed — that is, who had escaped.

Offences in Ireland.—In the year 1851, there were 25,369 persons committed for trial, of whom 14,415 were convicted and sentenced—nine to death, 1985 to transportation for various periods, 10,818 to imprisonment for various periods, and 1543 to other punishments.”

The sum total of offences here is large; but that which is more especially remarkable is the great number of atrocious offences,* and the number of offences committed by

* See Appendix, A, § 11, for a comparison with the state of crime in Georgia. Also, §§ 20, 21, 22, 23, 29. Also, App., C, §§ 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 15, 16, 17, 25, as to crime among the slaves.

women and children. Of the crimes committed in England and Wales, twenty-four in a hundred, or about one in four, are committed by women; and of those committed in Scotland, thirty-eight in a hundred, or about one in every two and two-thirds, are committed by women.* And in Scotland, in every 100 offenders there were $12\frac{50}{100}$, or just one in eight, who were under sixteen years of age. But in connection with this last feature of the table, I shall have more to say to you hereafter.

The extent to which illicit relations between the sexes prevails among certain classes of this people, is also shown by figures and statistics, which they themselves report. In the "British Almanac" for this year, I find it stated that, in the year 1850, there were born, in England and Wales, 593,422 children, 302,834 of whom were males, and 290,588 were females; and that of these, 40,307, or nearly seven per cent., were illegitimate — that is to say, about one in every fourteen. All accounts agree that the number of women of the town to be found in the cities is enormous; and one writer says, "In the principal streets [of London], I verily believe, during the evening, if you stand still, you will be passed by one every minute." (*Coleman's Letters*, p. 11.) This author is an American, I believe, but one by no means prejudiced against the British people, as his book shows.

I remain, dear Major,

Respectfully,

Y'r ob't serv't and cousin,

P. JONES.

To MAJ. JONES,

Pineville, Ga., U. S. of America.

* See App., A, §§ 12, 24, 29, for the proportion of crimes committed by women in Georgia. Also, App., B, §§ 4, 7, 13; App., C, §§ 2, 8, 9, 21.

LETTER XV.

SOCIAL PROFLIGACY CONTINUED — COURT OF EXCHEQUER —
TEES VS. AVIS—EXTRAORDINARY INSTANCE OF PROFLIGACY
AND DEPRAVED TASTE — MAHOMET ABRAHAM (A BLACK
BEGGAR) AND ELIZA —; A HORRIBLE PIECE OF LONDON
ROMANCE — PROFLIGACY IN LONDON.

London, August 15th, 1853.

DEAR MAJOR:—I propose now to submit for your consideration some facts which have been brought to my attention, showing the profligate relations of the sexes among a portion of the population of this country, and the degraded moral character of the lower classes.

Not long since, I paid a visit to the Court of Exchequer, as it is called, and I will tell you what I heard there. But first, let me suggest that they have many courts here, held at an immense expense, of which you, as an American, and accustomed to cheap justice, can form no conception. This much, however, must be admitted—that the article is comparatively good here, when paid for; except, perhaps, where men are tried for violence to women. In other cases, it may be said that there is something like accuracy in the administration of justice by the courts; and this cannot always be said of our courts. But it must be confessed that the expense of demanding one's rights in a court of justice here, or of defending them, is frequently ruinous; and that this operates in many instances, to prevent a redress of wrongs. One of these days, I may give you the benefit of some information I have obtained here on this subject.

In the mean time, I will introduce you to the Court of Exchequer. It was my first visit, though I had previously been to the Court of Chancery, and the King's Bench. I found the judge and the lawyers in wigs and gowns, and getting on with much more of routine and less of bustle

than with us. The judge was courteous and patient, but ruled the proceedings with decision and firmness. The case which was tried whilst I was present was brought by a person for the recovery of certain articles of household furniture, plate, and jewelry, which it was alleged his wife had carried away from him, when deserting his bed and board, into the possession of the defendant. The wife had died, and the suit was brought after her death. During the progress of the evidence, it transpired that the plaintiff had married the woman whilst he had another wife living; the woman (last married) had eloped from him with a Mr. Taylor, whom she deserted, in his turn, for Mr. Avis, the defendant; that this Mr. Avis had four daughters, the oldest of whom was twenty-one years old, and the youngest fifteen; and that the father, his paramour, and one of these daughters, together occupied the same bed. You will agree with me, I am sure, that such a story would shock the lowest of our slaves; and that such a *rare bird* as this *Avis* is entirely unknown in our country.

Think of such a state of facts as here set forth, taking place in London in the year of Christ, 1853! Not among the very lowest dregs of the population, either, but among persons having some means, and possessed of furniture, plate, &c. In order that you may see that I have accurately reported the facts, I send you an extract from the Observer newspaper, where you will see that the case seems to have been treated by the Court in a matter-of-fact, every-day sort of way, and not as anything *unusually* shocking:

“SOCIAL PROFLIGACY.

In the Exchequer Court, on Wednesday, the case of *Tees v. Avis*, was tried before Mr. Baron Platt. Mr. Hawkins, in stating this case to the jury, said the plaintiff was the foreman of a tailor carrying on business in Little Earl street, Soho, and the defendant was an auctioneer, upholsterer, and undertaker, in High street, St. Giles's. The action was brought to recover a quantity of household furniture, plate, jewelry, &c. In the year 1836 the plaintiff became acquainted with a Miss Diana Wales, a person of considerable beauty, and married her at St. Martin's church. They lived together for two years, when Mrs.

Tees attracted the attention of a Mr. Taylor, a tailor, in Bond street. He induced her to leave her home, and she lived for some time under his protection, during which he made her a great many valuable presents. She, however, proved unfaithful to Mr. Taylor. The defendant, having been called to make some articles of upholstery, was struck with the attractions of the then "Mrs. Taylor," and he induced her to leave the tailor's and go to the undertaker's shop, where she lived with the defendant until August last, when she died. Upon her death, Mr. Tees, the plaintiff, demanded the furniture, plate, jewelry, and effects belonging to his late wife, which she had taken to the defendant's house, of the value altogether of about £150. All these things she had when the undertaker took her, and he refused to give up possession of a single article to the plaintiff, in consequence of which the present action had been brought. The learned counsel then proceeded to call witnesses to prove the foregoing facts. A woman called Harris, who had been an intimate friend of Mrs. Tees, and was present at her marriage, said that she believed Mr. Tees had another wife then living who had left him. Avis, the defendant, was present at the wedding. He had four daughters—the eldest 21, and the youngest 15 years of age, living with him when he took Mrs. Tees into his house. This witness spoke of several articles of furniture and other things which she had seen at the defendant's belonging to Mrs. Tees, and said that the defendant had enlarged one of Mrs. Tees's bedsteads to enable her, his daughter, and himself to occupy it together. Other witnesses were called to complete the plaintiff's case. Mr. M. Chambers addressed the jury on behalf of the defendant, contending that the plaintiff did not come into court with clean hands, seeing that in the first instance he had married a second wife during the lifetime of the first, about whom he appeared to have taken no interest from the day of their separation. Then, again, the expenses of the funeral of this poor woman had been paid by the defendant, and he considered, therefore, that he had a reasonable claim upon the few effects which she had left behind. Mr. Baron Platt told the jury that the morality of the case was not a question for their consideration; for, whilst it appeared that the plaintiff had married a second wife during the lifetime of the first, the defendant had thought proper to take one of those wives into his keeping. The law of the land was, that when a wife died, the husband was entitled to any property she might have, unless it was otherwise settled. The jury found for the plaintiff, with eighty-five pounds damages."—*Observer*, January 27th, 1853.

When I returned to my rooms, I related to Buck what I had heard and witnessed of the trial at Court. We were now in the frequent habit of interchanging remarks upon the novelties with which we met; and for my amusement as well as interest, I encouraged him to talk with me about such things. When I had given him the story of the undertaker and his broad bed—

“Marster,” said he, “who is undertaker? What do he undertake?”

“He makes coffins and attends funerals and burials,” said I.

“As God is my Judge, Marster,” said Buck, “I had rather live forever, than be buried by sich a villian of an undertaker.”

I witnessed a still more extraordinary instance of profligacy, if that be possible, some time during the last summer. Being near the Bank of England, in Cornhill, I ordered the coach in which I was riding with my servant, to stop near the Royal Exchange, where I got out, told Buck to do the same, and to wait for me there a short time, as I desired to look into the Bank for a few minutes. I left, and proceeded to the Bank; where I had been a very short time when Buck made his appearance, panting and steaming with excitement.

“Mass Ples—Mass Ples—” (he frequently thus, when much excited, called me as he had been accustomed to do in our childhood), “Mass Ples—come quick. I have got the oncommonest sight to show you, that you have seen sence you come to this country;” and he rapidly hurried me out, saying as we went, “We must make haste, and git to the Mansion House, Marster, jest over thar,” pointing in the direction of that building.

“That is the residence of the Lord Mayor,” said I.

“Adzackly, Marster, and he is going to have the outenest set before him that ever I seed in my born days.”

He then informed me that immediately after I had left him, he saw approaching, a blind black man and a white girl in the custody of the police.

“They had been tuk up for something nuther,” Buck said, “but he didn’t know what adzackly.”

As they were being taken towards the Mansion House,

he said he had approached the party and learned something of the circumstances, and where they were being carried, and then he scampered off for me, that I might have a chance of "seeing the show."

"He was a raal greasy ole nigger, Marster, and the young white oman said she was his wife, and would foller him to the world's eend, said she, and would live and die with him, said she," spluttered Buck, as we fairly ran across Cornhill in the direction of the Mansion House. "And he was blind at that, Marster, and ugly as a harricane."

We reached the place a very little time after the arrival of the prisoners; and there, sure enough, I witnessed one of the most remarkable cases of depravity and degradation that I had ever seen. You shall have the facts from the police report, as it appeared in a London paper of the time; for I feel that you might suspect me of "romancing" with you, if I left you to trust my statement alone. Here is a statement from the Observer of June 7th, 1852:

"POLICE INTELLIGENCE—*Saturday, June 5.*

MANSION HOUSE.—*Extraordinary Instance of Profligacy and Depraved Taste.*—Mahomet Abraham, a jet black blind beggarman, who is usually led through the streets by a brown dog, and Eliza ———, aged 23, the daughter of a gentleman who resides in London, were brought before the Lord Mayor by Henry Major, an officer of the Mendicity Society. The male prisoner was a peculiarly revolting object, his head being covered with long matted hair, and the covering upon his limbs being tattered and filthy in an extreme degree. The female was a small-sized, pretty-faced girl, presenting a remarkable contrast to the wretched creature who accompanied and was cherished by her.

The Mendicity officer said: At twenty minutes past eleven o'clock, I saw the two prisoners together in Bishopsgate street. They had come from Halifax street, where they live together. and the girl fastened a petition to the man's breast, and placed him and his dog near the Sir Paul Pindar public house, in an attitude of supplication. As soon as she had deposited him to her satisfaction against the wall, she retired from him. I soon saw him receive a penny, and I apprehended them both.

The following is a copy of the petition, which was stitched round with black tape :—

“The humble petition of Mahomet Abraham, a native of Calcutta, East Indies. He was brought to this country in the barque Diana, Captain Brown; was kept ashore in the Infirmary, Liverpool, for fever and inflammation in the eyes, where he was deprived of his precious sight. Being a stranger, far, far away from home, he is forced to trust to the kind, benevolent, and humane, who feel for the misfortunes of others.

Gold is much,
The loss of health is more;
The loss of light is such
God only can restore.
The Lord loveth a cheerful giver.”

The Lord Mayor: Is it possible that those two persons have been living together?

The Mendicity Officer: I have traced them to their very bed, and have been particularly informed of their habits.

Captain Wood, of the Mendicity Society: The case is certainly the most extraordinary I have met with in all my experience, and discloses not only a singular instance of perverted taste, but other peculiarities calculated to excite surprise, and illustrate the begging system. Perhaps the most explicit way of informing your lordship of the circumstances of the case is by reading a letter which I received from the young woman's father, who is present in this justice room :—

‘ To the Secretary Mendicity Society, Red Lion Square.

Dear Sir :—I beg to submit the following distressing case to your sympathies, and to solicit from you the advice and assistance which I am led to understand is kindly afforded by your society in extraordinary cases out of the pale of parental authority. By birth and education a gentleman, I married in the year 1829 a lady in the same sphere of society, by whom I had issue two daughters, the eldest of whom (the unfortunate subject of this application) now 23 years of age, was from the age of three months brought up and educated in the first style by her maternal grandfather and grandmother. At their decease, about seven or eight years since, she became an unwilling inmate of her parent's dwelling, from which she contrived to get away with a married man, and was not heard of (having eluded the efforts of the police to trace her for many months) until the receipt of a letter in the Times newspaper, from Mr

D'Arcy, our solicitor, at Newton Abbot, in Devonshire, in which paper a detailed and humane account of the distressing condition of a young lady then lying at St. Luke's workhouse, appeared under the assumed name of Elizabeth Allen. This account, as regarded my daughter, abounded with the most atrocious falsehoods, as detailed by herself to the Board of Guardians of St. Luke's. My wife (having a cousin of the name, to whom the solicitor suggested it might apply) went to St. Luke's, and found our daughter to be the person whose case had been detailed in the Times, and on her being brought before them and her mother, was there and then convicted of deliberate falsehood and fraud, and handed over to her mother. Exertions were then successfully made to get her cured of a complication of loathsome disorders at Bartholomew's Hospital, from whence, after being brought to a state of convalescence, and robbing some of the nurses of small sums of money, she escaped, and again was lost sight of for many months, when a gentleman, a friend of the family, saw and gave her into custody of the police, who restored her once more to her afflicted parents. Her conduct from this period was infamous in the extreme, and, on her coming of age, she threw off all restraint, and having a small house property in Devonshire, subject to her parents' interest, but which was waved in her favor, she left us, nor did we know of her whereabouts, until about ten months since, I met her in the streets of Whitechapel, in the last stage of destitution, filth, and rags, singing ballads. My humanity once again led me to speak with her and to remonstrate, the result of which was that we took her home, cleansed, clothed, and cared for her. This lasted but a short time, and her recurrence to her former habits again precluded all knowledge respecting her, until, a few days since, we received a letter from our solicitor, saying he had heard from our daughter, as the wife of a Mr. Abraham, desiring the sale of her property, and requesting him to take the necessary steps—one of these and the preliminary step, being our signatures and consent.

My first impulse was to visit the locality specified in the solicitor's letter, '7 Little Halifax street, Whitechapel,' and there, in one miserable room, cohabiting with a black, blind beggar, who perambulates the street with a brown dog, this wretched girl is to be found. The parties who live in the same house say that she has been cohabiting with this monstrous loathsome being for two months, and that they live most luxuriously. Her mother, who has had an interview with her, states that she boasts of this man's bringing her home from the west

end frequently 15s. per day, and on an average 7s. or 8s. per diem. She stated herself to have been married to him seven months since at Whitechapel church, which, on careful inquiry, I find to be false, having examined the church books and seen the officials on the subject. These latter circumstances induce me to think that the humanity and exertions of your society may be made available for the suppression of so much vice, and the salvation of this unfortunate child.'

The Lord Mayor: Certainly this is the most horrible piece of London romance I ever heard of, and it would be quite incredible if I had not here before me all the parties concerned. Is it possible, young woman, that you can have any respect or affection for the miserable creature at your side?

The Female Prisoner: Yes, I have both respect and affection for him. I have no idea of leaving him. We can do very well together (and she laid hold of the tatterdemalion's greasy black paw).

The Mendicity Officer: The man has been begging about for several years, and I have no doubt is well able to keep a woman in great luxury. I am convinced that the girl has been attracted by the excellent living with which he indulges her. They have been in the habit of getting the best, and she does not deny it.

The Female Prisoner: Well, I can't go home, and I won't go home.

The black said he had been dog-led through the streets of London for eight years, that there could be no mistake about his blindness, and if any one knew how a blind man was to support himself, except upon the kindness of those who were not blind, he would be much obliged to be informed in what way.

The Lord Mayor then communicated privately with the father of the girl, and both prisoners were remanded."

"Tell you what 'tis, Marster," said Buck, when we were again in the street, "hit do seem to me like that ole nigger been usen some conjure trick on that gal. Why, Marster, there ain't a yaller gal 'mong all them lazy, good-for-nothing Goings free niggers that live thar in the outskearts of Pineville what 'ud take up with sich a scarecrow as that ole nigger. Sal Goings herself, low down as she is, wouldn't do it, much more any of our slave people, Marster. Poor gal! poor gal! I must think thar's some conjuration 'bout it, sir. Howbeever, sir, I

don't know arter all, why we should be so conflumuxed about it, Marster. These English people seem tereble fond of niggers, any how. The quality (what they call the rastocracy, sir) take on about niggers monstrously, and set a heap by 'um. The poor people here love to foller arter the quality, and hits no wonder that they fall in love with niggers some."

There is no telling how long Buck would have continued in this strain of moralizing on the shocking scene we had witnessed, if I had not abruptly checked him, and told him I desired to be left to my thoughts.

The case just referred to, Major, may be deemed very horrible by the Lord Mayor, as it undoubtedly is, but it is by means a solitary instance on the part of English women, of a taste for black men. On the contrary, you will find from the following, that hybrids are increasing in London, and I suppose you will join Buck in agreeing that all things considered, it is not very wonderful.

"William Fortinie, a man of color, was charged with refusing to support his illegitimate child. Margaret Mackey said she was engaged by M. Robin, the great conjurer, in Tichborne street, to do work, and there met with the defendant, who was also employed to assist in the tricks and conjurations at the theatre. The defendant contrived to become intimate with her, and the result was the little copper-colored *fac simile* of the father. The defendant, notwithstanding the *prima facie* proof of paternity presented by the child, stoutly declared he was not the father. The complainant had no other corroborative proof than that which was afforded by the unmistakable resemblance between child and putative father. Mr. Harwick was hardly inclined to think that this kind of proof was the corroborative evidence contemplated by law. It was just possible that defendant was not the father, as there were other black men in London. He should therefore remand the case, to see if the complainant could bring some kind of corroboration of her declaration. The case was remanded."—*Observer*, Feb. 14th, 1853.

I will return to the subject of social profligacy hereafter. And in the meantime, I am, dear Major,

Your friend and cousin,

P. JONES.

To MAJ. JONES,

Pineville, Ga., U. S. of America.

LETTER XVI.

SOCIAL PROFLIGACY IN LIVERPOOL AND MANCHESTER, AND
THEIR VICINITY—ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CHAPLAIN OF
KIRKDALE JAIL.

London, September 1st, 1853.

DEAR MAJOR:—Such profligacy as I have been describing is not confined to London. To show this, I will send you accounts taken from other parts of the country. Here is one from Liverpool, exhibiting to some extent the state of social morals in that city, in Manchester, and their vicinity. Kirkdale Jail is in the neighborhood of Liverpool, and is used for the surrounding country to a considerable extent.

“ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CHAPLAIN OF KIRKDALE JAIL.

I have the honor of presenting my thirteenth annual report to the magistrates.

The period which it embraces has been marked by few occurrences that call for any peculiar notice.

The total number of prisoners admitted within the building, from the 20th of October, 1851, to the 20th of October, 1852, has been 2141, showing an increase of 355 over that of the preceding year. Of this number, 312 are found amongst the summary convictions, 43 alone being the excess of the other two classes together. This increase will not, however, be inconsiderably reduced by subtracting the number of the Wigan borough prisoners, who have, for the last few months, been brought to this jail, instead of, as formerly, to Preston.

I am happy to state that, although the calendars for the year contain the names of nine prisoners charged with wilful murder, besides two with attempts to commit that dreadful crime, and five for infanticide, we have again been spared the painful scene of an execution. Sentence of death was, indeed, passed at the last assizes upon two sisters, for attempting to poison the illegitimate daughter of one of them, with oxalic

acid; but the sentence was subsequently commuted to transportation for life.

On turning to the assize calendars, we find that the following are the material differences in the committals for the two years:—

	1851.	1852.	Decrease.
Charged with manslaughter	45	33	12
“ “ burglary and house-breaking	83	56	27
“ “ base coin transactions	12	5	7
“ “ forgery	20	9	11
“ “ rape	15	9	6

On the other hand, we have the committals for street and highway robbery increased from 52 (in 1851) to 100 (in 1852). The great majority of these cases have occurred in the borough of Manchester, and have been in very many instances accompanied by severe violence to the throat. The judges have thought it right to express themselves in very strong terms upon the prevalence of this crime in that town; and, determined to do all in their power to repress it, have in almost every case of conviction sentenced the offender to ten or fifteen years' transportation.

I do not know that I have any novelty to notice in the motives or causes which have supplied us with somewhat more than our usual aggregate number of offenders during the past year. There certainly have been comparatively few cases in which want of employment has converted the honest man into a felon. I must once more reiterate what I have, year after year, felt myself obliged to remark, that drunkenness is, in nine cases out of ten, the parent of the crime which you are called upon to punish, and that I despair of seeing any great reduction in the number of criminals in this country, until this blighting curse of our laboring population, in all its various classes, has been eradicated. I wish I could see any improvement in this respect, but I grieve to state that the experience of the past year has been only too like that of its predecessors; and my journal abounds, as usual, with such notices as the following, which I extract almost at random:—

Dec. 29. I had an interview with four boys, all under 20 years of age, for robbing a man in Dryden street, Liverpool, on Christmas night. *All of them had been drinking spirits at some neighboring vaults.*

Feb. 3. A man named Patrick M'D——, for the assizes, charged with the wilful murder of a man with a stone, after a

drunken quarrel. They had both, *according to his statement*, been up drinking all the night. He names three vaults at which he had been himself drinking, in and near Deansgate, after twelve o'clock that morning. The man was killed between seven and eight, A. M.

March 30. Forty-nine prisoners from Manchester came before me this morning, for the ensuing assizes, almost all for street robberies. I have again to remark that from the statements of these prisoners Manchester appears to be in a fearful state during the whole night: any quantity of spirituous liquors is procurable, they say, at all hours. It seems that several of what are called night houses are allowed to be open throughout the night, some for the convenience of the market people, others for the cab-drivers. At these places drinking goes on throughout the whole night, to a lamentable extent, according to the statements of numbers of prisoners to myself.

April 12. A man named James Dowd, for the assizes, charged with a murder in a drunken brawl, at Liverpool. *The party had been drinking until one o'clock in a whisky cellar.*

November 20. Visited two men in dark cells; one of them named P—— is one of the most refractory prisoners we have ever had in the jail. He has been many times before, and was once whipped. He bears a very bad character outside, as well as many others of his family. His father, I am told, was a very drunken man, and at the time of coming of age, of the present owner of the Speke estate, he was seen by my informant lying on a form, with upturned mouth, calling out to a man who stood over him with a can of liquor—*'Now teem it into me as you are a Christian!'* Another son of this man, in company with some others, found a cask of rum in the river, on one occasion, and they drank the whole of it amongst them; after which he died himself, and the rest very nearly shared the same fate.

Nov. 4. John A——, for the assizes, a respectable farmer at Kirkby, under the Earl of Sefton, charged with the manslaughter of another of the Earl's tenant farmers, by throwing him over a pailing—*both being in a state of intoxication.* Both 60 years of age, and with large families.

The following extract shows the mischievous effects which such books as Jack Sheppard are calculated to produce:—

Dec. 13. Conversed with two Stockport boys, 15 years of age, each convicted and sentenced to six calendar months, at the present assizes, for stopping a lady on the Manchester road,

and demanding her money or her life. The story they both tell is in substance this : — ‘ We have for some time past been reading the lives of Dick Turpin, Jack Sheppard, and Claude Duval, placed in our hands by the man under whom one of us works in the factory. We both of us at length determined to try if we could not ourselves perform some of their exploits, and, for this purpose, got a pistol and loaded it with powder, paper, and a small stone ; and on the night of Saturday last, sallied forth in the direction of Manchester, to watch for a favorable opportunity. A lady met us, and we rushed up to her and demanded her money. She declared she had none. We then presented the pistol and said : — ‘ If you do not give us something, we will blow out your brains.’ At this instant a young man came up, and we were prevented from making any further attempt, and apprehended ’

We have had nine deaths in the jail during the year — one that of an Irish youth, which is thus alluded to in my journal of March 17. Before he died, he begged that he might not be buried in the shirt which he had brought into the jail, *because it was a stolen one*. He also expressed a wish that his mother, who lived in the county Longford, might be informed of his having died in jail ; and be at the same time told that absolute want could alone have driven him to commit the burglary of which he had been convicted, and for which he had been sentenced to four calendar months’ imprisonment. Poor fellow ! he was throughout his illness as patient as a lamb, and most grateful for any act or word of kindness from any one. He said before he died, that he hoped his brother would take warning by his fate, and never be induced, by any motive whatever, to commit a crime.

Another death was that of a man named Metcalfe, who cut his throat fatally with a razor in his separate cell. He had been brooding over the loss of his little property, which had been sold to pay the expenses of his trial at the last assizes.

There has been no alteration in any respect in the jail during the past year. Everything continues to go on with the same admirable regularity ; and no stranger ever leaves the building without speaking in the highest terms of the excellent discipline, the uniform cleanliness, and the perfect order which prevails throughout. The same occupations are still followed that I remarked upon last year ; the principal of which, cloth and mat weaving, and shoe-binding, keep several hands constantly, and, I hope, profitably employed.

It is very painful to me to have to add to my tables so long a list of recommitments during the past year. I must allow, it is very discouraging to find that our labors are so often all but fruitless. All, however, is not dark; for I have before me now several letters from those to whom their imprisonment has proved a blessing, and who express in the warmest terms the gratitude they feel for the instruction they have here received, and the good they have derived from this visitation of an all-gracious Providence.

RICHARD APPLETON.

November, 1852."

[*Liverpool Mercury*, December 3d, 1852.

I have more to say on this subject, but must put it into another letter; and only add now, that I am, dear sir,

Your friend and cousin,

P. JONES.

To Maj. JONES, Pineville, Geo.,
U. S. of America.

LETTER XVII.

SOCIAL PROFLIGACY — ABANDONMENT OF AN INFANT BY ITS MOTHER — HORRIBLE DEPRAVITY — SOCIAL PROFLIGACY IN SCOTLAND.

London, September 16th, 1853.

DEAR MAJOR:—On the 17th or 18th of November last, I attended the Middlesex Sessions, and witnessed another case of awful depravity—one which excited the most profound emotions among the bystanders. I send you a report of the same, published a few days thereafter.

“DISTRESSING CASE.

Elizabeth Bromwich, twenty-one years of age, was indicted for unlawfully, wickedly, and cruelly deserting and abandoning her infant child, aged seven weeks, and exposing

it in the open air, whereby its life was endangered. Robert Lester, inspector of the C division of police, stated that the prisoner, at a little past two on the morning of the 25th of last month, was brought by police constable 199 C to the Vine street police station, charged by Alfred Stroud with child-murder some months back. The prisoner said she wished to speak the truth. She had nothing to hide, and threw herself on their mercy. She then stated that she was delivered of a female child on the 14th of April last, at a house in King street, Regent street. It was ill from its birth; and on the 27th of May, it appeared to be dying, and she took it to Mr. Harding, a surgeon in Silver street, who had attended her in her confinement; and he told her that it would not live over the day. She was advised by Ellen Davis to put the child near some gentleman's house; and that then, if it was found, and it did not live, it would have decent burial. She went to Hampsted and put the child near the Well-walk, and left it there. It was alive then. She also said that she had since seen bills in a window about a child having been found, and asked Stroud to let her inquire about it; but he told her not to go, as she might get punished. On this story being told, the prisoner was detained, and a constable was then sent to Hampsted, and brought back the child's clothes, which she said were those the child had on when she left it. He (witness) told her that the child was alive, and she exclaimed, 'Oh, thanks! Shall I have it again?' She said that Davis and herself had bought two pennyworth of laudanum at two shops, and that she had received a certificate from Mr. Harding that the child died on the 27th, of infectious disease. She said that she got this certificate to show to Stroud, with whom she had been living, and who was in the hospital at the time. Davis was originally taken into custody, but the magistrate admitted her subsequently as a witness. In cross-examination, the witness said that Stroud was the man who brought her to the station, charging her with murdering her child some months ago. He (witness) knew that she lived with him. He had seen her in a fearful state, covered with bruises; and when she was brought to the station she was covered with blood, her eyes bloodshot, and both sides of her face black and blue from bruises. She explained that she had been living with Stroud for some months, and that he had been living on the wages of her guilt. Latterly her earnings were small, and she was obliged to pawn some of his clothes to enable them to live; and he became jealous, and charged her with

spending the money she got on other men, and beat her in this way. He came out of the hospital about two months after the birth of her child, and they lived together since and before. She walked the streets to support him for many months. Police constable 199 C stated that, on the morning in question, he was called in, and Stroud gave the prisoner in charge for the murder of her child. The prisoner went into hysterics, and Stroud told him that she had given the child two pennyworth of laudanum, and took and left it at Hampstead heath. When she recovered, she said, 'Oh! Alfred, how can you say that?'

Ellen Davis deposed to having gone with the prisoner to Mr. Harding's to get a certificate of the child's death. The prisoner told her that it was dead, and she believed that she told Mr. Harding what was said to her. She went with the prisoner and her child to Hampstead, where she said she had another child with her mother. This was about the middle of the day, and when there the prisoner went away with her child, and was absent about twenty minutes, and returned without the child, saying that she had left it at her mother's. At this time she (witness) was supporting her and her baby, for the prisoner was very badly off. Mr. Harding, when they went there with the baby, told the prisoner that the child could not live many hours. Mr. Harding stated that he was called in to the prisoner in her confinement, and had attended her since. On the 27th of May the prisoner and Davis brought the child to him. He told them it appeared to be dying, and the prisoner said she was going to take it to her mother's. The prisoner always seemed to him very attentive to the child, but she was in a state of great misery and want. Charles Satterthwaite stated that he was playing cricket on Hampstead-heath, at about a quarter past 6, on the afternoon of the day in question. The ball went through a hedge, and he followed and picked it up. He saw a parcel, apparently lying under a bush, and found that it was a child. This was about 300 yards from any house, and about 100 yards from any public road. Mr. Aldrich, the master of the workhouse, said the child was brought there about 7 o'clock. It was placed in a warm bath, and had a wetnurse provided, and he thought it was now likely to live.

Mr. Payne, in his address to the jury, commented on the brutal conduct throughout of the man Stroud, and noticed the credit that was due to the parties by whose instrumentality the child

had been rescued from death. His client never had, nor did she now deny that she deserted her child, but under all the circumstances she did not think they would come to the conclusion that she did so maliciously, and with intent to endanger its life. He wished that Stroud, who was the cause of all the misery and degradation that this poor woman had endured, could have been placed at the bar — he who had accused her because she did not bring him sufficient wages for support, and who dragged her in the middle of the night, bruised and beaten, to a police station, and made a charge against her that might have perilled her life. The learned counsel then drew the attention of the jury to the different points in the prisoner's conduct which would justify them in acquitting her. The Assistant Judge having summed up, the foreman of the jury said that they considered that the prisoner was guilty of placing the child where it was found, but without any malicious intent. Mr. Payne said that was tantamount to a verdict of not guilty, and the jury accordingly returned a verdict of acquittal."—*Weekly Dispatch*, Nov. 21st, 1852.

The verdict of the jury was waited for with great interest, and the audience were much gratified when the prisoner was acquitted. In this excitement my servant, who had accompanied me to the Court, largely shared, and I was forced to interfere and prevent his breaking out into an exuberance of joy which would have drawn down the displeasure of the Court. As it was, he relieved himself as much as he could by soundly abusing the man Stroud.

"He is meaner, sir," said he, "than any free nigger in Georgia, and I bleaved 'fore I left home that they was 'bout the meanest people on yearth. But whoever heard of a nigger livin on his 'oman's sin, and beatin her at same time, and clappin climax by perwailin on her to 'stroy her child, and then swarin agin her for doing it, and tellin lies at *that*? Is thar no chance to hang him, Marster?"

In the same paper from which I have given you the above extracts, Major, I found the following article:

"SHOCKING DEPRAVITY.

Two persons, residing in Pheasant court, Gray's Inn lane, were charged with having more lodgers in one room than are

allowed by law. It appeared from the evidence of Police-serjeant No. 4 of the E division, that he had visited the rooms rented by the defendants, who are Irishmen, and in one apartment he found sixteen adult males and females, nearly in a state of nakedness and swarming with vermin, lying or squatting indiscriminately on the bare boards. There were two children likewise in the same wretched place. In the room of the other party, the same witness proved a like filthy scene in language (necessary in the case) which occasioned a sickening sensation. Mr. Tyrwhitt said the testimony was certainly of a most revolting description, and unhappily too true; and he told the defendants if the nuisances were not at once ended, he would commit them to the House of Correction for a lengthened period. They had slipped out of a country which evidently had tolerated such iniquitous goings on; but, while he would administer the law mercifully, every means that he could adopt should be taken to put down the vile practices described. — *Weekly Dispatch*, Nov. 21st, 1852.

The following extracts furnish us a leaf from the chapter of social profligacy in Scotland; and, together with other statistics which have been furnished by me, serve to throw light upon the state of morals and of civilization in that part of the United Kingdom:

“ OFFENCES BY PUBLICANS.

On Tuesday, at the termination of the ordinary business at the Central Police Court, a number of cases of offence by publicans were brought up under Home Drummond's Act, among which were the following:—

Mrs. Russell, Old Wynd, for having her premises open and entertaining company between the hours of two and four o'clock, on the morning of Sunday, the 22d of May. She denied the charge in strong terms.

The officer deposed that, after three o'clock, he got admission by a back door, and found five women—some of them prostitutes—and eight or nine men in the house, and Mrs. Russell serving them with liquor at the bar. This was corroborated by a second officer, who characterized it as a very bad house, that kept a watch for the police.

The magistrate found the breach of the terms of certificate

clearly proven, and the case was aggravated by the flat denial of the charge. However, he was inclined to view it leniently, solely on account of the time that had been allowed to transpire since the discovery had taken place.

Mr. Burnet explained that the delay had been occasioned by the difficulty in getting the offender's name and designation correctly.

Anthony Reynolds, Bridgegate, was accused of selling spirituous liquors without a certificate, and with having his premises open on the morning of Sunday the 19th of June.

An officer deponed that, at nine o'clock, on the morning in question, he obtained admission into Reynolds' house—in plain clothes—where he counted no less than twenty-seven men and women at the counter being served with liquor. Reynolds himself came in and exclaimed—'Danger approaches, Annie, douce the glim' (put out the light), and he sprang on the counter, screwed out the gas, and cried—'Bring me the raspberry.' The woman, who acted as saleswoman at the counter, then got flustered, and spilled some whisky from a pewter stoup, which he found to be whisky from dipping his finger into it and tasting it. A hustling was then got up in which he was forcibly ejected. His object in going in was to see what had attracted a crowd that lingered about the close.

A second policeman corroborated this statement, with the addition that Reynolds was standing outside looking out while the selling was going on.

Reynolds pleaded that he sold only raspberry cordial; but Bailie Gilmour said this was too sour an argument, and fined him in £3 10s., or thirty days' imprisonment.

A number of other cases were departed from in consequence of some irregularity in the terms of the charges."

"CRIMINAL JURY TRIALS.

On Friday a court was held in the Court-house. Sheriff Smith occupied the bench. The prosecution was conducted by J. M'Donald, Esq., P. F., and Mr. Cross, writer, Airdrie, watched over the cases on behalf of the prisoners. The first produced for trial was an Edward Morrison, a young man of twenty-one or twenty-two years, charged with theft from lockfast places. He plead guilty, and was sent to prison for four months. The next arraigned was an Elizabeth Inglis, a young girl from Glasgow. She was charged with uttering base coin in the town of Airdrie, on the 1st and 2d of June.

She plead guilty to the charge of uttering, but not to the charge of knowing it to be base. The court not being satisfied with this plea, a jury was empannelled, and the case went to trial. On the evidence it came out that the girl had come to Airdrie on the May Fair day with a barrow and nuts, or some such thing. While here with her father she passed the money for which she was charged with uttering. The father is evidently a person of the worst class in society. In her declaration too, she stated that he fraternized with one notorious coiner. The jury found her guilty, but, on account of her youth, recommended her to the leniency of the court. She was sentenced to four months' imprisonment. Through her agent, Mr. Cross, who made for her an able defence, we inquired if she could read or write. She answered that she could do neither. It was so with the one that was tried before her. Surely if society expects its members to perform their relative duties, it ought, at least, to see that they are trained to know what its laws are; unless it believes that all know these intuitively. From the frankness with which she went about the uttering of the bad money, we fear the girl learned only on her apprehension that she had been guilty of a serious offence. Instead of being let off at the end of four months, she should be sent to school, or trained within the prison walls, if need be. The heavy sobs that she gave on hearing her sentence, showed that though steeped in a worse than Hottentot's ignorance, she was not lost to a sense of shame from going into prison.

District Court. — During the week, Denis Helly and John Connorton, two boys, were sent to Hamilton, to receive, the former twenty, and the latter fifteen stripes, for breaking trees in a plantation on Woodhall estate. It strikes us that in this instance the justices acted more with the feeling of proprietors, than that of fathers. Daniel Fisher, a rogue and vagabond, was sent to prison for sixty days, for taking a bite out of a loaf. He should have got the wheel to turn to cure him of his laziness. Bernard Cunningham, for assault, got thirty days." — *Glasgow Examiner*, July 30th, 1853.

I will resume the subject in my next, and am, meantime, dear Major,

Your friend, &c.,

To MAJ. JOSEPH JONES,
Pineville, Ga., U. S. of America.

P. JONES.

LETTER XVIII.

SOCIAL PROFLIGACY—THE LATE LORD PORTARLINGTON AND MRS. DAWSON—MORMONISM IN THE UNITED KINGDOM—THE AGAPEMONE, OR ABODE OF LOVE.

London, September 29th, 1853.

DEAR MAJOR:—It would seem from the following, that social immorality is not confined to the lower classes of the people in this country. It is the report of an investigation had before one of the Aldermen of London. I leave the case to speak for itself:—

“THE LATE LORD PORTARLINGTON AND MRS. DAWSON—CHARGE OF PERJURY.

At the Guildhall police office, on Tuesday, Mrs. Dawson, alias Phœbe Blakeney, residing near Maida-hill, appeared for re-examination before Sir Peter Laurie, on a charge of having committed wilful perjury under the following singular circumstances. The charge was that in the year 1833 the prisoner swore, in the Prerogative Court, to documents purporting to show that Mrs. Elam, widow, died intestate in September, 1833, and that the prisoner was her only daughter and next of kin, and thereby she obtained about £5000, there being a Miss Georgina Elam, a daughter of Mrs. Elam, in existence. The registry of Mrs. Elam's burial at Kensall Green stated Mrs. Elam's age to be 48, whereas the prisoner had nearly reached that age when Mrs. Elam died, and therefore the prisoner could not have been Mrs. Elam's daughter. Miss Georgina Elam (the prosecutrix) deposed that she first discovered that her name was Elam, and not Dawson, on a legacy being left to her in 1845 by Lord Portarlington, in the name of Elam. A clerk in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury produced an administration bond dated Oct. 12, 1833, and signed 'Phœbe Blakeney,' and also the administration act book, stating that

on Oct. 15, 1833, administration of the effects of Eliza Elam, late of Curzon street, May Fair, widow, deceased, was granted to Phoebe Blakeney, spinster, 'daughter and only child of the deceased.' The property was sworn to under £5000, and re-sworn in 1835 at under £4000. Miss Elam proved the prisoner's signature to the bond. Dr. Curteis, surrogate, also proved the administration by Phoebe Blakeney, and the oaths taken on the occasion. Certificates were put in of the burials of Mr. and Mrs. Elam, and also of the baptism of Georgina Elam, who was born Jan. 26, 1828. Mr. Ballantine, for the prisoner, said he was instructed to admit that the administration had been taken, and the oaths sworn by his client, and that he could prove his client to be, as she had sworn, the only natural and lawful daughter and next of kin of Mrs. Elam, deceased. He should produce a certificate of marriage between Robert Blakeney and Eliza Wood (afterwards Mrs. Elam) in 1798, and the prisoner was her child by that marriage, and thus the prosecutor, Georgina Elam, was not the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Elam, for at the time of her birth Mrs. Elam had been long separated from her husband, and was living as mistress to Lord Portarlington, Mrs. Elam being then 54 and his lordship 62 years of age. She then palmed the girl off on Lord Portarlington as his child by her, and, under this impression, Lord Portarlington left the girl a legacy. He would prove that neither Mr. Elam nor Lord Portarlington was the girl's father, but that she was purchased from a peasant by Mrs. Elam, to be passed off on Lord Portarlington as his. He would produce the person who purchased the child, and Mrs. Elam's own letters admitting that the child was not hers, but merely passed off as such on Lord Portarlington.

Sir Peter Laurie asked was there any such person as Mr. Dawson, or why was the prisoner called by that name?

Mr. Ballantine: My client took Lord Portarlington's family name of Dawson, because she lived with him as his mistress.

Mr. Huddlestone: Do you mean that Lord Portarlington lived with both mother and daughter?

Mr. Ballantine: Shocking as it may appear, Lord Portarlington lived first with the mother, then with the daughter, and afterwards with the mother again.

Sir P. Laurie: Does the present Lord Portarlington know of this extraordinary case? I hope that out of regard to his uncle's character, he will send some solicitor to watch it on his account.

Mr. Ballantine said that whatever annoyance it might cause to the family, the vindication of his client required the proof to be given that the prosecutrix was not Mr. Elam's daughter.

Mr. Palmer, the prisoner's solicitor, said that he was sure the case was put forward by parties whom he well knew, and that the prosecutrix had no knowledge of this attempt to extort money.

The case was then remanded.

On Saturday, the further hearing was renewed. Sir Peter Laurie intimated that on the last examination he threw out a hint that as the late Lord Portarlington was mixed up in this affair in a very peculiar way, it would be advisable for the present lord, if he had any respect for the memory of his uncle, to instruct some respectable attorney to watch the case, and, for the honor of the family, protect the reputation of his lordship. He (Sir Peter) therefore wished to know if any person was present on Lord Portarlington's behalf? No person responding to this inquiry, the case was proceeded with, and Miss Georgina Elam was called, and cross-examined at considerable length, with a view to elicit circumstances injurious to her character, and that might tend to weaken her evidence. The object, however, entirely failed.

Mrs. Mary Ann Robinson was next examined, and stated that she kept a young ladies' school at Ealing, and, in 1833, Mrs. Dawson having placed her own daughters with her, introduced Mrs. Elam, who brought Miss Elam, then a child five years old. Mrs. Dawson said Mrs. Elam was her mother; but witness very much doubted it. Miss Elam was under her care for six months in 1833, and Mrs. Elam took 'her child,' as she called her, away, and paid the half-year's bill. Subsequently witness heard Mrs. Elam speaking of Miss Elam in Mrs. Dawson's presence as '*her darling child, her own dear child.*' About one month after the midsummer holidays, Lord Portarlington, Col. Damer, and Mrs. Dawson called and informed witness of Mrs. Elam's death. Miss Elam shortly after returned for a few weeks, and called Mrs. Dawson 'Maamma,' and Mrs. Dawson directed that the child should be called 'Georgina Dawson,' which name she went by ever since. Mrs. Dawson was equally kind to Miss Elam as to her own daughters. At Christmas the children were taken home, but were brought back on the same evening by Lord Portarlington, as Mrs. Dawson was then in her confinement with her youngest daughter. Mrs. Dawson had told witness she was within a

year or two of her age, which was not 65, and she believed Mrs. Elam was not more than a year or two older than herself.

Sir Peter Laurie said it had been alleged that Lord Portarlington lived with mother and daughter, and that the child was purchased by the former, and palmed off as his lordship's, but no evidence had yet been offered with regard to that circumstance.

Mr. Ballantine said he had a witness present to prove that.

Mr. Huddlestone said he had not yet completed his case, and for that purpose he was about to apply for a crownal subpoena to ensure the attendance of Colonel Close, who was a witness to the marriage of Lieut. and Mrs. Elam, and positively declined to appear in the matter unless compelled.

Sir Peter Laurie expressed a determination to hear all the evidence he could arrive at on this occasion, whether it was for the prosecution or defence.

Mrs. Eliza Simpson, called for the defence, said she married Mrs. Elam's nephew, who was brought up by the former, with Mrs. Dawson. In 1827, Mrs. Elam was living in Mrs. Dawson's house in Park street, Grosvenor square, and they were both introduced to witness and her husband as mother and daughter. She had heard Mrs. Elam call Mrs. Dawson 'her beautiful, her darling child.' At that time she thought Mrs. Elam to be about fifty-five years of age, and Mrs. Dawson not more than twenty-five. She had seen Mrs. Elam undressed several times, and could swear she was not in the family way then; indeed, she believed such to have been impossible. Mrs. Dawson and Mrs. Elam were both most beautiful women, and the former lived with Lord Portarlington, while the latter only intrigued with him. She believed she first saw Mrs. Elam in Curzon street—but (recollecting herself) she thought it was in Half Moon street, and was in 1832. Mrs. Elam told witness that she purchased the child to impose upon a nobleman as his child. She afterwards said it was Lord Portarlington. Mrs. Dawson knew nothing of the child until Mrs. Elam's death, as it was always sent out of the way, and locked in a bed-room when she called. The intriguing between Lord Portarlington and Mrs. Elam was carried on in Mrs. Dawson's house at the time the former was living with her (Mrs. Dawson). Mrs. Elam looked much younger than she really was, and endeavored to make herself appear still younger. She did not actually know that Mrs. Elam intrigued with Lord Portarlington, but she suspected it. She never mentioned the purchase

of the child to Lord Portarlington, or her particular friend, Mrs. Dawson, but allowed the imposition to go on until after the death of Mrs. Elam, when she advised Mrs. Dawson to advertise and offer a sum of money for the parents of the child. Mrs. Dawson refused, as it would deprive the child of many comforts it then enjoyed. Mrs. Robinson here stated that a woman, refusing her name and address, had called upon her since the last examination, and tried to intimidate her, and prevent her appearing against Mrs. Dawson.

Mr. Palmer, of the firm of Palmer and Nettleship, the solicitors to the late Lord Portarlington, said that during a conversation with him (the Hon. Lionel Dawson), his lordship's younger brother remarked, in allusion to the intercourse between Lord Portarlington and Mrs. Elam, that 'his brother was fool enough to believe he had had a child by her, and that he had the clearest proofs of it.' He had also been informed by a Mr. Francis Harvey, who knew Mrs. Dawson from a child, that Miss Elam was palmed off upon his lordship as his, when, in fact, it had been bought of a peasant for a particular purpose.

Mr. Huddleston objected to the evidence being taken in such a loose manner, and wished it to be understood by the alderman, that in allowing Mr. Palmer to state anything he liked, without regard to the law of evidence, was altogether illegal.

Sir Peter Laurie said he would not be bound by the rules of law in any case; he would allow every witness to tell his tale in his own peculiar way, and take the responsibility upon himself, for he was convinced that more was proved by such a course than by a cross-examination, which only bothered the witness.

Mr. Huddleston said it did not always follow that proof was evidence.

Sir Peter Laurie said it did not signify to him; he would pursue the course that he thought would most readily elicit the truth.

Mr. Palmer continued, and stated he could only account for the age of Mrs. Elam being entered on the burial certificate as forty-eight years, by the fact that it was some extraordinary whim of Lord Portarlington, who had the sole direction of Mrs. Elam's burial. At his lordship's request, he afterwards acted for Mrs. Dawson, in taking out letters of administration to Mrs. Elam's property, sworn at under £5000, and Mr. Francis

Harvey became co-security with him for that amount in the administration bond, he having previously satisfied himself that Mrs. Dawson was the daughter of Mrs. Elam.

Sir Peter Laurie said the case had taken a very different turn to what he expected, but it was his intention to remand it, to afford Mr. Huddleston an opportunity to complete the case for the prosecution.

Mrs. Dawson was then allowed to depart without renewing her recognizances, on Mr. Palmer pledging himself that she should be forthcoming at the next examination."— *Observer*, Nov. 24th, 1851.

After what we have now seen of morals and habits in this country, we can understand how it is that its people take to Mormonism with such facility. It was only a short time since I saw an article in an English newspaper embodying a fling at our country because of this imposture existing within our territories, and declaring that nowhere else but in a state of society like ours could such a system have its origin, or be tolerated. I strongly felt the injustice of this remark, knowing, as I did, that Mormonism, on account of its degrading vices, had always met with the most decided hostility from the people of our country, had been driven by them from place to place, until it had been finally forced beyond the confines of civilization, and into the fastnesses and deserts of the Rocky Mountains; and would probably long since have shrunk into insignificance, but for the aid and comfort which it has received from foreign nations, and especially from England, Scotland, and Wales. During all the time to which I have referred, a steady supply of converts coming from among the people of this kingdom, has recruited the ranks of this sect, and afforded a body of emigrants who brought with them money and means, and thus assisted to sustain and build up this "Zion" of imposture. You have evidence of this in the following extract:

"THE MORMONS.

A small but continuous stream of Mormon emigrants has since 1840 continuously flocked from the north of England, from Wales, and Scotland, to join the Latter Day Saints estab-

lished at Kirtland, in Ohio, in Jackson county, in the state of Missouri, also on the river Missouri, at Nauvoo, on the Mississippi; and finally on the Great Salt Lake, in the Rocky Mountains, near the eastern boundary of California.

Originally a gross and clumsy imposition, and which notwithstanding its success, must be characterized as a bungling swindle introduced by a person of bad character, the Mormonite movement has nevertheless become an important popular feature in the United States; and, after suffering many reverses, has achieved high temporal and industrial prosperity. Most people believed the Mormons to be a handful of miserable fanatics, who wandered into the far west beyond the bounds of civilization, on which they are a blot.

In 1831 there were but five Mormons in the world, including Joseph Smith, the founder of the faith. Four of these were his father and brothers. In twenty years they increased to upwards of 300,000 persons, of which a large number are now settled as an independent state, with a regular charter, organized local government, and not only the sovereignty, but the *fee simple* of a fertile tract as large as England, situated on the best trail from Eastern America to California and the Pacific. The state is called Deseret or Utah, and will probably soon be added to the group of the American Union. Salt Lake City, which sprung up like magic in the wilderness, is its capital, a large and flourishing town. They have agencies and missions in every capital in Europe, and in every large town of the United Kingdom. Their object is to 'gather the saints' to Deseret. Since 1848, upward of 14,000 persons have inclined to the doctrines of Mormon, and have gone forth to join the settlement. The Mormon emigration, in 1849, passing through Liverpool, amounted to 2500 persons, all of the better class of emigrants; and it is calculated that 30,000 Latter-day Saints then remained behind. In June, 1850, there were in England and Scotland, 27,863 Mormonites, of whom London contributed 2529; Manchester, 2787; Liverpool, 1018; Glasgow, 1846; Sheffield, 1920; Edinburgh, 1331; Birmingham, 1909; and Wales, South Wales principally, 4342. And the Mormonite census was taken in last January, giving in the entire number in the British Isles as 30,747 'Saints.' During the last fourteen years more than 50,000 had been baptized in England, of which nearly 17,000 had emigrated from her shores 'to Zion.' We have said that Mormon emigration is of the better class; but there are poor Mormons as well; and

for behoof of these, and in order that they may, as well as their more prosperous brethren, be 'gathered to Zion,' there is now amassed in Liverpool more than three and a half tons of Californian gold belonging to the sect, and destined for the purposes of emigration. Thus, then, in twenty years, the sect of five poor men has become a compacted body of 300,600 individuals, bound together by religious, social, and industrial ties, firm in their faith, as well as in its propagation, and professing a creed which, whatever may be its monstrosities, seems at all events to have in it nothing adverse to the wordly prosperity of its members."—*Observer, August 18th, 1851.*

If any fact serves more than these to show the profligacy of the masses, from whom is derived this perennial stream of polygamists, it is the existence among them of such a delectable institution as that which is referred to in the following extract, which is taken from the *Observer* newspaper of May 10th, 1852, and copied from the *Bristol Gazette*:

"THE AGAPEMONE, NEAR BRIDGWATER.

Some curious stories are current respecting this place. It is said that Mr. Prince, the founder, on a recent occasion drove up to the Castle Inn, at Taunton, in the carriage and four which belonged to the late Queen Adelaide, and which he has purchased for his own private use. A servant at the door of the inn warned off some idlers standing in the way, with the words, 'Take care, here's Mr. Prince coming.' He overheard the expression; and, on alighting from the carriage, said to the servant, in a solemn tone, 'Mr. Prince once—Jesus Christ now.' After uttering this blasphemy, he entered the inn, consumed a cigar and a bottle of wine, and returned to the Abode of Love. Among other strange regulations observed in the institution is the election of 'Mrs. Prince,' or 'The Bride.' This is a distinction which every week falls to the lot of one out of fifteen women, who, with their husbands, are members of the sect. A large stage is erected, on which are placed a number of seats according with the number of candidates for the espousal. This stage revolves round a chair, in which Mr. Prince seats himself. At a given signal the husbands of the women enter, and each, stationing himself at the back of his better half, begins to force the stage round. This is continued until it has attained a pretty good speed, when, at a sign from

Mr. Prince, the husbands retire, and the stage is left to itself; when it stops, the woman opposite to Mr. Prince becomes the 'Bride' for a week, at the end of which time the ceremony is repeated. On one occasion, Mr. Prince happened to catch a 'Bride' as she was being kissed by her husband. As a punishment for this unfaithfulness, she was divorced from her heavenly consort and put to menial labor, and the husband was sentenced to wheel a barrow full of stones up and down the yard for three days." — *Bristol Gazette*.

It is time that I had brought this letter to a conclusion. I therefore at once subscribe myself,

Respectfully,

Yr. friend and cousin,

To MAJ. JONES,

P. JONES.

Pineville, Ga., U. S. of America.

LETTER XIX.

JUVENILE DEPRAVITY IN THIS COUNTRY—MURDER BY A BOY OF THIRTEEN OF ANOTHER ELEVEN YEARS AND A HALF OLD—CHARGE OF SWINDLING AGAINST A LITTLE GIRL, THIRTEEN YEARS OF AGE—SINGULAR DELINQUENCY OF A BOY—CHARGE OF STEALING AGAINST A BOY AGED TEN, AN OLD OFFENDER—A YOUTHFUL AND ARISTOCRATIC HIGHWAYMAN—A CANDIDATE FOR TRANSPORTATION, AGED FOURTEEN—MURDER BY A BOY LESS THAN TEN YEARS OLD—A YOUTH LEFT FOR EXECUTION.

London, October 1st, 1853.

DEAR MAJOR:—The moral character of a people distinctly declares itself in their children. Offspring that are the object of tender solicitude on the part of refined or educated Christian parents, from their earliest years will exhibit more or less of that loveliness which appeared in those of whom it was sweetly spoken, "Of such is the kingdom of heaven." But children who are born and bred in infamy and ignorance, very soon grow to be but

imps of the social hell in which they have their habitation. Wide-spread juvenile depravity, therefore, may be regarded as indicating extensive social profligacy.

That such juvenile depravity abounds in this kingdom, and to an extent which is as surprising as it is painful to the citizen of more favored moral regions, cannot be denied. It is shown by figures about which there is and can be no doubt, and it is to be inferred from the many extraordinary instances which are met with on every hand.

In the same work already quoted by me, — "Chambers's Encyclopedia," — I find that, in the year 1838, there were, in every 100 offenders, $1\frac{5}{100}$ juvenile delinquents under twelve years of age, and in every 100 offenders there were $9\frac{9}{100}$ (nearly ten) between the ages of twelve and sixteen, and $29\frac{1}{100}$ between the ages of seventeen and twenty-one — more than ten in a hundred of these offences, therefore, having been committed by children less than sixteen years old, and more than forty (almost one-half) in every hundred having been committed by persons less than twenty-one. In the "British Almanac" for 1845, I find that, in the year 1843, there were, in every 100 offenders in England and Wales, $5\frac{7}{100}$ under fifteen, and $22\frac{7}{100}$ between fifteen and twenty. From the table which I sent you in my letter of August 1st, last, and taken from the "British Almanac" of the present year, you will find that, in every 100 offenders in Scotland in the year 1851, there were $12\frac{5}{100}$, or just one in eight, less than sixteen years old.

Now if, with all this, you will compare the report of the principal keeper of the Georgia Penitentiary, a copy of which you have kindly sent me (and for which I thank you), you will see that in our State there are, in every 100 offenders, only $19\frac{2}{100}$ who are between the ages of fifteen and twenty-one; $13\frac{4}{100}$ of whom are between eighteen and twenty-one, $5\frac{8}{100}$ only under eighteen, and none under fifteen. What a striking contrast is thus presented! In England and Wales, one in about every ten of all offenders is less than sixteen years old, in Scotland one in eight is less than sixteen, in Georgia *none* less than fifteen.*

* See Appendix, A, §§ 16, 27, 28, 29. Also, App., B, §§ 5, 8.

Let us come down somewhat more to particulars. By the "British Almanac," it appears that there were in Parkhurst prison, on the first day of January, 1851, 516 boys. During the year, 270 others were received. Of these, three died, one was pardoned, and one removed to Millbank prison; seventy-seven were sent to Van Dieman's Land, fifty-nine to Western Australia, sixty-three to Portland prison, and twenty-four to the Hulks—total, 228; leaving 556 on January 1st, 1852. The expenditures for the year were £10,952, the amount of earnings £1441, and the average annual expense of each prisoner was £16 8s.

Here, then, you will perceive, in one prison,—a large one, it is true, and probably a general receptacle for such offenders,—are nearly 800 juvenile criminals; out of whom, in the whole year, one only is found worthy of pardon. They are confined at an annual expense of more than \$50,000.

If you ask me what sort of crimes are committed by these juvenile delinquents, I must answer, not mere violations of good order, or, at the worst, petty thefts, as you would suppose, from your knowledge of children in our part of the world; but crimes of all grades of enormity, from murder to simple swindling. You can best judge of this by a few examples which I will send you.

The first is a case which occurred in the spring of 1851:

"MURDER BY A BOY OF THIRTEEN, OF ANOTHER BOY ELEVEN YEARS AND A HALF OLD.

Lynn, Norfolk, April 13.—The dreadful tragedy which occurred at Castle Rising, four miles from Lynn, on Sunday last, has been followed by intelligence of another murder on the previous day at Outwell, a village ten miles from Lynn, and midway between Wisbeach and Downham Market. It appears that on Saturday last three boys were in a field near the village, where they were employed in 'crow-scaring,' the eldest boy having a gun in his possession, to fire occasionally, in order to frighten the birds from the seed-wheat. This boy, whilst conversing with his two companions respecting something which he had told them on the preceding day, said, 'If

he knew they mentioned it to any one he would kill them.' The youngest boy, frightened at this, replied in a tearful mood, 'What shall I do, then? I told my mother last night.' On this the eldest boy reared his gun to the child's forehead, pulled the trigger, and by the explosion, shattered his skull, spreading his brains over the field. The gun, it is said, contained no shot, but the wadding passed completely through the child's head. Frightened at the act which he had committed, the murderer prevailed upon his surviving companion to promise secrecy, and to assist him to dispose of the dead body, which was done by dragging it to a dry ditch, where it was carefully buried. The two boys then returned to the spot where their companion had been shot, and gathering up his brains, and the shattered fragments of his skull-bone, they threw them into his cap. After this they kindled a fire of turf (the field being in the furze), upon which they placed the cap, which they watched, with its contents, until it was entirely consumed. Upon their return home, inquiry arose concerning the murdered child, when the companion of the murderer confessed to the particulars above narrated, and was with the murderer himself taken into custody.

The body was found as above described."—*Observer*, April 19th, 1851.

The next is a case of swindling by the little daughter of a retired officer in the British army. You will find it an instance of expertness in crime, and indifference to its results, truly wonderful, in a girl less than 13 years old.

"CHARGE OF SWINDLING AGAINST A CHILD.

Ellen Marian Watson, an interesting looking girl, aged thirteen, daughter of a retired officer in the army, residing with her parents at No. 3 James street, Commercial-road, Camberwell, was charged before Mr. Elliott, with obtaining, on false pretences, property of considerable value from Miss Anne Hatt, fancy stationer and Berlin wool dealer. Anne Hatt, of Church street, Camberwell, deposed, that on Friday week, the prisoner purchased a shilling's worth of Berlin wool, and on the following Monday repeated her visit and selected sixpence worth. She then entered into conversation with witness, stated that she was on intimate terms with the Rev. Daniel Moore, clergyman of the parish, and that she was working

something as a present for him ; and that her name was Johnston, and that she lived with her parents at the Grove. During the conversation, she selected three patterns for sofa pillows to take to her mamma to choose one. Witness believing her to be connected with Mr. Moore, allowed her to take the articles, but requested them to be returned the next day. The prisoner said that as her papa did not dine until six o'clock, it would be inconvenient to return them until the day following. She then left the shop and did not return until Thursday, when she came with two of the patterns, and apologized for not sending them back on the appointed day. The fact was, her mamma had gone on Wednesday to dine with a colonel and his lady in Berkeley square, and the footman was ordered to bring them, but had forgotten his orders. She requested the wool for the pattern, chosen by her mamma, to be packed up, and said she could not pay for it then, as she had not known how much it would come to, but her mamma would pay for it all at one time. She then selected a hymn book, and said she would like to have a church service. Witness thought it strange for her to purchase such things without some one being with her, but packed them up, and then sent a servant after her to see where she went to, that she (witness) might call on her parents for some explanation. The servant returned and said, ' Oh, miss, I think the young lady has deceived you. She entered a small cottage near the vestry hall, and remained there.' Witness did not think much of that, she seemed so respectable, and supposed she called there through motives of charity. On Friday evening the prisoner called again, selected a writing desk and two books, which she took with her, saying that her mamma wished to see them. On Saturday last she brought back a Bible, saying that her mamma did not want it ; and she was to select something in its stead. Witness then suspected her, but allowed her to select them. Whilst they were being tied up, witness dressed herself, and after the prisoner quitted the shop, she followed. After walking a little way the prisoner tore up something, apparently the invoice, and then unfastened the parcel and threw away the paper. Finding that she did not go to the Grove, witness stopped her, and asked what she was going to do with the property. The prisoner was much confused, and said all was right ; that she could refer to Mr. Moore, Mr. Lackington, and Mr. Jenner. Witness asked where she lived, and wished her to go home. She refused to tell, or to go home, and witness took her down by the vestry hall, when she refused to go further. On this

witness took her to the Rev. Mr. Moore's, who said he had no knowledge of her. He took her into a private room, and ascertained where her parents lived. Witness then took her back to the shop, and gave her in charge to a constable. She had been so artless in her behavior that witness had been quite deceived, and had believed her story that she was the daughter of Mr. Johnston, who had resided at the Grove for many years. The whole of the property was recovered. A portion was found at her parents' residence, the remainder at Mr. Taylor's, where she had left it. — Sergeant James Head, P. said, that when he was called into Miss Hatt's shop, the prisoner asked, was he Mr. Robinson or Sergeant Quinncar? He asked the reason of the question, and she replied that her father's house in Wells street had been robbed lately, and those officers went there. He said, are not you Captain Johnston's daughter? She answered, 'No; I'm Captain Watson's daughter, of 3 James street, Commercial-road.'—Mr. Elliott asked were her parents in court? — The mother, a respectable looking lady, stepped forward, seemingly much afflicted. She said that the girl had told her that the Rev. Mr. Moore had presented the things to her. She told the prisoner that she should work a pair of slippers for him in return for so handsome a present. She thought that the girl was so infatuated with Mr. Moore, that she (witness) had set her down as an idol of Mr. Moore's family. She was but thirteen, and was well educated. Whenever she went out, she said she was going with Mr. Moore's children. She brought home other things, saying that they were presents from the same gentleman, and witness made her write a letter of thanks to him for his kindness. She believed that was the letter which Miss Hatt saw her tear up. She thought it was monomania.—The prisoner, during the examination, stood firm as a statue, and apparently indifferent. — The mother said she had been very eccentric for some time past, and constantly talked of Mr. Moore. She actually induced her father and mother to leave an Independent place of worship, to enter Mr. Moore's church. In reply to questions from Mr. Elliott, who said that he had some recollection of her at this court, witness said that three months ago she acted in a similar way to a neighbor, but witness paid for the things, and she was not taken into custody.—Mr. Elliott: Is her father as weak as she? He ought to have corrected her, and prevented her from committing herself again. — Witness: The article she obtained then was only a smelling-bottle. — Mr. Elliott: I remember something about her. A medical gen-

tleman complained that she obtained goods from him on false pretences. — Prisoner (laughing): It was not me, sir; mine was all settled. — Mr. Elliott: I am not at all satisfied in this case. Gross neglect appears on the parents' side, and I shall remand the prisoner for further inquiries. — Remanded." — *Observer, November 17th, 1851.*

It might be predicted, perhaps, of this young girl, that she would in time come to be a very appropriate bride for the thief *in petto* whom we find figuring in the following police report, were it not, that as her villanies were partly in the literary line, and as we have it certified that she was "well educated," she would probably turn her nose up at the author of such a letter as you will find below:

"SINGULAR DELINQUENCY OF A BOY.

At the Thames police court, on Tuesday, Edward Ludditt, a lad about seventeen years old, was charged before Mr. Yardley with embezzling various sums of money he had received for and on account of Mr. Dean, manufacturing druggist, of Sidney street, Commercial-road East. On Monday night prisoner saw Sergeant Manners, K 36, in Arbor street, Stepney, and said he had been guilty of embezzlement and wished to give himself up to justice. He gave the name and address of his late master, and the particulars of his offence, which the sergeant found was correct, and he was detained on the charge. Mr. Dean said the prisoner had been between three and four years in his service, and absconded on Saturday fortnight with £3 1s., which his mistress gave him to pay a bill, and that since then he had discovered other defalcations. But the worst of all was, that the prisoner had taken away a reference-book of the tradesmen he dealt with, and which would occasion a loss to him of £100. He asked the boy what he had done with it, and he replied he had burnt it. He was now only prepared with one case. The prisoner had been directed to purchase a large quantity of phials, and had obtained the money for them, which he had not paid, although he had actually got a receipt for the money from the person who sold the phials. Mr. James Harper said the prisoner called on him and asked for the receipt produced, and promised to return with the money, which he did not do. He signed the receipt at the prisoner's request. Mr. Dean said a few days after he

absconded he received the following letter from him, posted at Windsor : —

‘Suttoniver 13 Nov. 1851 Sir i dont think that prosecution will not be of any avail upon me for i dont care for the Devil Himself Money Will Be far preferable to punishment when i say punishment i dont think it so because they you a Belly full of wittles and find you in Bed of some sort to lay upon and if sposed that it would come to a few years transportation what of That i should have the pleasure of seeing a foreigne country and another thing i got to tell You when a man is sent out the country he is called a Conviet But he is a man for all that and is as much in Gods eye as the Best man their is on the face of the earth so remember. this how i am able to send you your money what i Hav robbed you of read the lists of acts of dishonesty by me to you.’ [Here followed a list of the various sums the prisoner had embezzled, and the names of the parties of whom he had received it, and it concluded as follows:] — ‘This money I have robbed you of you will receive every month for I am thank God able to do it now. You will in about a fortnight have £1 10s. ; so no more at present from your high born and spirity thief. E. LUDDITT.’

Mr. Yardley said the letter was the most extraordinary one ever penned by a boy, and asked if it was in the prisoner's own handwriting? The prosecutor: I am sure of it, sir. I know his handwriting well. The prisoner was remanded for a week.” — *Observer, November 24th, 1851.*

You may deem the boy mentioned above of sufficient age to have fallen in with evil companions, and thus have acquired such early habits of wickedness. But the following cases will convince you, I think, that this juvenile delinquency may be said to be imbibed with the mother's milk among some English children :

“JUVENILE DEPRAVITY.

At Lambeth, on Thursday, Edward White, aged ten, was charged before Mr. Norton with stealing a penny biscuit from a little girl in the public street. The prisoner's mother, who appeared deeply grieved, said that for three years he had been a confirmed thief. She and her husband had in vain endeavored to reclaim him, and the boy himself said that his wish to thieve was so strong that he could not resist it. When punished, and even tied up for weeks together, he said it was

of no use, and that he was a regular Jack Shepherd, and should pursue the same course. He had been frequently in custody before, but was let off, owing to his youth and his mother's interference, and he had been brought home at all hours for being found in different premises, and he had stolen everything he could lay hands upon at his mother's place. Mr. Norton: Well, prisoner, what have you to say to this? The prisoner (coolly): I wish I could leave it off, but I can't. Mr. Norton: Indeed; and so you will be a Jack Shepherd? Prisoner: Yes, sir. Mr. Norton: I must try to cure you, and shall begin by seeing what ten days' solitary imprisonment and a sound whipping will do. The boy went away quite unconcerned." — *Observer, April 12th, 1852.*

"A YOUTHFUL AND ARISTOCRATIC HIGHWAYMAN.

A most alarming case of highway robbery took place at Penrith, in Cumberland, on the afternoon of the 23d inst. The facts were as follows:— Mrs. Williams, the wife of the Rev. Mr. Williams, of Dacre Vicarage, was returning from Penrith in a gig with a female servant, where she had been on a visit to the Countess Oassinski, when she was overtaken by a youth of gentlemanly appearance, mounted on a valuable pony. He rode past her vehicle, and kept in front till he got to a lonely part of the road, shaded by trees, between Dalmain and Dacre. He then turned round, met Mrs. Williams, and presented a pistol, at the same time demanding her money. Mrs. Williams at first refused to give it to him, when her assailant said he would count three, and, if she did not deliver her money before he had finished, he would shoot her. Terrified by his threats she surrendered her purse, which contained a considerable sum in gold and silver. Having made an ineffectual attempt to obtain money from the servant, he asked Mrs. Williams her name and residence, and the lady having told him, 'Well,' said the highwayman, 'I'll see if you are Mrs. Williams. I'll follow you; and, mind, if you have told me a lie, I'll shoot you from behind, both you and your servant; and if you speak to any one on the way as to what has happened, I'll shoot you.' Mrs. Williams then drove on, the highwayman riding behind as footman. She met several persons, but did not speak to them, being afraid that her unwelcome attendant would make good his threat. After following her for some distance, her pursuer turned his poney and rode away.

Mr. Scott, the high constable, on hearing of the circumstances, went in quest of the highwayman, and found that he had gone



A YOUTHFUL AND ARISTOCRATIC HIGHWAYMAN.

to the Castle Inn, at four o'clock on the day of the robbery, and had his horse fed. He then went out and returned at seven in the evening, and requested to stay all night; but the landlord, Mr. Robertshaw, sent him to the Fish Inn, where he stayed all night. Next day he told Mrs. Hodgson, of the Fish Inn, that he was son of the Hon. Mr. C——, that he was low of funds, and if he could get to Keswick and see Mr. Strange he would be able to procure a supply. He asked Mrs. Hodgson to lend him 30s., which she did. He then left by express train for Kendal, saying he would go by coach to Keswick from Kendal. Mr. Scott went to Keswick and waited there, but the highwayman did not appear. Subsequently it appeared that a young man came by the express train from London to Carlisle two days before the robbery, and put up at the Bush Hotel, and asked for a hack horse to go to Mr. Howard's, Corby Castle. Mr. Birch sent him to Mr. Brockbank, of Carlisle, who furnished the pony, with which he committed the robbery, and which he left at the Fish. As he did not return, Messrs. Birch and Brockbank concluded that they were 'done,' and Birch opened the portmanteau left at the Bush. The marks on the linen verified his statement that he was the son of the Hon. Mr. C——, and it appears from subsequent inquiry that he has broken loose from the Military School, where he was in training for the army. He has been trying his hand at a profession of his own choosing. He has not been heard of since he left Penrith." — *Observer, November 1st, 1852.*

“MIDDLESEX SESSIONS.

Monday. — Before Mr. Serjeant Adams.

A Candidate for Transportation. — John Morris, fourteen, pleaded 'guilty' of having stolen a till, and 2s. 5¼d., the property and money of John Hicks. It appeared, from the prison returns, that the prisoner had been summarily convicted no less than eleven times. The Assistant-Judge made some observations on the fact that the prisoner had been convicted five times by one magistrate, Mr. Broughton, and four by another, Mr. Long, and not once sent for trial. He did not, in the least, intend to cast blame on the magistrates, or to say that they had not done right, but at the police courts they might not have the means they had at the Sessions of identifying the prisoners, and the young thief knew that, by pleading guilty, he would be sentenced by the magistrate to three months' imprisonment, and in that way escape the punishment that court

could award when previous convictions were within its cognizance. In this case he had not the power to sentence the prisoner to transportation. The prisoner—‘I want to be transported.’ The Assistant-Judge—‘I dare say you do; but I am sorry to say you cannot be gratified at present.’ Prisoner—‘Oh very well, I shall go on the same game again when I’m out, till I do get transported, though.’ The Assistant-Judge—‘Well, I promise you that the next time you come here you shall be transported, if guilty. Now, mind that.’ He then sentenced the prisoner to nine months’ hard labor.” — *Weekly Dispatch, November 21st, 1852.*

In some of the cases thus cited, you have examples of offenders not more than ten years old, who afford evidence of consciences the most callous, and of characters already, as it were, coated with the prison rust of guilt. In the following case you have an example of cool and deliberate murder by a boy less than ten years old!

“MURDER BY A BOY TEN YEARS OF AGE.

Considerable excitement has been created in the village of Keynsham, near Bristol, by the apprehension of a boy under ten years of age, named Edwin Hucker, on the serious charge of murdering a companion of his, William Saunders, the son of a copper worker, residing in Milk street, Bristol, by wilfully pushing him into the river Avon, at or near the Swinford copper-mills, and drowning him. The accused is the son of an operative lime-burner, residing at Longwell Green, in the parish of Bitton. The deceased had been living with his grandfather and grandmother, by whom, owing to the death of his mother, he had been taken when about eleven months old, and he was brought up at their residence, Willsbridge, Gloucestershire. It appears that on the 26th of April last, about nine o’clock in the morning, the deceased left his home for the purpose of going to school; and, on wishing his grandmother good-bye, he said he should be home again at half-past four; but she never again saw him alive. Search was made; and, it being supposed that he might accidentally have fallen into a part of the river Avon, it was dragged, but, as it subsequently appeared, not the part where he was drowned. It seems that the accused, Hucker, and a lad named Evans, witnessed the operation of dragging; but, though they were

both cognizant of the fact, they said nothing as to where the body was. No tidings were gleaned of the poor child for three days, when Hucker and Evans (the son of a carpenter) stated that he fell into the river accidentally. This statement, made at so late a period, naturally caused some suspicion, and this was strengthened by another statement made by Evans, who told his relations that he was in the meadow, and saw Hucker there, lying down on the grass, and that the little boy Saunders came up and jumped on to his neck; at which Hucker got into a passion, and said he would hit his head off. Evans further stated, that about an hour afterwards he saw Saunders on the bank of the river picking some sorrel which grew on its edge, and that Hucker, who was behind him, pushed him into the river, and said, 'Hang it, he's in the river.' Evans likewise stated that the copper-mills were a little way off, that there were people there, and he was running to get some one to pull out Saunders, whom he saw struggling for five minutes, but that Hucker would not let him do so, but, on the contrary, held him down by his pinnafore, and said that, if he offered to go, he would push him in also, and jump in himself. After this, Hucker followed him nearly as far as Stoates Hill, and told him not to say anything about it, and he would give him something on the Friday; which was the reason why he did not tell where Saunders was when he was missed at first. This statement having become known to the police authorities, police sergeant 134, of the county constabulary, questioned Evans; and finding him adhere to his statement, he deemed it right to apprehend Hucker, and he was taken before Mr. Hughes, magistrate of Downend, and remanded (on bail) for further examination. At this time the body had not been recovered; but on Wednesday last it was found in the river, close to the hatchway of the Keynsham mills, to which it must have been carried by the floods. The body, on being got out, was found to be in such a state of decomposition that recognition of either features or figure was impossible. There were, however, some peculiarities in the little fellow's boots, and in a little bag he had with him, by which his grandfather was enabled positively to identify the corpse. Information of these circumstances was conveyed to Mr. Bruges Fry, coroner for North Somerset, and he at once issued his warrant for the prosecution of an inquest at the Lamb and Lark Inn, Keynsham. The accused was likewise apprehended by the police sergeant, and was immediately brought into the inquest-room. Both the grandfather and

grandmother of the deceased were examined, and likewise a girl who, on the day of the occurrence, saw the three boys together crossing a bridge and going in the direction of Swinford mills. The boy Evans repeated the statement he had before made. After a deliberation of about three-quarters of an hour, the jury returned the following verdict:—‘That the deceased child, Saunders, met his death by being pushed into the water by Edwin Hucker.

The Coroner: You consider that he wilfully pushed him into the water?

Foreman: That is the opinion of the jury, and I believe that amounts to a verdict of wilful murder.

A most distressing scene here ensued between the father, mother, and child; who, on hearing that the coroner had no power to take bail, and that the child must be taken away from them to prison, burst into tears, and were led away in the utmost distress, while a great many of the jury and spectators were much affected. The coroner then made out the warrant for the committal of the prisoner for trial at the next Somersetshire assizes.” — *Observer, May 20th, 1853.*

From the following, which I met with in a Liverpool paper a few weeks previous to the publication of the last case, it appears that “stabbing cases have become alarmingly frequent” not alone among the bowie-knife ruffians of our frontier States, but that they so abound in England as to make it necessary, for example’s sake, that a victim—of not more than eighteen years—who kills his companion in a drunken brawl, should be offered upon the altar of justice. All the circumstances of the case seem to indicate a very depraved state of society in Liverpool.

“A YOUTH LEFT FOR EXECUTION.

To the Editor of the Daily News:

Sir:—Will you permit me to call the attention of your readers to a case which has just been tried at Liverpool? A youth named Terrell, eighteen years of age, has been tried for stabbing a companion. There is no doubt that stabbing cases have become alarmingly frequent, and that some measures must be taken to repress as well as to punish them. Acting, I presume, on this ground, the jury found the miserable boy

guilty of 'wilful murder.' Sentence was pronounced, and he is accordingly left for execution.

On examining the evidence given on the trial, it seems to me that this is exactly one of those cases in which an appeal may be fairly made to the Crown for the exercise of clemency. The youth of the prisoner could not be pleaded by itself; but, taken into consideration with the circumstances of the case, it should have some weight.

There was no ill-will between the parties; they, with many others,—idle and disorderly enough, it is true,—were together at a beer-house. A good deal of what such persons call 'chaffing' took place, and Terrell showed a pocket-knife, which he boasted had 'done for' many, and had yet one more to do for. After this there was some quarrelling, and it was proposed that they should leave the house and 'fight it out.' The evidence after this becomes very defective, and the principal witness was not in court. It appears, however, that the deceased threatened the prisoner, and some 'sparing' ensued, during which Terrell stabbed the deceased with the knife, which he seems to have had in his hand all the time. The wound proved fatal, and the verdict of the jury is 'wilful murder.'

Now, I do not complain of the verdict, though I think manslaughter would have been more strictly correct. It is admitted that the chief provocation was on the side of the prisoner, and that he kept his hand on the open knife in his pocket, refusing to show his hands when required to do so. But, sir, can it be even-handed justice to visit this wretched boy with the same penalty as that with which the law visits a Rush, a Greenacre, or a Good?

I have no sympathy with him,—at least no morbid sympathy,—nor, indeed, with his equally disorderly and dissipated victim. They were all, it would seem, somewhat under the influence of drink, nor would I have said one word had the penalty been anything short of death.

But surely this is a case in which the Home Office might be urged to interfere—not to screen the prisoner from punishment, but to advise a commutation. The whole affair takes much the appearance of a drunken brawl. A foolish, boasting youth, talks of his murderous exploits—no one imagines that these boasts had any foundation in fact—heated with beer and 'chaffing,' the deceased allows himself to be drawn into a quarrel, and we see the result. Had it not been for the frequency of stabbing cases, the verdict would undoubtedly have

been different. As to any malice prepense, there appears not a shadow of evidence to support it. The penitent and terrified criminal, who accused drunkenness as the cause of his fall, and who expected to be severely punished, shrieked out with surprise and dismay when he found that his life was to be forfeited.

As to what is to be done with him, and such as he, that is a problem which I have no doubt the wisdom of Parliament will ere long solve. I should be sorry to see the churches in Liverpool employed as those at Exeter were a short time ago, and the whole town called on to take part in a great religious festival, because an unhappy youth, who certainly did not intend to murder his fellow-creature, was about to be hurried into eternity.

I remain, sir, your obedient servant,

A READER OF TRIALS."

[*Liverpool Mercury.*

From the following extract, you may form some opinion of these stabbing cases, which have become "so alarmingly frequent."

"Three young men at Garstang quarrelled over their drink. One professed an intention to 'do' for the others. His threat was held to be a joke. He went out, and presently came back, saying he had killed two of them, and gave up a knife. His story was but too true. He had killed one and seriously wounded the other. His name is Wilding." — *The Leader*, 1853.

These cases are sufficient for the purpose which I have in view in bringing them to your attention, and I must pass to other matter, after concluding this letter, and assuring you that I am, as ever,

Very respectfully,

Yr. friend and cousin,

P. JONES.

To MAJ. JONES,

Pineville, Georgia, U. S. of America.

LETTER XX.

BRUTALITY AND CRUELTY OF THE BRITISH PEOPLE—A HIGH SHERIFF IN DIFFICULTY, OR A HANGMAN WANTED—THE CHELMSFORD EXECUTIONS.

London, October 15th, 1853.

DEAR MAJOR:—Another feature in the social character of the British people, most remarkable to me, is their fierce brutality and cruelty. It may be said, speaking generally, that this characteristic manifests itself in the perpetration of awful murders and deeds of violence by men, women, and children. But it may be said more specially that it exhibits itself most shockingly in the number of murders of women by men, of wives by husbands (and the large proportion of both these), of husbands by wives, of children by parents, of parents by children; in cruelty to, and ill-treatment of, helpless women, children, paupers, insane persons, and prisoners, by those who should be their protectors; and in like cruelty on the part of mothers to their offspring, and on the part of both men and women to their inferiors and dependents.

These are strong allegations; but I make them after careful observation and reflection, and I will furnish the proofs of all that I charge.

By consulting the "British Almanac," published in London by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, and "Darton's Statistical Tables," you will find that, for several years previous to the year 1851 (the year at which my observations commence), the number of capital sentences passed for the crime of murder was about twenty annually, in England and Wales; and for attempts to murder, not quite half that many. The number of executions was something more than ten annually. In the year 1849, there were fifteen executions for murder; in 1848 there were twelve, in 1847 there were eight, and in another year there were thirteen; of which three were

of females for the murder of their husbands, two of males for the murder of their wives, one of a man for the murder of his child, and one of a son for the murder of his father; seven, or a majority of the thirteen, being for offences in violation of what are elsewhere, certainly, considered natural instincts and affections.*

If you pause here to ask me, "What became of the other convicts receiving sentence of death during these years, it appearing that not one-half of those sentenced were executed?" I answer, "Be patient, and you will learn something about this before I have left the subject."

In the same publication, — the "British Almanac," — I find that forty persons were sentenced to death in the year 1851 for offences *against the person*, and twenty-eight for offences against property, *with violence to the person*. Of these, ten were executed according to this report; though it would appear, from an account which I derive from another source, and send you, that the demand for executioners that year considerably exceeded the supply.

"A HIGH-SHERIFF IN DIFFICULTY; OR, A HANGMAN WANTED.

It will no doubt be in the recollection of many persons that the High Sheriff of Suffolk, in March last, was placed in no very pleasant position in consequence of the services of a hangman not being obtainable to carry into execution the last sentence of the law upon Maria Clarke, for the murder of her illegitimate child, by burying it alive in the parish of Wingfield. The high-sheriff, however, on that occasion, was spared an unpleasant duty by a reprieve coming down for the condemned woman two days before that on which her execution was to have taken place. At the assizes held at Ipswich, on the 2d inst., Maria Emily Cage was found guilty of the murder of her husband, James Cage, at Stonham Aspel, by administering to him a certain quantity of arsenic. Her execution was ordered to take place on Saturday (Aug. 16), in front of the Ipswich county jail, but the same difficulty was again presented as in March. Calcraft, the hangman, on being applied to, could not attend, as he had promised to perform a similar office the same morning at Norwich. An application was next made to

* That such crimes as these may be said to be entirely unknown in Georgia, see App., A, §§ 21, 22.

the hangman at Warwick jail, but that functionary could not attend, as he would be similarly engaged at Shrewsbury on that day. A messenger was then despatched to the Secretary of State's office, who explained the unpleasant position in which the high-sheriff of Suffolk was placed, and requested that the execution of Mary Emily Cage might be postponed. The answer from the Secretary of State was to the effect that no alteration as to the day named could be made; thus leaving the high-sheriff to get out of the difficulty in the best way he could. To have had the law carried into effect on Saturday would, in all probability, have been repugnant to the feelings of the high-sheriff, for, as no person could be found to supply the place of Calcraft, the high-sheriff must have performed the horrid duty himself. To avoid doing that, the high-sheriff has, on his own responsibility, ordered the execution to be delayed until an early day in the ensuing week. The condemned woman's demeanor is becoming her awful position. She appears to be resigned to her fate, but protests that she is innocent. The unpleasant position of the high-sheriff, not only on this but on a former occasion, may be attributed to the usual course not being adopted—the making sure that Calcraft can attend before any day be appointed for the execution.”—*The Times, August 17th, 1851.*

You must be furnished with examples of some of the shocking murders to which I have referred; otherwise, the whole truth of the case cannot be realized; for such horrible occurrences are seldom or never heard of in our Southern States.

I send you, first, an account of the execution of two notorious murderers, whose offences were committed early in the year 1850.

“THE CHELMSFORD EXECUTIONS.

On Tuesday morning Thomas Drory and Sarah Chesham expiated their crimes, by an ignominious death, in front of the county jail, at Springfield, near Chelmsford. The revolting details of their crimes are too fresh in the recollection of the public, to need more than a brief allusion to them. Drory was convicted, on the clearest evidence, of having strangled a poor girl, whom he had seduced, and who was far advanced in pregnancy by him. His motives, it is difficult to conjecture, for he had no immediate object to attain, reconcilable with the strength of those influences which forbid men to ‘break

into the house of life.' Her disgrace, and his share in it, were known, and he had no secrecy to secure. His position in life would soon have exempted him from her importunities; and his ordinarily mild deportment, effeminate looks, and small person appear in strange contrast with the horrible details of his crime. The physiognomist might in vain search his features for indications of the cruel and relentless disposition displayed in the murder of Jael Denny, and those who speculate on the motives actuating great criminals, may in vain endeavor to explore the impulses which led to this dreadful tragedy. Happily no doubt can be entertained of his guilt. He himself has set that point at rest. The visiting magistrates, complying with his father's wish, promised that if a detailed statement were made by him, it should not be published. It is believed, too, that Drory himself desired to spare his family this last humiliation, and nothing beyond a general confession of his guilt has been committed to paper. He wrote it on Monday night. It is clearly the composition of a very illiterate person, but it betrays some traces of penitence. Official etiquette forbids the publishing of a *verbatim* copy, which would throw full light on the amount of Drory's education. It is dated 'Springfield Jail, March 24, 1851,' and is in the form of a petition addressed to the High Sheriff of the county of Essex. Drory began it by alluding to 'that grievous offence' for which he acknowledged that he was 'justly convicted,' and dreadful as it was that he was about to forfeit his life according to law, as an example, he hoped and trusted, to deter others from committing so wicked and horrid a crime. He prayed God that it might, and that his poor unfortunate victim, that he 'so barbarously and maliciously' deprived of life, was now in heaven at rest—for with God all things are possible, and might the Lord in his goodness have mercy on his soul. His humble petition and request was, that the sheriff might order, if possible, that the money (£8 11s. 4d.) that was found on his person and taken from him by Mr. Coulson, superintendent of the Brentwood police station, might be given over to the poor unfortunate deceased's mother, Louisa Last, of Doddinghurst, 'part restitution for the grievous injury' he might have done her. As he desired to die at peace with all mankind, this would greatly oblige him (the unfortunate criminal). Such is the purport, and, as nearly as the indirect form of speech can convey it, the language of Drory's only written confession. But though no complete statement of his crime was committed to paper, the natural desire to un-

burden his heart was constantly at work, and at different times to the turnkeys and governors he verbally communicated the manner in which the murder was accomplished. The substance of these statements is, that he met Jael Denny by accident, as far as he was concerned, at half-past five on the evening of the murder, but he thought that she purposely put herself in his way. He said he could not talk to her then, but he would in an hour's time have some chat with her. They met accordingly, but meanwhile he had gone to a cellar in his father's house, and taken part of a rope, left a fortnight before by a person who had brought it to tie up baskets of damsons which he had bought, and who had left that portion of the rope behind. He said, on one occasion, that he had carried the rope for several days in his bosom; on another, that he carried it in his coat pocket; and lastly, that he took it from the cellar immediately before the act. These statements, though apparently inconsistent, may be all true. On meeting her for the second time, he said that he and Jael Denny talked and walked about, after which, at her suggestion, they sat down on the bank. She had come to urge him to marry her. He passed the rope gently round her as they were sitting, and had got the end into the loop before she perceived it. She jumped up at once and put up her hands to save her throat (which is proved by the marks on her fingers), but he pulled hard and she fell without a struggle. He then left her lying in the field, and went to Brentwood. In his last moments Drory admitted that he was the father of the child that Jael Denny was pregnant with. His aspersions upon her character were not credited by those most competent to judge. He had repeated interviews with his friends, who were allowed free access to his cell, but on his side and theirs a dead silence—more expressive perhaps than words—was observed as to the crime of which he had been convicted. He showed little emotion in the presence of his friends, and they generally occupied the time in reading the Bible, or sermons, or in casual conversation. Mr. Neale, the governor, used a remarkable expression in describing his first interview with his old father. Being asked how they behaved, he replied, 'They looked astounded at each other'—well they might!

Turning to Sarah Chesham, we find her crime of even a deeper dye than Drory's. She was forty-two years of age, and repute had raised her poisoning art to the dignity of a professional murderess. Twice had she stood a trial for her life, and, as often, escaped from justice. On one occasion she

owed her safety to the scruples of a Quaker, opposed to capital punishment. Amongst the crimes charged were the poisonings of her own children, and to crown her enormities, and to show that no perils could turn her from her guilty purposes, she destroyed her husband's life by small doses of arsenic. From the medical evidence adduced against her on her first trial, she learnt and put in practice the art of poisoning, and now she has met the extreme penalty of the law without a sign of repentance, an acceptance of religious consolations, or an acknowledgment of her crimes. From time to time she has made statements asserting her innocence, and charging other people in incoherent terms with the offence for which she had been condemned. It has gone the round of the papers that she had admitted poisoning her children, but that turns out to be untrue; and at the last moment, on leaving her cell, her protestations were as firm and decided as they have been throughout. 'I am innocent,' she said, 'though my neck is put into the halter for it.' Since her conviction she has steadily refused to move out of her cell, either for the purposes of exercise or religious devotion at the chapel. Drory also declined attendance there at first, but on Sunday last, the 23d, he intimated his desire to be present. Speaking of the spiritual condition of both the condemned, the Rev. George Hamilton, chaplain to the jail, with great sorrow expresses his conviction that they displayed no satisfactory proofs of genuine penitence and faith. He states that Sarah Chesham appeared constantly occupied in thought, and seemed perfectly to comprehend every argument and scriptural passage put before her calculated to awaken the mind. Drory, the Rev. chaplain stated, seemed little able to comprehend the enormity of his crime, and its accompanying circumstances of cruelty and treachery.

And now it is requisite to give some account of the manner in which these guilty wretches bore the last trying and awful moments of their fate. Drory slept till half-past four o'clock, after which he rose and prepared himself by devotional exercises for the execution of his sentence. Chesham passed such a night as the guilty who are about to die impenitent might be expected to endure. Her mental sufferings were extreme. She never closed her eyes in sleep, and could taste no food. When nine o'clock, the hour appointed for execution, arrived, Drory was first taken across an open court-yard, to the foot of the gateway tower, on the top of which the black scaffold, dismal and bare, was reared. He quivered in every limb and joint of his body, and was obliged to be supported as he pro-

ceeded, while the chaplain, avoiding the usual practice, on such occasions, of repeating the burial service, read, instead, prayers suitable to the solemn occasion. Arrived at the foot of the staircase ascending the gateway tower, Drory was pinioned in a cell set apart for that purpose, and thence he was conducted in a state of extreme agitation and debility up stairs to the drop. In the meantime Sarah Chesham was with some little difficulty removed from her place of confinement. At first she seemed disposed not to move, but on being told that she would be carried to the place of execution if she persisted, she consented to walk there. Nature, however, and the terrors of a violent and disgraceful death were too strong for her, and she required the assistance of two persons as she moved forward. Drory appeared first on the fatal platform, and as soon as he presented himself, with drooping head and pinioned arms, and faint and trembling limbs, the vast crowd of spectators assembled below were hushed into solemn and affecting silence. To the number of 6000 or 7000 they had been slowly gathering there from six o'clock in the morning; their behavior throughout was very orderly and sedate, though the shrill voices of boys at play, and the calls of orange venders might be heard at intervals. From all parts of the surrounding country the assemblage had come: it consisted principally of smock-frocked laborers, their highlows and gaiters spattered with mud, and their steps heavy with the number of miles they had travelled to 'the hanging.' A few farmers were present, eyeing askance the dismal implement above the jail gateway, and thinking of the minutes, hours, until the condemned made their appearance. There were hardly any respectable people observable in the crowd, but a most disgusting number of women. Some of these had gay flowers in their bonnets, and evidently set up for rustic belles; others were mothers, giving suck to infants whom they carried in their arms; others were elderly matrons, presiding at the head of their families, and from the elevation of the domestic spring cart pointing out to their young daughters how they could best see the execution. With these exceptions, the great assemblage in front of the jail behaved itself with much propriety. Not more than half a dozen police were visible, though Captain M'Hardy prudently had a large body in reserve. The jail and the chief police station stand opposite each other, with a wide roadway and a piece of open ground intervening, and it was here that the spectators were chiefly assembled. Drory, when placed on the drop, was delivered over to the hands of Calcraft, the executioner, who

quickly drew on the white cap and adjusted the rope, while the miserable wretch ejaculated in broken accents, 'This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptance, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners—of whom I am the chief—of whom I am the chief'—and he still kept repeating that last significant acknowledgment until the drop fell. After a delay of several minutes, during which many began to fear that there was something wrong, Sarah Chesham was with difficulty placed under the fatal beam, supported, like the other prisoner, by two attendants. Without an instant's delay Calcraft completed his simple but dreadful preparations; and then, while with bated breath the thousands of spectators below looked on, the bolt was drawn; a faint murmur of horror spread among the crowd as they saw the sentence of the law carried into effect, which was prolonged as the convulsive struggles of the dying man and woman were painfully visible. In Drory all sign of animation was extinct in four or five minutes, but Chesham struggled for six or seven. They were both light figures, and they 'died hard.' The crowd almost immediately after dispersed, and few remained to witness 'the cutting down.' As they began to separate, hawkers of ballads and 'true and correct account,' of the execution, and all kinds of edibles, appeared among them, and the assemblage was a sort of moving fair on its way back to town. The long pent up excitement relaxed itself, it is to be supposed, in the same manner as the spectators of a tragedy love to close the evening with some lighter entertainment.

The last woman hanged at Chelmsford was Anne May—her crime also that of poisoning. Mrs. Chesham was said to have been intimate with her; but she denied this stoutly, and they appear to have lived in totally different parts of the county. In little more than an hour after the bodies were cut down, that of Drory was buried within the precincts of the jail. All applications for a cast of his head were rigidly refused, and the same with the other sacrifice to justice also. The strictness of the authorities in this respect is much to be commended, for such facilities, instead of being turned to any useful purposes, are warped to feed the morbid curiosity of coarse and ignorant minds. The body of Sarah Chesham was not buried within the precincts of the jail, having been claimed by a relative. It appears that having been indicted for poisoning, and not expressly for murder, the statute was not considered binding in her case."—*Observer*, March 31st, 1851.

All this is very horrible, Major. It is awful, indeed, to think of that scoundrel of an English Thugg, caressingly gliding his arm around the poor girl, as she sat confidently by his side, slipping the fatal noose over her head, and then, with fierce energy springing to his feet, and strangling the struggling creature, *together with his child in her bosom.*

The writer of the above article, you will perceive, expresses himself at a loss "to explore the impulses which led to this dreadful tragedy." If he would place himself on the stand-point which we are about to occupy, and survey the dread array of crimes continually occurring around him, he would be compelled to see that the impulses which lead to such dreadful tragedies must have their origin in a passion for blood-shedding — in a blood-lust intuitive with and native to his countrymen.

Observe how strongly this is exemplified in the other case. That culprit, more exquisite in her tastes than the worshipper of Thuggee, was not content to put her victim to death by any vulgar and commonplace process — she had no idea of bolting the rich repast; but, with a luxurious gratification of her appetite, she, as it were, leisurely sipped the life-stream as it flowed slowly forth. She administered small doses of arsenic to her husband, and, with an epicurean satisfaction which Petronius Arbiter might have envied, enjoyed the pleasure of his death by slow degrees. Previously, it seems, she had had the comfort of disposing of her children in a similar manner. Can we wonder that she shrank from death, as it is said she did, at the foot of the gallows, when she reflected that she was presently going where there were no more husbands and children to be slowly poisoned?

But I must bring this letter to an end; and so subscribe myself

Yr. friend and cousin,
P. JONES.

To MAJ. JONES,
Pineville, Ga., U. S. of America.

LETTER XXI.

MURDER AT BELPER, IN DERBYSHIRE—PROCEEDINGS AT THE
INQUEST.

London, October 29th, 1853.

DEAR MAJOR:—In the early part of the year 1851, an awful murder of a lady was perpetrated in Derbyshire. Here is an account of it:

“MURDER AT BELPER, IN DERBYSHIRE.

A most daring and cold-blooded murder was committed on Saturday, the 27th ult., at Belper, eight miles from Derby. It appears that a man, named Anthony Turner, of Lane's End, near Belper, had for some years collected rents for Mrs. Barnes, a widow lady, who lived with a relative, Mr. Bannister, a clergyman of the Church of England, at Field House, Belper. Turner having become defaulter to a considerable amount, Mrs. Barnes sent him a letter discharging him from his situation. On the Saturday evening he went to Mr. Haslam's, grocer's shop, and borrowed a large carving-knife. After the knife was given to him, he said that he would do something that would cause him to 'be spoken of,' and walked quickly away. As he was in a very excited state, and had been speaking of his dismissal by Mrs. Barnes, Mr. Haslam ran out and called to him to come back, and he heard Turner call out in reply 'I will not;' but the night was so dark that he could not see Turner. This was at eight in the evening. Turner then went to Mrs. Barnes's house, to which, however, Mr. Haslam had previously proceeded, and had acquainted the servant of Turner's threats. On Turner's arrival at the house the servant said that Mrs. Barnes could not be seen then; but Turner rushed up stairs, and the door of Mrs. Barnes's room being fastened, he broke it open, and perpetrated the murder. Meanwhile the servant had run to call Mr. Bannister, who, in proceeding up stairs, met Turner with the knife in his hand. A struggle ensued, and Mr. Bannister threw Turner down stairs, and then proceeded to Mrs. Barnes's room, where he found her in a dying state. Turner, on leaving the house, attempted to strike the servant with the knife, but she evaded the blow. He then ran out, and

for the time escaped. He is married, and, having no child, he adopted a female infant. He is a tailor by trade, and was formerly a preacher in the Wesleyan Methodist connection. He is about forty-five years of age, five feet eight inches in height, black eyes, and rather a forbidding appearance. The police were immediately on the alert in pursuit of the murderer, and Mr. Jedediah Strutt, the magistrate of the district, caused the river to be dragged in order to ascertain whether he had committed suicide by drowning himself.

The Inquest.—On Monday an inquest was opened upon the body at the New Inn, Belper, by Mr. H. Morley, the coroner. The jury, having viewed the body, returned to the inn, and the following evidence was given :—

Mr. John Haslam, of Belper-lane, grocer and druggist, said : I knew Turner for twenty years. On Saturday night, about eight o'clock, Turner came to me in the room behind my shop, and sat down. He seemed full of liquor, and I said, 'Turner, you are full of liquor.' He said he was drunk, and I told him to compose himself and take a pipe. I then gave him tobacco, and he smoked it and became talkative. He said he had received a notice from Mrs. Barnes that he was discharged from her service. He read it to me and my wife. He had received it that morning. I then had to go to a customer in the shop, and Turner, in passing out through the shop, took from the counter a large knife used for cutting cheese, and said, as he went out, 'Excuse my taking this knife.' I immediately went to the door, and shouted 'Halloo, Turner, I want to speak to you, come back.' The night was dark, and I could not see him, but I heard him distinctly say, 'I won't.' I then got my hat and stick and followed as fast as I could to Mrs. Barnes's lodge, which I reached in about seven minutes. I saw Mrs. Tomlinson at the lodge door, and told her that Turner was in a drunken, excited state, and was coming to Mrs. Barnes's house to do something that 'would be talked of.' I told Mrs. Tomlinson to go and prevent his being admitted into the house. She went, and returned in a few minutes, saying 'All is right,' and that Turner was quietly standing in the kitchen. At that instant the alarm bell of the house was rung, and many persons went down to the house. I did not go down myself, but I heard afterwards that Mrs. Barnes's throat was cut. I have not seen Turner, or the knife since.

Mary Tomlinson, daughter of the lodge keeper, at Field House, said : Turner had frequently called on Mrs. Barnes on business. My father gave Turner a note from Mrs. Barnes on

Saturday afternoon, at three o'clock. Turner asked had my father read it, and he replied 'No.' Turner then went away. Mr. Haslam called that evening at eight o'clock, but I did not hear what he said to my mother. I went to the kitchen door of the house, and saw Turner standing against a table. I told him that a gentleman wanted him. He asked who it was, and I said 'Come and you will see.' Turner said he could not come just then, as the servant had gone up stairs, and he would wait till she came down, and that he would then come. I replied, 'Now be sure, Turner.' He said, 'You go, and I will follow you in a few minutes.' I then went to the lodge, and told my mother what he had said. Turner appeared calm, and spoke in his usual manner to me. As soon as I told my mother the alarm bell was rung. I then ran towards the house, and met Turner running very fast towards the lodge gates. I seized his left arm and said, 'Oh, Turner, what have you been doing?' He replied, 'You hold off me; go back;' and he went towards the lodge, pushing me away from him with great violence with his arms. It was so dark that I could not see whether he had anything in his right hand. I then went to the house, and forced the back door open. Miss Harmer, a lady on a visit there, sent me for Taylor, a constable.

Harriet Storer said: I have known Mrs. Barnes for the last twenty years. I was in her service ten years as cook. Turner had been in the habit of collecting rents for her at Derby since April last. Mrs. Barnes was sixty-four years old at the time of her death. Turner had frequently occasion to visit Mrs. Barnes's house. I knew that Mrs. Barnes gave him a discharge on Saturday last in consequence of his not having paid up his arrears. She prepared a notice, which she read over to me; it discharged him from receiving any more rents. I gave the notice to John Tomlinson, the lodge-keeper, to give to Turner. This was about one o'clock on Saturday. I did not see Turner myself until the evening. He came to the house by the back door about a quarter past eight in the evening. He knocked at the door, and then came in without the door being opened to him. I met him in the passage as I was going to open the door, having heard his knock. He looked wild and bad-tempered, and appeared to me as if he was drunk. He said to me, 'Can I see Mrs. Barnes? — I want to see her;' and I replied, 'If you will go into the kitchen, I will go and see.' He then went into the kitchen, and I went up stairs into Mrs. Barnes's room, and which is called 'the nursery.' It is the room in which Mrs. Barnes transacted her business, and occupied a good

deal. I found Mrs. Barnes sitting by the fire writing, as I pointed out to the jury this morning. I told her that Anthony Turner wanted to speak to her below, and that I thought she had better not see him, as he appeared drunk. She replied, 'I won't see him,' and fastened the door on the inside. She got up, and as I went out she bolted the door behind me. I then went down stairs, and found him in the little room, standing in the centre of it, by the dresser. I said to him, 'Turner, you must excuse Mrs. Barnes to-night, she can't see you; she will see you on Monday.' He then said, 'D—— you, I will see her,' and threw me down with my head against the corner of the table. He then ran up stairs. I heard him try to open the door and shake it, and kick it with his feet. He kicked it for about two minutes, and then I went to the Rev. Mr. Bannister, who was in the dining-room, and requested him to stand about, as Turner was up stairs drunk. I ran up stairs before Mr. Bannister came out of the dining-room, and found Mrs. Barnes's room-door open. I went in and found Turner standing before her, with his left knee on her knee, and his left hand on her right shoulder, and a large knife in his right hand, but I could not tell whether or not he was cutting her throat. He was evidently holding it to her throat, but I could not see him cutting, as his back was between me and deceased. She had rang the bell before Turner forced his way into the room, and screamed 'Harriet' twice. She never spoke afterwards. I then rushed down the front stairs. I had previously come up the back stairs. I sent the other servant girl, Hannah Ashton, for Taylor, the police constable, and as I turned round at the bottom of the back stairs, I met Turner coming down them in great haste, as if he had been thrown down. Two steps from the bottom he recovered his legs. He took hold of my right arm with his bloody hand, and swore he would murder me. I could feel his hand tremble. It was his left hand. He flourished a large knife over my head, and made a cut at my face, but I threw my head back, and sprang away from him, and he let go of me at the same moment. The knife did not reach my flesh, but so near was it, that it cut a piece of my cap. I got away into a dark passage, and thence into the breakfast-room. He listened to find out which way I was gone, and followed me up two steps into a dark passage, but he could not see me. I heard him say, 'D——n you, I shall see you yet and finish you.' I then heard the alarm-bell ringing loud, and I never heard or saw anything of him afterwards. I remained in the breakfast-room until I heard he was gone. I then returned to Mrs.

Barnes's room up stairs, and found Mr. Bannister there. Mrs. Barnes was sitting on the sofa supported by Mr. Bannister. She was not capable of speaking, and was bleeding very fast. She could not speak, but seemed sensible. I put cold water to her lips; she seemed to see it, and squeezed my hand. She soon afterwards ceased to breathe. We laid her down on her back, and after one gasp, she died. Mr. Evans and Mr. Lomas, surgeons, had arrived just before she died.

The Rev. J. Bannister, incumbent of Bridge Hill District Church, Belper, said: The deceased lived with me in the same house; she was my wife's aunt, and was sixty-four years of age. The first intimation I had of the transaction was Harriet coming to the dining-room about eight o'clock. Miss Harmer and Miss Harrison were in the room. Harriet called me to the door, and told me to stand about, as Turner was drunk up stairs with Mrs. Barnes. Mrs. Bannister was in the breakfast-room with eleven of the Sunday School girls. I was at the top of the two steps leading to the little hall, when I heard a great noise up stairs in Mrs. Barnes's room. I rushed up, and found her room-door open. I saw Mrs. Barnes standing in the middle of the room motioning with her hands, but I could not tell for what object. I had no idea that she had been murdered. I at first thought she had a red comforter round her neck, and hanging down her body. It was dark, and I did not at first distinguish the blood. I turned round, and saw Turner in the doorway waving a knife above his head, and looking at her and me. He said nothing, but appeared to be triumphing over what he had done. Imagining that Mrs. Barnes had been insulted, I said, 'Begone; get out of the house; I will fetch a constable to you.' I then gave another glance at Mrs. Barnes, and, as Turner got to the top of the stairs, I laid my hands on his shoulder, and threw him down the stairs. I then shouted, 'The constable! the bell, the bell!' Meanwhile Miss Harrison and Miss Turner had entered the room. Miss Harrison led Mrs. Barnes to the sofa. Miss Harrison put a handkerchief to the wound in the neck, and we applied various things. Mrs. Barnes, just before she died, said, 'Take care of Patience and Louisa,' meaning my wife and my wife's sister.

The proceedings were here adjourned to Wednesday morning." — *Observer, January 5th, 1851.*

You shall hear more from me on this subject. Mean-
time, I am, Respectfully, yours, etc.,

To MAJ. J. JONES,

P. JONES.

Pineville, Ga., U. S. of America.

LETTER XXII.

DREADFUL MURDER AT FROME, SOMERSET — VIOLATION AND MURDER—SHOCKING MURDER NEAR LINCOLN—A BROTHER KILLED BY HIS SISTER—SUPPOSED MURDER AT BARNSELY —POISONINGS—A WOMAN'S HEAD CUT OFF BY HER SON.

London, November 15th, 1853.

DEAR MAJOR: — In the month of October of the year 1851, a poor girl was murdered in Somersetshire under circumstances of the most shocking brutality. Three men were accused of the crime, arrested and tried for it; and here follows an account of the trial:

“THE FROME MURDER.

At the Assizes held at Taunton, on Tuesday, William Sparrow, 30, William Maggs, 44, and Robert Hurd, alias Frome Bob, 37, were indicted for the wilful murder of Sarah Watts, at Woodlands, Frome, on the 24th of September last. The very complicated circumstances of this case, to which no fewer than forty-three witnesses deposed, will more clearly appear if given in a narrative form. The unfortunate deceased, Sarah Watts, was a child of 14, the daughter of a small farmer at Woodlands, near Frome. On the 24th of September, her father and mother left home to attend Frome market, as they were in the habit of doing, leaving the child alone in the house. On their return about four o'clock, the father, on going into the milk-house, discovered his unfortunate child lying dead, with her clothes torn, and her person bruised and bloody. At first he had no suspicion of foul play, and, after acquainting his wife that the child was dead, he very quietly went into the fields to drive in some cattle. Upon a surgeon being sent for, it was found that the unfortunate child had been ravished as well as murdered, and that death had been produced by strangulation arising from pressure on the windpipe. Upon the wall there were marks of the girl's shoes, which indicated that she had been taken up by the heels and forced headforemost into a whey tub, the milk in which was afterwards found to be

discolored, apparently by blood. Upon the wall near the door was found the impress of a left hand, and from the thumb had trickled down some drops of blood. It was also found that the room upstairs had been ransacked, and a watch had been taken, but no money had been left there. There was a silk handkerchief left on the kitchen table. Although the deed was committed in broad daylight, within one hundred yards of the road, and near some houses, there was no eye-witness to any part of the transaction, and the girl had not been heard to cry out. An inquest was held on the body, and an active officer of the detective force was sent to Frome. Shortly after his arrival his suspicions rested upon the prisoners, and he inquired of them separately where they were on the day of the murder. They all answered with willingness, but gave what turned out to be false accounts of their doings on that day. The direction they had taken from hour to hour was traced, and it was proved that Maggs and Sparrow had been seen within half a mile of the house where the murder was committed, and they had afterwards come from the direction of the house, and had joined Hurd, who was left some distance off. They then went on to Frome market, where they stood in the market-place, apparently to attract public attention, and they were again in the evening at a public house. Whilst talking together in the market, a person who was passing, caught the words, 'Watch, but no tin.' These circumstances, the finding of a watch upon Sparrow, and the prior reputation of the prisoners, led to their apprehension, when it was found that Sparrow had a bad thumb, apparently produced by a bite, which he said had been produced by a chap in a fight on Bradley Fair day; but persons who saw his hand two days after, and the surgeon who examined it, positively stated that it was such a wound as could not have been done so recently as three days, for that matter had formed beneath it. In addition to this, the handkerchief—the only article left behind by the murderers—was spoken to, but not very positively, by three witnesses as having been in Sparrow's possession. On Monday, Sept. 29, a fair was held at North Bradley, seven miles from Frome, and when a woman named Watson, asked him had he heard of the murder, he said he had, and that he had seen the dead body on the day after the murder. That she had blows on her head from a stick, and that she had been put in a whey tub, which was covered with blood from her head. It appeared, however, that the discovery of the deceased having been put into the whey tub had not been made at the time of this con-

versation, and, therefore, the prisoner Sparrow's knowledge of the fact seemed unaccounted for. Against Maggs, the evidence, in addition to the connection with the other prisoners in the movements of the 24th, was of a conversation between Maggs and an unknown man in a lane to the following effect: 'Hast heard any news?' 'Yes, I've heerd that the London police officer has been to Bill Sparrow, and said to he, 'Ah, my good fellow, I'm glad 'wasn't you committed this murder, for you'll get the free pardon and £50.' To this Maggs replied, 'He'll neither have the pardon nor the £50, for he's the man that killed her.' It was, however, shown that the witness who spoke to this conversation had been in prison for a trifling offence. This witness had been much maltreated since he had given evidence. His windows had been broken in, and he had been obliged to leave the neighborhood. Indeed, a system of terrorism appeared to have prevailed — the witnesses spoke for the most part as if in great fear of the prisoners, whose attempts at intimidation obliged his lordship more than once to interfere, and to order the jailor to see that they kept their places. The court was occupied for eleven hours in hearing the case for the Crown, and the jury were then locked up at 9 o'clock, P. M.

On Wednesday morning, Mr. Edwards addressed the jury for the prisoners, and commented on the fact that Sparrow had been apprehended merely because a watch was found upon him, which, however, turned out never to have belonged to Watts. He also complained of no attorney having been allowed by the magistrates to be present at the previous investigations; and he further complained of the manner in which the detective officer had suddenly and abruptly questioned the prisoners on the subject. He also remarked on the fact, that counsel for the prosecution had not produced the statements which the prisoners had made.

Mr. Justice Erle then summed up; the tenor of his charge was in favor of an acquittal.

The jury then retired for two hours, and returned a verdict of not guilty.

On this, Hurd exclaimed: 'My lord, we are all innocent. Providence has done this.' Maggs said, 'I declare to God, we are all innocent.' Sparrow: 'We were not within a mile of the spot. God has done it.' Hurd: 'My lord, it will be all found out within a month. Let me speak to Mr. Smith' (the detective officer). They all said, 'Let us see Mr. Smith.'"

—*Observer, April 12th, 1852.*

You will perceive from this report that these men were acquitted. The case was not full made out against them, perhaps. But some *man* or *men* murdered and mutilated the poor child in this horrible way. And what do you think of the civilization of a place where such a deed could occur, and go unpunished? And what of a place where a father is to be found, who, returning to his home, finds a daughter (whom a short time previously he had left in health) lying before him a bruised and bloody corpse, and who is yet capable of going off immediately and "quietly into the fields to drive in some cattle?"

Here is an account of the murder and violation of another poor child in the spring of 1852, exhibiting circumstances of horror, over which the fiends in hell might rejoice with exceeding great joy:

"VIOLATION AND MURDER.

On Thursday, a lengthened inquiry, adjourned from Tuesday evening last, was resumed and concluded before Mr. Baker and a respectable jury, at the Fisherman's Boat, Bromley, relative to the death of Sarah Ann Smith, aged 14, whose body was found in the River Lea, near Three Mill-lane. The inquiry had been adjourned for a post mortem examination of the body. Emily Smith, a married woman, residing in Frederick street, Mile End New Town, said that the deceased lived with her mother at Bow. On Friday morning last, she came to witness to assist in cleaning her rooms. She was with witness the whole of the day, and left about eight o'clock at night to return to her mother. She was very cheerful all the time she was with witness, and, on leaving, observed that she would soon be home.

S. Edells, in employment at the Corn Mills, Bromley, deposed to finding the body in the river.

The mother of the deceased, who resides at Chapel House, Bow, stated that her daughter was a steady girl, and that she had never on any previous occasion been absent from home.

Mr. C. E. Garman, surgeon, Albert Place, Bow, said that he was directed by the constable on Saturday week to see the body of the deceased, when, on examination, he found sufficient evidence to convince him that the person of the deceased had been very recently abused. He had since made, by order of the coroner, a post mortem examination of the body, and

was fully confirmed in the opinion that her person had been violated within a short period before her death. On opening the chest, he discovered that the second, third, and fifth ribs on the right side were fractured. The whole of the internal organs were healthy, with the exception of the brain, which was very much congested, the effect of suffocation.

Foreman: Would not a violent blow by a stick have caused the fracture of the ribs?

Witness: Not in this case, as there are no external marks of violence, which is extraordinary. Besides, a blow from a stick would not have left an intermediate rib unfractured. In my opinion, the fractures were occasioned by some violent pressure.

The Coroner remarked that there could be but little doubt in the minds of the jury that the unfortunate child had been violated by some villain or villains, who, in order to avoid detection, had destroyed her life. They might safely come to the conclusion that wilful murder had been committed.

Verdict, wilful murder against some person or persons unknown.

A reward has been offered by the Secretary of State on conviction of the atrocious ruffians."—*Observer*, April 5th, 1852.

Early in the same year, I met with the following report of a barbarous murder:

"SHOCKING MURDER NEAR LINCOLN.

On Thursday week a shocking murder was discovered to have been committed by a man upon his mother. The scene of the tragedy was a small house at Scotherne, near Lincoln. The name of the murdered woman was Sarah Webster, a widow, about sixty-seven years of age; and the name of the murderer is John King, a farm laborer, her illegitimate son, with whom his victim had resided since the 21st ult. The unfortunate deceased was well known at Lincoln, where she had resided for the last twenty years, the greater part of which period she kept a house of ill-fame, where her own daughters resided with her in a state of prostitution. She was married some time after the birth of the prisoner, and had several children by her husband, whose name was Webster. It appears that the prisoner is a married man, and has a son twelve years of age, and a daughter seventeen. He has been subject to fits; and his wife, who is in the habit of going out to work, had sent for

her to take care of him in her absence. On the day preceding the murder he struck his mother a blow as she was giving him some tea, and from that time she appeared terrified at his violence. On Thursday week the murdered woman was left alone with the prisoner, his wife and daughter having gone to a funeral in the village of Scotherne. The person who lives next door to the prisoner was returning home about four o'clock, when the prisoner beckoned at her from the window; and, as she approached, he put out his hands, and said, 'Come on, I have had a spree, and am ready for you again.' On entering the house she discovered the unfortunate woman seated in a chair, and weltering in her blood. Her head was hanging on her right arm, and she was bleeding from the mouth and face. An alarm was made, and several neighbors were soon on the spot. They discovered that the deceased was quite dead. It is believed that the prisoner had beaten his mother with his fists about the head and face, and that she had fallen on the edge of the chair, breaking her jawbone in the centre. The blood had spurted through the spindles of the chair, and stained the wall underneath the window. The prisoner's right hand was covered with blood. An inquest was held on the body immediately afterwards by Mr. Hitchens, the coroner; and after the examination of a number of witnesses, and a post mortem examination of the body, the jury returned a verdict of wilful murder against the prisoner, and he was forthwith committed to the assizes at Lincoln."—*Observer*, March 7th, 1852.

You will observe that this was the murder of a mother by her own son. He was an illegitimate son, it is true, and his mother was an infamous woman; but in other countries, certainly, the natural instincts are not obliterated from such people.

As another example of that moral ossification of the heart which seems to abound in this country, take the following case, which occurred between brother and sister, also in the spring of 1852:

"A BROTHER KILLED BY HIS SISTER.

On Wednesday last an inquest was held at Coleford, on the body of Edwin Gwyn, 26, laborer, of Lane End, residing with his mother and sister. It appears that on Friday, the 27th

ult, deceased asked his mother for money to go to Coleford with. She refused; his sister, Ann Gwyn, saying, 'Edwin, you cannot expect mother to be always giving you money.' Deceased then commenced striking and kicking her about the body and head. She was at this time ironing clothes on a table. She then ran out of the house with the flat-iron in her hand, deceased following her. When she got out of doors, she turned around and threw the iron at him, which struck him on the right side of his head, causing the blood to flow from his ears, nose, and mouth. Mr. Batten, surgeon, of Coleford, was sent for immediately; but, deceased still getting worse, in about half an hour he went up stairs to bed, became insensible, and never spoke or moved afterwards, and on Sunday he died. Mr. Batten made a *post mortem* examination of the body, and on opening the head, found the skull fractured about an inch above the ear, extending to the ear, and into the base of the skull. There was a slight indentation to the fracture, which corresponded exactly with the heel part of the flat-iron. He also found some coagulated blood under the skull, on the brain, caused by the rupture of a blood-vessel and the fracture of the skull. The jury returned a verdict of excusable homicide—deciding that the act was done in self-defence."—*Observer*, March 15th, 1852,

A few days afterwards, the two cases following were reported by the same paper:

“SUSPECTED MURDERS AT BARNESLEY.

On Wednesday morning, some colliers, who reside on the premises formerly occupied as the Woodman Inn, near Barnesley, started for their work. When about twenty yards from their own doors, they found a female named Annie Laycock, aged twenty-three years, lying with her daughter Emily, aged ten months, in her arms, both of whom had their throats cut. The head of the child was nearly severed from its body. Deceased was married about three years ago to an excavator named Thomas Smith; but, in consequence of Smith having another wife, Laycock left him, and has since been cohabiting with a person named James Gledhill, a poacher. They resided in a batch of houses adjoining to Sheffield and Wakefield turnpike-road, about 200 yards from the place where the bodies were found. It is stated that he was in the habit of ill-using the poor woman. On Monday he was drinking at

Barnsley, and when he went home he beat her so much that the neighbors interfered; but he continued his ill-treatment. Gledhill has been taken into custody." — *Observer*, *March 29th*, 1852.

“ POISONING.

At Bury St. Edmunds Assizes, on Thursday, William Robinson, aged eighty-two, was convicted of the murder of Ann Cornell, at Great Thurlow, in August last. The prisoner, who appeared in the dock almost in a dying state, lived at Great Thurlow, near Newmarket, with his daughter-in-law, Mary Rollinson, the widow of his son, who died in 1850. In 1851, one Jermyn courted Mrs. Rollinson, and the old man strenuously opposed the match, but without effect — it being determined by the lovers that they would marry, and remove Mrs. Rollinson's furniture from the prisoner's house. Under these circumstances, it was shown that one day in August, when Ann Cornell, the sister of Mary Rollinson, came to dine with her, they were both taken ill immediately after eating some pudding made of flour kept by Mary Rollinson in an open trough, and eventually Ann Cornell died and was buried — it being then supposed by the medical man attending her that she died of English cholera. Before this, similar but not fatal symptoms arose after Mrs. Rollinson had partaken of dinner; and some time afterwards Mrs. Rollinson was again taken ill after eating dumplings made from the same flour. Inquiries were then made, which left no doubt that the prisoner had put arsenic into the flour. Ann Cornell's body was exhumed, and it appeared she had died from taking arsenic. The prisoner, whose aim appeared to have been to destroy Mary Rollinson, was sentenced to death." — *Observer*, *March 29th*, 1852.

Here is another report of a mother's murder by her son about this time. I shudder whilst I enclose the ghastly picture which it presents.

“ HORRIBLE MURDER IN LAMBETH.

A Woman's Head cut off by her Son.

A sensation which it would be difficult to describe was caused yesterday (Saturday) afternoon, throughout the neighborhood of Kennington Road and Lambeth, in consequence

of the following frightful murder, committed by a young man upon his mother, a respectably connected female, of the name of Elizabeth Wheeler, a widow, of about forty-four years of age. The following particulars connected with this dreadful tragedy were obtained on the spot a few minutes after the melancholy occurrence :

The house in which the tragedy took place was No. 1 Durham Place, Kennington Road, and immediately facing Bethlehem Hospital for lunatics. The building was occupied by Mr. Wickens, a dyer and scourer, a family named Toms, and the unfortunate woman who has been thus prematurely hurried into eternity, and her son, a young man about twenty-eight years of age.

Yesterday afternoon, at a few minutes before one o'clock, Mrs. Toms, who was in the house at the time, had her attention directed to a loud scream proceeding from the upper part of the building, which was succeeded by a heavy fall of something on the floor. She immediately went to ascertain the cause, when the son of the unfortunate woman made a hasty retreat out of the building, carrying in his hand a stick and a knife. Mrs. Toms, having entered the apartment occupied by the poor creature, was horror-struck at finding the trunk of the woman lying on the floor in a pool of blood, and the head, which was completely severed from the neck, was lying on a table in the same room, the flesh still moving to and fro. Mrs. Toms instantly hastened down stairs, and informed her husband that the young man had murdered his mother. By that period, he had proceeded some distance up the Kennington Road, in the direction of the common. Mr. Toms, however, never lost sight of him, but followed his track until he got within a few yards of Chester street. At that point police-constable Lockyer, No. 135, came along, and having had his attention directed to the alleged murderer, he forthwith secured him. He at once admitted that he had murdered his poor mother, and informed the officer that he first struck her on the head with an iron, and afterwards cut her head off by means of an axe and a knife. The constable at once took the man to the station-house in Kennington Lane; and on his way thither he told the officer he was now sorry that he had committed the murder, but the fact was he could not help it, for his mother and other persons were continually torturing him and following him about. He also informed the same officer that he had been confined in a lunatic asylum, and had not

been liberated long. The murderer, when arrested, did not offer the least resistance, and, to all outward appearance, did not feel the awful position he had placed himself in.

From the state of the room, there is no doubt entertained but the unfortunate female was in the act of leaving the apartment with a saucepan of greens in her hand, in order to strain off the water, when her son gave her a violent blow on the head, which felled her to the floor; after which, he must have knelt upon her body and performed the act of decapitation. The saucepan was lying near the door, and the steam was still ascending from the greens therein. In the midst of the pool of blood was lying a pillow, which it is believed the murderer had placed there to prevent the gore from flying over his clothes. When apprehended by Lockyer, not a spot of blood was perceptible upon his clothes, and his hands were perfectly clean — leading to the supposition that after perpetrating the dreadful deed he had washed his hands.

In the afternoon, the prisoner was examined before the Hon. Mr. Norton, at Lambeth police office. The prisoner, on being placed at the bar, looked wildly around him, and appeared to be either unconscious or indifferent to the position in which he was placed. He was dressed in a black frock-coat, black waistcoat, and light woollen trowsers. He had a black scarf, or neckerchief, twisted rather than tied round his neck. He is a well-made man, with large black eyes, regular features, and an intelligent countenance." — *Observer*, April 12th, 1852.

I doubt not but that this wretched young man was insane; and I refer to the case for the purpose of showing, not that a sane man committed this unnatural and savage crime, but as an illustration of the way in which insanity tends to develop itself in this blood-stained land. In another country, where the lunatic had not been all his life familiar with deeds of blood, by hearing of or witnessing them, and where he had not, as it were, inherited this taste for blood, his insanity would have manifested itself, I have no doubt, in some milder form; and at all events (especially if he was not a raving and raging maniac, as this man was not), would never have urged him to the perpetration of such a crime upon the person of his

own mother. The case thus serves to show, in another aspect, what manner of men this English people are.

I will resume the subject in my next; and am,

Very respectfully,

Yr. friend and cousin,

P. JONES.

To MAJ. J. JONES,

Pineville, Ga., U. S. of America.

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### LETTER XXIII.

#### ALLEGED MURDER OF A GENTLEMAN BY HIS HOUSEKEEPER.

London, November 22d, 1853.

DEAR MAJOR:— On Wednesday, the 2d of February, in the present year, a housekeeper was charged before the Lambeth Police Court with the murder of an aged and infirm gentleman, of whom she had the charge. I furnish you with a report of the case from a paper of the 6th of February. You will find it both curious and shocking.

#### “ALLEGED MURDER OF A GENTLEMAN BY HIS HOUSEKEEPER.

On Wednesday, Elizabeth Vickers, a middle-aged and well-dressed female, was charged at Lambeth Police Court with having by violence caused the death of Mr. William Jones, an aged gentleman of considerable property, with whom she had lived for many years as housekeeper.

The death of Mr. Jones was discovered on the 10th ult., two days after it occurred, and its causes were investigated by a jury, who attributed the event to a fall. The facts detailed below, however, led to the prisoner's apprehension, notwithstanding the verdict of the inquest.

The first witness called was Mr. David Key, a surgeon, of Brixton, who said: I attended Mr. Jones, who lived at Springfield Cottage, near Acre lane, at intervals, for several years. On the 10th of January I was called to Mr. Jones' house about

about half past 5 or 6 o'clock in the morning, and went there a little after 8. I found Mr. Jones dead, lying upon a sofa in the back parlor. He was dressed as usual, and lying on a blanket which was wrapped round him. The prisoner was in the room at that time. I asked her how long he had been lying there. She said she could not get him up to bed the night before ; that he asked her for a little water, which she gave him, and that he died at half past 3 o'clock in the morning. She said she could not get him up stairs, because he was so helpless, and that he had expressed a wish that she should sit up with him. I asked her what time he was down on the Sunday (the day before), and she said she could not tell me the exact time, but that he had dined up-stairs, and after that he came down. I asked her if he had had any spirits, and she said he had had a little gin and water, but could not tell the exact quantity. She said he had lain on the sofa from the time he came down until he died. I asked her if he had made any snoring noise, and she said no. I asked her if he was insensible, and she said no. She said he died directly after taking the water. I asked her if he had swallowed any. It appeared to me to be a very confused account that she gave. I then examined the body, and found several wounds on the forehead. The witness here described the wounds with considerable minuteness ; they were contused wounds, and seven or eight in number, but the two principal were one on the forehead, and the other on the right temple. The lower cartilage of the nose was also broken. The injuries could not have been inflicted more than five days before, but might have been of much later date. Corresponding with the bruise on the right temple, there was a sufficient effusion of blood between the dura mater and the skull-bone to press upon the brain, by which death was caused. The prisoner told witness the injuries had been caused by falls. The old man was decidedly a healthy subject. No single fall would produce such wounds, nor, in witness' opinion, could they be accounted for by a succession of falls. Witness added : I have been to see the deceased several times, when I could not get in, but not for a month or two before his death. I saw him once in August last ; he had then two black eyes and a slight scratch or two upon the nose, and likewise upon the chin. The prisoner was present at the time, and I asked him, in her presence, if he had fallen down stairs. He made no answer ; but the prisoner, before he had time to do so, exclaimed, ' Don't answer,' and he did not.

Miss Susan Allen, of No. 5, Springfield Cottages, Acre-lane,

Brixton, said: The deceased resided next door to me. On New Year's-day last Mr. Jones came to the fence of the garden and spoke to me. He was then in excellent health and very cheerful, but he had a very large bruise, as big as a walnut, on the right side of his head, near the temple, and a large bruise above that as large as a middle sized teacup on the right side of the head. He had his nightcap on at the time, and it was much stained with blood. It was put on so as not to cover the injuries, so that I could plainly see them. I have frequently seen bruises on him before this, and he has complained to me about them. I have seen the prisoner beat him violently and pull him about by his grey hair. I have seen her pull him from the garden fence to his own house by the hair, beating him on the head and shoulders with her clenched fists. I have seen her beat him with both her fists about the head. This was in the course of last spring. I have seen violence used by her in the autumn before. She pulled him in then by the hair of the head, and beat him with her fists on his head; and she said then she would make him remember going out, as she had desired him not, while she was out. For the last twelvemonth not a week had passed without my hearing her beating him. I can hear it from outside the house. I had listened at his request. The prisoner frequently came home intoxicated. I believe she has scarcely been seen sober for an entire day for a year. She told me that Mr. Jones had made over £1000 in their joint names, and she wished it in her own name, but Mr. Key had persuaded Mr. Jones not to do so; but she would make him remember going from his promise as long as he lived: that she would let him know that she was a Leon resolved; and as he had called upon Mr. Key unknown to her, he should never go out of the house by himself again; and, if Mr. Key came there, she would kick him out. On the Sunday following, Mr. Jones came to me and showed me bruises on his head. His eyes were blackened and his head bruised and bleeding. I have repeatedly heard her drive him up stairs, and lock him up, then go out, and come home drunk. On the Friday night before he died, at about 11 o'clock, the prisoner came home drunk and lay on the ground outside their door for about three-quarters of an hour, abusing Mr. Key, and calling out, 'Old Jones, come and let me in.' Then the door opened, but was shut again, for the policeman was then with her. When the policeman went away, the prisoner went in and shut the door, and in two minutes after I heard a heavy fall in the passage or on the stairs. It appeared to me that

the prisoner had fallen on Mr. Jones at the door. I went inside then, and went to bed. The next morning, at 7 o'clock, heard the door of the house shut. At 9 o'clock I found the shutters still closed. At 1 o'clock in the day I saw the prisoner, and was going to speak to her about Mr. Jones, but she shunned me. I listened the whole of that day and night, but could not hear Mr. Jones. He had a cough, which I heard generally, but on that day I could not hear it. On the Sunday morning I looked for the prisoner, but could not see or hear anything of her, and at 11 o'clock I went to church. When I returned, at 1 o'clock, I still found the shutters closed. I then looked at Mr. Jones's window, and saw the blind up, and the prisoner stood at the side of the window. She looked very agitated, and I nodded to her, but she did not return it, and seemed much confused. I repeated my nod to her, but she did not notice it, and I then went to the back of the house, and found it fastened. I watched the house, but saw no one go out. At 5 o'clock I heard a cab drive away from the gate, and some person speaking. At that moment the prisoner came out and picked up the papers that had been thrown into the garden by the postman at 9 o'clock in the morning, and had been lying there all day. I watched the house all day, and saw no light or heard any person until the Monday, when I saw Mr. Key come with the undertaker. On the New Year's Day, when she came home in the evening, the prisoner beat him, and threatened that if he showed himself out again, she would kick his life out. I distinctly heard the prisoner say, 'I'll tear your eyes out, you old devil,' and then I heard blows and a sound as if a stick was being used. The deceased fell on the floor and cried and groaned. She beat him so violently that I think he was past doing anything. She then made him lie down on the sofa, and said she should leave him, and he begged her not to do so. She went out at half-past six, locking him up, and then she was intoxicated.

Mrs. Annie Gray, a respectable married female, said: The house I lived in was next door to the late Mr. Jones's, but that house was left on the 6th of December last. I knew Mr. Jones well, but never had a conversation with him but twice. The first time, in July, I told him I was sorry to see him so poorly and infirm, and added that it was a pity to see him in the state he was in. His reply to me then was, 'I am a miserable man.' I told him that if he wanted anything, and tapped at the wall, I would render him all the assistance in my power. I have often heard cries in the house of the deceased. Mr. Jones and

the prisoner used to have serious disputes about money matters. I have heard the latter say, 'Give me the money and let me go.' At other times I heard her beat the old man. The deceased used to say to her, 'Don't leave me.' I distinctly heard the sound of a slap on the face which the prisoner gave the deceased. I have frequently heard them quarrel, and heard the deceased utter the cries of 'murder' on two or three occasions. The first time I heard these cries was in the month of July, I think, and on that occasion my husband heard them as well as myself, and he spoke to a policeman about it. The next time I heard the cries of 'murder' was in the latter end of November. About that time they were quarrelling almost daily, and I then heard the sound of blows. In one of these quarrels I heard the prisoner say 'Give me the money and let me go,' and his reply was, 'Don't leave me; I cannot lose you.' She then asked him how he dared to go to Mr. Key? The old man not answering her, I heard several blows and groans, as if they came from a person in intense agony. I have seen gentlemen apply for admission, but refused. I have let gentlemen over the wall of my garden, on their telling me that the prisoner would not let them in, though I knew she was in at the time. This was in the month of October. They rang the bell, and Mr. Jones came out to speak to them, and said he could not admit them. They were nephews of the deceased, and said they particularly wished to take Mr. Jones away, as they understood his life was in danger.

Miss Maria Hammond, who also lived next door to the deceased, detailed at some length the particulars of what she saw and heard of the prisoner and the deceased. She said that on the night on which Mr. Jones died, she was much disturbed by the quarrelling between the prisoner and the deceased. In the course of the night she was awoke by one of these quarrels. From the voices she could distinctly tell that there were only the prisoner and the deceased in the room (the back parlor) at the time. Distinctly heard the prisoner talk angrily, and heard the deceased say, 'Oh, what do you say?' Immediately after this she heard a heavy fall on the floor, and this was followed by a perfect death-like silence, during which witness did not hear even a breathing or whisper. This was broken by the prisoner opening the door and admitting, as the witness believed, some persons to her assistance, as she could distinctly hear several voices; and, for the remaining part of the morning, the noises from the room appeared to be most unpleasant.

Mr. Elliott: 'What did this noise resemble?'

Witness: 'The scratching and scraping of the floor with a shovel.'

Police constable, John Grant, 170 P, said that on the morning of the 10th of January, he was on duty in Acre-lane, Brixton, and at about five o'clock in the morning he saw the prisoner come out of the house of Mr. Jones, and go in at the gate of a person named Evans, which was three doors off. He wished her 'good morning,' but she made him no reply. She appeared to him to have been drinking, and seemed much frightened. He saw no more of her that morning.

Mr. Wm. Jones, 155 Tottenham-court-road, said—'The deceased, Mr. Wm. Jones, was my uncle. In the month of August last, I visited at his late residence, and on my entering the house I found him shaving himself, and could see that he had marks of serious violence on his face. I asked him how he had received them, upon which he exclaimed, 'Hush, hush, she's in the next room; I can't tell you now, but will presently.' The door of the next room was opened, and the prisoner, who must have heard my question, entered the room where we were, and my uncle seemed so nervous about it that I did not press the question a second time, as the prisoner took care not to leave us alone, or give us an opportunity. I have made four or five attempts to see my uncle, but could not, as the prisoner would not admit me inside the house, or to his presence.'

Mr. Elliott having announced his intention of sending the case before a jury, the witnesses were bound over to prosecute, but the prisoner was remanded. She left the bar with a carelessness amounting to levity.

The police officers, in searching the house of the late Mr. Jones, found the will of the deceased, from which it appears that the property amounts to £3000, and that, after bequeathing £200 a piece to two of his nephews, £100 to a third, and £300 to Mr. David Key, his medical adviser, he left the residue, with his furniture, to his housekeeper, Elizabeth Vickers—at present in custody; so that, after paying the funeral and other expenses, she would be entitled to over £2000. The reports of the inquest having disclosed that Vickers was a legatee, last Monday's post brought a letter addressed to her (now in the hands of the police), of which the following is a copy:—

'Coventry, January 29.

'Madam,—I have taken the Liberty of writing these few lines hoping that It will not give any offence. I have applied

to you *has* I am In want of a good domesticated Wife, and no doubt *has* you have lost your Master No doubt but what you should Like a good home and a good partner and If you think any thing about It Please to let me know by the return of Post and Please to let me know Particulars I mentioned that *his* to ask you your age To *Se* If they will correspond with mine for My Age *his* 40 Though I have seen you once or twice. And you Perhaps dont know Me But if you answer this immediately you will Soon *Se* me If you are not engaged with any one.

‘I Remain yours Respectfully,

C. H——, Coventry.

‘My address *his* this Mr —— cutler —— Street Coventry War.’”—*Weekly Dispatch*, Feb. 6th, 1853.

Is it not enough to try the nerves of as stout a man as you are, Major, to think of what that aged and helpless sufferer endured during those dreadful days and nights when he was piteously, and like a child, trembling, crying, and begging, under the torments of that she-devil? Uncle Tom and his persecutors are fictions; and this people, men, women, and children, are weeping over these *fictions*, supposed to have happened in the far-off valley of the Mississippi, whilst they have no tears to shed over the *facts* here related, and which expose the hell of torture to which this old gentleman was subjected in this city of London, by a monster as odious as Legree. Indeed, if he thus called Legree were anything but a figment in the imagination of a shrewd Yankee woman, I should certainly apologize to him for the comparison I have made. His victim had no such claims upon his mercy as had this old man upon his destroyer. His victim, though represented as innocent and inoffensive, was not, from years, infirmities, and habit, so entirely dependent upon him as was this sufferer upon his persecutor; nor had the slave-master been indebted to his victim for striking benefits and favors. Such are the thoughts that passed through my mind when I read this account; and I think you will agree with me that they were natural and reasonable.

On a subsequent day, this woman was again brought before the magistrate, and I send you a report of what transpired then and there.

## "THE ALLEGED MURDER AT BRIXTON.

On Tuesday, Elizabeth Vickers, late housekeeper to Mr. William Jones, of Springfield cottages, Brixton, and who stood remanded for the willful murder of her late master, was again placed at the bar of the Lambeth police court, before Mr. Elliott, for final examination.

Mr. Ebsworth, from the office of Messrs. Scadding and Son, Gordon square, who were for many years solicitors to the deceased, and are at present employed by his nephew, attended for the prosecution; and Mr. Solomon for the defence; the court was much crowded.

Sergeant George Quinnear, P. 1, deposed that, since the prisoner's last examination, he, accompanied by his superintendent, Mr. Lund, visited the late residence of the deceased (Mr. Jones), for the purpose of making a more minute search of the things in the house. On examining the couch in the back parlor, on which the deceased was represented to have died, they found stains of blood on the lining at the top, or head part.

Mr. Elliott: How came you to see the lining?

Sergeant Quinnear: The horsehair covering, your worship, was worn away, and the stains of blood were visible on the canvass that remained. There was a small bed placed on this couch, and on two places in this bed marks of blood were quite visible.

The prisoner here, in a most vehement and violent manner, exclaimed, 'No, no! I say no.'

Sergeant Quinnear: On removing a colored cotton case from a pillow used on the couch, and turning it inside out, we found evident marks of blood on it, which it had been endeavored to remove by washing, but which were, notwithstanding, still quite observable.

Prisoner (vehemently): They are not stains of blood, but of porter.

Quinnear: On searching among the dirty linen, heaps of which were in all parts of the house, we found another sheet with stains of blood on it, and this we have taken away with the pillowcase. We searched the house very carefully, and could find no money, though, from inquiries I have made, I have reason to believe that a short time before, the deceased, Mr. Jones, had received £28 odd, the amount of his dividends. The only sum found was £1 6s. 6d., which was on the person of the prisoner when she was taken into custody. Since the



last examination I have seen a man named Collins, a gardener, who had been examined before the coroner's jury, and who, on being so examined, swore that he had seen the deceased fall in his own garden, when his head came with some violence against the wall. I have asked this person to point out the spot where he saw the deceased fall, and he has done so; but it is my opinion that, from his description, it is quite impossible, if he even had fallen there, that he could have hit his head against the wall or injured himself.

Mr. Solomon objected to this hearsay evidence, and the opinion founded upon it being placed on the depositions.

Mr. Elliott admitted that it was not strictly evidence, and, therefore, would not appear on the depositions. The solicitor engaged for the prosecution might call Collins if he thought proper. To Sergeant Quinnear: Have you anything further to say? — Quinnear: Only this, your worship; that the prisoner bears a shocking character in the neighborhood, and has been frequently led home quite drunk by different and strange men.

Mr. Solomon: That forms no part of the charge against her.

Sergeant Quinnear: Well, I have only to add, that we found the house in a shocking state. In fact, it stank most offensively—heaps of soiled and half-washed clothes were in every part of it, and in my opinion not a single article had been washed there for five or six months.

Prisoner: How do you know that?

Quinnear: I was told it by Miss Allen, who informed me that for several months she has not observed a single article hung out to dry.

Prisoner: Miss Allen had better mind her own business.

John Neale, shopman to Mr. Fillmer, pawnbroker, in Kennington road, opposite Kennington common, deposed, that the silver snuff-box, the silver watch, and other articles he then produced, had been pawned with him at his master's, on the 13th of last month, for £3, by the prisoner. She then gave the name of Elizabeth Vickers, and her residence in Acre lane, Brixton.

Prisoner: I did pawn the things, and the property is my own, though Jones may swear to it, if he dares. The articles were purchased for and presented to me. (The prisoner here became so vehement and violent, that her own solicitor had to beg of her to be quiet, assuring her that by her conduct she was doing herself much mischief).

Mr. William Jones, the nephew of the deceased, next got into the witness box, and, when sworn, said that, to the best of his belief, the watch and other articles produced belonged to his uncle.

Prisoner: Then you have sworn to a lie. They are mine; and therefore you have taken a false oath. The snuff-box was given to me by your uncle, and also the watch and other things.

The prisoner was here asked in the usual manner if she had anything to say to the charge, and Mr. Solomon replied in the negative. Upon which Mr. Elliott committed her to take her trial at the Central Criminal Court, for the wilful murder of her late master, Mr. William Jones." — *Observer, February 14th, 1853.*

I will continue the subject in my next; and in the mean time, am,

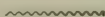
Respectfully,

Yr. friend and cousin,

P. JONES.

To MAJ. J. JONES,

Pineville, Ga., U. S. of America.



## LETTER XXIV.

MURDER ON THE HIGHWAY IN ESSEX—INQUEST ON THE BODY  
— CONFESSION OF THE MURDERER — DREADFUL MURDER IN  
DEVONSHIRE — ATROCIOUS MURDER AT WAKEFIELD.

London, November 29th, 1853.

DEAR MAJOR:—On Tuesday, the 8th day of February, in the present year, at about nine o'clock in the morning, a foot passenger was murdered on one of the high-roads of one of the metropolitan counties, within nine miles of the heart of London, and under circumstances of shocking barbarity. The murdered man was on his way to the railroad station at Ilford, it seems. There were at least

two witnesses of the deed, and yet, to use the language of a paper from which I shall presently send you an account of the murder, "Strange to say, though the terrible crime was perpetrated in open day, the murderer did not escape, only, as it were, by a miracle. For a full hour, the criminal was missing; and then he was arrested only by an accident. If he had passed by the direct road to the metropolis, he would in that period have attained the outskirts of town, and would have soon been lost to pursuit in the streets and alleys of Whitechapel. As it was, it would appear that he missed his road, and, like a doomed man, made a rotary or circular movement, which brought him back again to the presence of the corpse of his victim. Then he was secured."

Here is a report of the case :

**"DARING MURDER ON THE HIGHWAY IN ESSEX — APPREHENSION OF THE MURDERER.**

A most appalling murder was committed on Tuesday morning, on the turnpike road between London and Romford. The unfortunate victim was a very respectable and worthy man, named Toller, a commission agent, who resided with his wife and four children on Chadwell Heath, near Romford, for several years. Mr. Toller was in the practice of visiting London almost daily on business. He left his home on Tuesday morning at eight o'clock, with the intention, it is believed, of walking to Ilford, and taking the train for London. About fifteen or twenty minutes before nine o'clock, he was met on the high road by an ill-looking tramp, whose intention, no doubt, was to rob the unfortunate man. The fellow struck Mr. Toller a violent blow on the head with a stick, which caused him to stagger. Mr. Toller called out for assistance, and his cries attracted the attention of a man and his wife at work in an adjoining field, who saw the murderer strike Mr. Toller repeatedly with the stick. They called out to the man to desist, and hastened towards the road; but, before they could reach the end of the field, they saw the ruffian take a clasp knife from his pocket, with which he deliberately cut the throat of his victim, and nearly severed his head from his body. The murderer immediately fled. The man and his wife in the field were, to use their own words, so horrified at the deed they had just witnessed, that they made no effort to pursue the murderer, who

made his way towards London. They, however, gave immediate information to the first police constable they met with, and soon afterwards Mr. Howie, the superintendent of the K division of police, rode into Ilford, and, on being informed of the murder, gave directions to a number of mounted and dismounted police officers to pursue the murderer, who, singularly enough, after the commission of the horrible act, lost his way, and being unacquainted with the road, made a *detour* and came back to within three hundred yards of the spot where he committed the murder. He was immediately pointed out by the man Willis, who saw the murder committed, and was at once taken into custody by Metcalf, 142 K., who handcuffed him, and proceeded with him to the station-house at Ilford. A few hours afterwards Mr. Howie procured the attendance of Mr. Octavius Mashiter, a county magistrate, and the prisoner, who gave the name of Charles Saunders, was formally arraigned before the justice, and charged with the wilful murder of Mr. Toller. Willis and his wife identified Saunders, and detailed the circumstances of the murder. Metcalf also gave evidence of the prisoner's apprehension, and Mr. Mashiter remanded him to Ilford gaol until Saturday (yesterday).

It appears from inquiries made by Mr. Superintendent Howie that Saunders is a native of Mortlake, in Surrey, where he is well known. He is a heavy-looking, repulsive fellow, about 32 years of age, and 5 feet 4 inches in height. The deceased would have proved more than a match for him if he had not first struck him with a stick on the back of the head.

The scene of this tragical occurrence is  $8\frac{1}{2}$  miles from Whitechapel Church, and 3 miles from Romford."—*Observer*, Feb. 14<sup>th</sup>, 1853.

Revolve in your mind for a moment the awful brutality of this bloody scene, and you will readily agree with the following remarks, made by the editor of the "Observer," (and in the same paper from which I have taken the above account,) viz.:

"That it is a remarkable fact that in a country so highly civilized as England, with a police and with a priesthood which costs an enormous annual sum to maintain, such a crime could not only be conceived but committed, within hail of at least two workingmen, in the full light of day, and upon the highway of perhaps the most populous road leading into or out of this metropolis. The culprit it seems made a sort of confes-

sion that he murdered his victim not through the cravings of want, but with the object of revenge—to avenge himself for some real or fancied wrong on a former occasion long past—a wrong, even on his own admission, of the slightest character. How little this speaks for the Gospel teaching of the State Church, with its cloud of parsons and its bands of missionaries, the reader must and will easily imagine. No doubt crime has existed, and it is possible that crime will continue to exist, though wise and good men hold to the contrary; but hitherto it has been associated with motives of cupidity on such occasions as this, and the introduction of the principle of vengeance is a new feature in the common criminal annals of this country. It cannot be questioned, however, that if the Church spent its revenues, not upon the shepherds, but upon the flock—if, in a word, education was made general—such a scene of barbarity as that which took place on this occasion would never have been committed.”

On one point, however, I must take issue with this writer. I refer to his assertion that “the principle of vengeance is a new feature in the common criminal annals of this country.” I think what I have shown, and have yet to show you, will prove this declaration to be a prodigious error.

In the same paper from which I have taken the last report, I find the following account of a terrible murder in Devonshire:

“DREADFUL MURDER IN DEVONSHIRE — CONFESSION OF THE MURDERER.

On Sunday morning a shocking murder was committed near a little village called Clayhidon, about ten miles from Honiton, in Devonshire, and about five miles from Wellington, in Somerset. The victim was a respectable land surveyor and miller, residing at Clayhidon Mills, named William Blackmore. He was also the collector of taxes for the parish, and was much esteemed in the neighborhood. He was 53 years of age, was married, and had one grown-up son. He had been out collecting tithes on Saturday, and in the evening he went into a roadside public house, called the White Horse, near Clayhidon, where he drank freely in company with three laboring men. They all left the public house together about one o'clock on

Sunday morning, and at four o'clock the body of Mr. Blackmore was found about a quarter of a mile from his own house by his son and a servant man, stretched across the road in a dreadfully mangled state. The head was severely fractured, and there was blood scattered about the road. His purse, containing two five-pound notes, was found in the road by his side. The three men who left the house with the deceased were laborers, named George Sparks, Edmund Sparks, and James Hitchcock. They were taken into custody.

An inquest was held on Monday, at the Half Moon Inn, Clayhidon, before R. H. Aberdein, Esq., coroner for the district.

Ann Redwood, the landlady of the White Horse public house, stated that between seven and eight o'clock on Saturday evening, the deceased came into her house, and called for a pint of beer. The three prisoners and two other men were there; but the latter two left shortly afterwards. The deceased sat by the fire, and complained that he had been drinking some ale at farmer Warren's, and it had upset his stomach. He then drank three pints of Mrs. Redwood's ale, and said it was much better than farmer Warren's. The three prisoners asked the deceased to treat them, and he did contribute towards a quart of cider, saying he had only half a crown in the world. (In the pockets of deceased two five-pound notes were found, and it was known that he had other money, the produce of his tithe collection). Subsequently the deceased played at cards with George Sparks, and beat him. After that the prisoners and the deceased drank several quarts of ale, with brandy and sugar in it. When the deceased said 'he had only half-a-crown in the world,' James Hitchcock said, 'You needn't be afraid of us, maister—I won't rob he.' George Sparks said, 'Master isn't afraid of us, I know.' The deceased answered, 'No, be gums!' Just before leaving the house, James Hitchcock and George Sparks went out of the room; and after staying a few minutes returned again. About one o'clock on the Sunday morning, they all left together.

J. Marks, a laborer, deposed to having met the three prisoners and the deceased between one and two o'clock on the Sunday morning in the road leading to their house—the prisoners lived in the same direction as the deceased. After a salutation they passed on. Edmund Sparks was walking by the side of the deceased, and George Sparks and James Hitchcock were walking behind.

George Braddick, a constable, apprehended the prisoners the same morning, just before daylight. George Sparks lodged

with his brother, about half a mile from the deceased's residence; and when he went to him he was in bed. He denied any knowledge of the crime at first. The witness then requested him to put on the same clothes as he wore that morning, and he did so. On the waistcoat were spots of blood. On searching the house ten sovereigns and a half were found wrapped up in a rag. Whilst the witness was engaged in searching the house, several people came in and put sundry questions to the prisoner. At last he exclaimed, 'It's no use to care, nor to think any more about it; for I would as soon tell the whole of it as not.' The prisoner then got up from his seat, took up a pair of tongs, and showing the position in which he stood, said, 'I struck him back-handed, and I think I killed him the first blow, but I struck him twice after that.' He further said he struck him with a part of a pair of fire-tongs which he brought away with him from the White Horse, and which was subsequently found in the water at the spot indicated by the prisoner.

The prisoner, George Sparks, fully exonerated the other prisoners in his confession; and they severally declared that they left the deceased by a French nut-tree, and went to their homes. The only suspicious circumstances in respect to Hitchcock were, that on his great-coat, which he wore, there were spots like blood; but there was difference of opinion as to whether it really was blood. Footmarks, corresponding with his boots, were also discovered near to where the body was found. There was no evidence against Edmund Sparks, further than his being in the company of the others at the public house, and being seen with them on his road home.

Mr. William Buncombe, surgeon, described the nature of the injuries inflicted on the head of the deceased. In his opinion the injuries were such as were likely to have been produced by the instrument alluded to, viz.: the part of the tongs which George Sparks confessed to have taken from the White Horse.

The jury returned a verdict of wilful murder against George Sparks and James Hitchcock, and they were at once committed for trial." — *Observer, February 14th, 1853.*

You have, in this case, an exemplification not only of that thirst for blood so remarkable in this country, but specimens and illustrations of manners, language, and civilization in no wise superior to what is met with in

wild and lawless frontier regions. And all this, you will observe, occurs in one of the most highly favored counties of England—in “rich and fruitful Devonshire.”

About the same time, an atrocious murder of a woman by a man was committed at Wakefield, in Yorkshire. Here is a statement of the particulars :

#### “ATROCIOUS MURDER AT WAKEFIELD.

A murder has been committed at Wakefield. The perpetrator of the crime was speedily apprehended, and unhesitatingly confessed his guilt. The victim of the foul deed is a girl named Catherine Sheardon, a dissolute person, living in the house of Ann Clough, generally known as ‘Farmer Ann,’ and the murderer is a man named Henry Dobson, a cabinet-maker, about 24 years of age. For a considerable time past Dobson has cohabited with the deceased, whom he has latterly treated very ill. Deceased applied to the magistrates for protection, and on the 10th inst. he was bound over to keep the peace. Exasperated by this, he had been heard several times to threaten deceased with murder, and on Thursday night he was observed by some of Sheardon’s companions to be anxiously watching for her. They being alarmed kept Sheardon in their company. On Friday night, however, soon after 11 o’clock, he managed to obtain admission into deceased’s room, during the temporary absence of Clough, the occupier of the house, and, on Clough’s return, she found the unfortunate girl lying on the floor of the room in the basement of the building, quite dead and weltering in blood. A razor covered with blood was found on the floor, and in one of deceased’s hands was the street-door key. On her right arm was the mark of a violent blow, but on no other part of her person was there any evidence of violence having been used towards her. It is supposed, from the position in which the body was lying, that the murderer had knocked at the door and been admitted by the deceased without her knowing it was him, for she had kept the door locked for the purpose of preventing his admission. The tragedy must have taken place within a very short time, as Clough asserts she was not absent from her house more than twenty minutes. Within an hour Dobson was apprehended in Jacob’s Well-lane, about a quarter of a mile from the scene of the murder. His left hand was covered with blood, and a slight cut of about an inch in diameter was discovered on the



second joint of his thumb, evidently made by some extremely sharp instrument. On the right side of his coat were marks of blood; and these circumstances corroborated the supposition that the prisoner had his arm round deceased's neck when he inflicted the wound on her, and it is believed the same struck his own hand. The marks on the right side of the coat are accounted for by his hand falling after his purpose was accomplished. His apron also bore marks of blood. The prisoner, while on the way to the station-house, asked repeatedly if the girl was dead, and, on being told she was, replied, 'And I have it—what more do you want?' He further added, 'You are a pretty set of devils, you police; I have been within twenty yards of the place all the time.' He also stated that he had kicked deceased violently. Prisoner was much excited, and appeared to have been drinking; he was not, however, drunk. He appeared to have no idea of the awful position in which he had placed himself, and passed his time in his cell in singing, &c. The girl was about twenty years of age, and, we hear, was a native of Doncaster. She was small in stature even for a woman, and extremely thin. She was principally known to the police under the soubriquet of 'Kitty.' The deceased had been drinking with the prisoner often since she had him bound over to keep the peace towards her, but she had not lived with him for some short time. Dobson is the son of Thomas Dobson, landlord of the Coach and Horses Beer House, Union street. He was by trade a cabinet-maker. He is slightly built, about five feet five inches in height, and his face is much marked with the small-pox. He was a man of vicious propensities, and had been married to a girl of the town, who died about six months since. An inquest on the body of the murdered girl has been held, at which a verdict of 'wilful murder' against Henry Dobson was returned. The prisoner's demeanor continues hardened and careless. Two officers have been in the cell with him ever since his arrest, and during the night it appears he kept up, when awake, a continued conversation in reference to the bloody deed. After awaking from one of his sleeps he said, in reference to the bench or form upon which he was laid, 'This is a very hard bed! if Kitty' (meaning the deceased) 'has not a softer, she will be d—— badly off.' And in a few minutes he said, in an affectionate tone, 'Ah, bless her; I hope she is now in heaven and happy.' At another time he said, with much bravado, 'Well, I know my fate, and I suppose I have not above another fortnight to live.'—*News of the World, Feb. 27, 1853.*

This man was subsequently tried, convicted, and hanged at York for this offence.

But I must allow you a breathing-spell, or you will never be able to go through the ghastly gallery which we have yet to traverse, and to inspect. So I write myself at once,

Respectfully,  
Yr. friend and cousin,  
P. JONES.

To MAJ. J. JONES,  
Pineville, Ga., U. S. of America.

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### LETTER XXV.

**ILL-TREATMENT AND MURDER OF WIVES—SUSPECTED MURDER OF A WIFE BY STARVATION—THE BATH STARVATION CASE—MURDER OF A WIFE IN MARYLEBONE—THE PROCEEDINGS BEFORE THE COMMITTING MAGISTRATE ARE ATTENDED BY DR. JONES AND HIS SERVANT—A WITNESS WHO KNEW NOTHING OF GOD, AND HAD NEVER HEARD OF THE DEVIL—BUCK PROPOSES TO SEND A MISSIONARY TO THIS WITNESS' NEIGHBORHOOD—TRIAL OF THE MURDERER BEFORE THE CENTRAL CRIMINAL COURT.**

London, December 1st, 1853.

DEAR MAJOR:—As early as the year 1851, my attention was called by the paper which I daily read, to the great prevalence of violence on the part of men towards women in this country, and especially to the number of murders committed by husbands upon wives. I furnish you with an extract of the editorial article to which I have referred. It contains, as you will see, a condensed statement of several cases which had then recently occurred:

“ILL-TREATMENT AND MURDER OF WIVES.

In his recent charge to the grand jury at the opening of the Central Criminal Court, the Recorder said—‘He was sorry

that he could not congratulate them on the lightness of the calendar; for, although it did not contain any charge of murder, yet he was sorry to see that there were several charges of manslaughter, and also a great number of cases of personal violence; and it was very much to be regretted that, in a great majority of the cases, the violence was committed by men upon the persons of those whom they were bound to love and protect — namely, upon their wives.' It is well that Mr. Wortley should have said thus much — little though it was — on this disgraceful subject; and it is to be hoped that the feelings which dictated his brief remarks will still be in operation when, in the course of the next few days, it may become his duty to pass sentence on cases of this description. But he need not have confined his observation to the present sessions; for every sessions, every assizes, afford proof of the lamentable prevalence of this class of crimes, and of the impunity, or next to impunity, with which they are passed by. Within these few days we have recorded, almost simultaneously, four cases of men tried, or committed for trial, on the charge of killing their wives; and among these the case of Edmund Curtis stood conspicuous, both in atrocity and in the flagrant inadequacy of the punishment. The wife, an industrious woman, had passed the day in working as a charwoman, to earn money for the husband. In the evening, according to the testimony of the woman for whom she worked, he came to the house, and the wife 'spoke to him, desiring him to come home. He refused. She said his place was at home, and he said, 'So is yours.' They then both left the room. He was sober. After they left the house — about three minutes after — I heard a violent shriek. I went out, and saw her lying across a low iron railing in my garden. He had hold of her over the left shoulder with his right hand, and was striking her on the head with his clenched fist. When I got out the shriek had ceased. I heard no noise after. I told him he would kill her, if he had not done so, and desired him to loose her. He did not do so. I called out William Kirkland, who pulled him from her, and she fell on her left side on the ground, apparently lifeless. I told him he had killed her. I called assistance. She was lifted up and put in a chair. She fetched three sighs and died.' These were the facts; and now for Mr. Baron Martin and his judgment. He said that nothing could justify a man in striking a woman; that the prisoner 'indulged in a very violent degree of passion,' but that he could 'well believe' that he 'did not mean to kill her;' that 'no doubt, when this result occurred,'

he was 'sincerely sorry for it;' and that, 'considering all the circumstances,' the 'justice of the case' would be satisfied by imprisoning him for six months with hard labor! Such are the judgments which are to protect all the women of the country against domestic ruffianism; and such is the caprice which presides over the apportionment of penalties in English criminal justice. The day afterwards, in a case not more atrocious, the culprit was sentenced by the same judge to transportation for life. If Curtis had killed, in any similar manner, some other man's wife instead of his own — instead of the woman whom, as Mr. Wortley said, he was bound to protect — there can be little doubt that he would have been indicted for murder, and probably hanged. The vow to protect thus confers a license to kill.

Two of the cases adverted to in the Recorder's charge have since come on for trial before Mr. Justice Wightman. In one, the prisoner was acquitted on the ground of insanity. In the case of Andrew Maclean, also, the culprit was acquitted. The report says, 'Early in the morning of August 4, the persons lodging in the next room were disturbed by the cries of the prisoner's children, and their calling out, 'Oh, father, let mother down.' They got up in consequence, and went into the prisoner's room, where they found his wife hanging by the neck from the cupboard, and the prisoner was sitting upon the bed. The body of the unfortunate woman was quite suspended, and she was nearly black in the face. Upon the prisoner being told that he was a good-for-nothing villain for attempting to hang his wife, he replied that he would do it effectually the next time; and one of the witnesses answered that he would have done it effectually this time, if his wife had not been cut down. The prisoner was slightly intoxicated, it appeared, at the time of the occurrence. The prisoner, in his defence, asserted that his wife had hanged herself.'

The wife was not called as a witness, the reason of which appears from the previous examination before the magistrate — on which occasion the unfortunate creature, either from habitual fear, or from the expectation that she would be given back into his power, exculpated the man, stating that she had spoken provokingly to him, and also that he had hanged her only in jest. Her dread of appearing against him was not surprising: for what would have been the consequence to her of having given strong evidence against him, in the event of his acquittal? But her testimony was not needed to show the state of the case, after proof of such facts as those contained

in the above extract. Yet 'Mr. Justice Wightman, in summing up, said that the case was undoubtedly left in some obscurity by the absence of the wife's testimony. If she had been called, she could have proved distinctly how the matter occurred; and in the face of the prisoner's declaration that his wife had hung herself, it was for the jury to say whether the other evidence was sufficient to justify them in convicting him of so serious an offence.' On this encouragement the jury returned a verdict of not guilty; and consequently the woman is again given into the power of the man, that he may, as he threatened, 'do it effectually the next time.' We scarcely believe that there is an offence in the whole criminal code of which a prisoner would have been acquitted, in the face of such evidence, except that of an attempt at wife murder.

In default of the judges, it is for the Legislature to apply vigorous measures of repression to this growing evil." — *Observer*, September 1st, 1851.

I think you will discover from the exhibits which I shall make before leaving the subject, that this disease is too deeply seated in the constitution of the English people, to be remedied by those "vigorous measures of repression by the legislature" to which this writer referred.

In the early part of the same year, some cases of wife-murder from starvation, enforced by their husbands, were reported. Can you by possibility conceive such a devilish fact? Below you will find in a succinct form some references to such cases:

#### "SUSPECTED MURDER OF A WIFE.

*Gloucester, Thursday.* — A man named Daniel Mundy has been brought to the Gloucester county jail, under the warrant of W. J. Ellis, Esq., coroner for the county, on a charge of the wilful murder of his wife. The deceased and the prisoner lived at Wotton-under-edge, in this county, and the former had for some time past been in a delicate state of health. Her husband had been in the habit of cruelly beating and kicking her, and keeping her on a miserably short allowance of food, and while he himself lived well; bread and water was the poor woman's principal diet. The deceased died on the 24th of February last, rather suddenly, and an inquest was held on the body, as a matter of form, on the 28th, when no suspicion of foul conduct being entertained, a verdict of 'died from natural

causes' was returned. The prisoner refused to bury her, and that circumstance, together with the rumors which now began to spread through the neighborhood respecting his cruel conduct towards her during her lifetime, led to further inquiries, which resulted in the re-opening of the inquest. At the last inquiry several of the neighbors were examined. Some deposed that the prisoner beat his wife 'in common with other husbands;' but the niece of the deceased proved that Mrs. Mundy had complained to her of her husband's cruelty, and had shown her her arms and legs, which were black and blue with bruises. She also told her that she was nearly starved, having nothing to eat but coarse brown bread, without anything with it. Daniel Workman, another of Mundy's neighbors, spoke to the fact of the prisoner having beaten his wife with a stick. On the day of her decease this witness saw Mrs. Mundy near her own house, in a stooping position, with her hands on her bowels, and on asking her what was the matter, she said it was where he kicked her—meaning her husband. Jane Dyer, who laid out the body, found bruises on the neck and bowels. Mr. Adams, surgeon, also deposed that he found an injury of the neck, attended with congestion of the brain of very recent date. Also an extensive injury of the abdomen, as if from a blow or kick, either of which was sufficient to cause death. The jury, after a short deliberation, returned a verdict of wilful murder against the husband."

#### "THE BATH STARVATION CASE.

The husband of Harriet Sparing, who died from starvation at Bath, has been apprehended and lodged in the Bath jail, to await his trial at the ensuing assizes on the charge of wilful murder. The prisoner, on hearing that an inquest was to be held on his wife, absconded, and succeeded for some time in evading the vigilance of the police. It appears that he went to Bristol, and for some days lodged with Mr. Bence, a publican, under the name of Edward Woodman, but was very reserved, and kept himself remarkably quiet. He then enlisted in the thirtieth Regiment of the line, and on Wednesday was sent off to Kent, with other recruits. Mr. Bence having subsequently seen a description of Sparing in the *Hue and Cry*, suspected his late lodger to be the man, and immediately gave information to the chief of the Bath police. An officer, accompanied by Mr. Bence, was despatched in search of the prisoner, whom they found enjoying his dinner in Walmer Barracks Kent, but on seeing the officer he became much frightened

and trembled violently. He was at once brought back, and lodged in the Bath jail, under the coroner's warrant." — *Observer*, *March 17th*, 1851.

I perceive that in the first of the two cases above mentioned, personal violence was resorted to, and might have been in part the cause of death. Do you not feel it a mortification, that you should belong to a common humanity with the atrocious scoundrel who could so treat that helpless and forlorn sufferer? And are you not thankful that you are not the countryman of the cowardly miscreant? Observe, if you please, the matter-of-fact way with which the witnesses deposed that the prisoner beat his wife only "in common with other husbands!" It was truly not without reason that the editor whom I have quoted above, declared that in this country "the vow to protect confers a license to kill."

On Tuesday, the 11th day of November, 1851, I left my lodgings for the purpose of visiting the Royal Botanic Gardens, in the Regent's Park, taking my servant along with me. As we were passing in the vicinity of the Marylebone police-station, our attention was drawn to a vehicle in which a prisoner was being placed, and which was surrounded by a noisy crowd of men, women, and children. We soon learned that the accused was charged with having murdered his wife, and was about to be taken before a magistrate for examination; and that the excitement which we observed grew out of the strong indignation which the circumstances of his case created. The mob were uttering terrible denunciations of the prisoner, and their fury rather surprised me (knowing, as I now did, how common wife-murder was in the country, and how much tolerated), and I could only attribute this result to the stimulus which was imparted by the circulation of petticoats among them pretty freely, whose owners were very ardent in their cries for vengeance. Lynch law was also threatened; but there seemed to be no spirit present daring enough to take the lead in a demonstration of that kind, and the police took very proper measures for the prevention of any such attempt. We joined ourselves to the crowd which accompanied the cab in which the pri-

soner was placed, as I was anxious to see the end of the affair, and to hear more of the circumstances. With some difficulty, we obtained a position in the court from which we could witness the proceedings.

I send you a report of the case, taken from a newspaper, published shortly after.

“MURDER IN MARYLEBONE.

On Tuesday, Thomas Bare, of 33 North street, Manchester square, aged fifty, a pipemaker, was charged before Mr. Broughton with the wilful murder of his wife, Louisa Bare. The circumstances detailed exhibited features of peculiar atrocity, the deceased having received sixteen stabs in different parts of her body with a sharp-pointed file. At an early hour in the morning the rumor of the event caused crowds to collect around the Marylebone station house, where the prisoner was confined, and the numbers increased to such an extent that several constables were required to keep the thoroughfare clear. In consequence of the extraordinary excitement prevailing, the prisoner was conveyed in a cab, in which were Inspector Jackson, and two other officers. Whilst getting into the vehicle he was hissed and yelled at by the mob, and the utmost efforts of the police were necessary to protect him from summary vengeance. Hundreds followed the cab to the court, vociferating that ‘there was a murderer in it,’ and, on arriving at the court, to avoid the effects of the indignant feeling, the prisoner was hurried through the passage, and closely watched by two officers, prior to the case being called on. At two o’clock he took his stand in the felon’s dock, the court being then crowded to excess. He is of sallow complexion, and was dressed in a black coat, waistcoat, and drab trowsers. He betrayed no emotion, and stood erect while the charge was stated to him by the magistrate. The first witness called was—

George Nott, a furnishing undertaker, of No. 23 Cornwall road, Lambeth. He said: Deceased was my sister. She married the prisoner about twelve or fifteen years ago. They have two children living. The deceased frequently complained to me of her husband’s ill-treatment. I last saw her alive about a month ago, in Warner street, Clerkenwell, where she then lived. Between ten and eleven o’clock yesterday morning, Inspector Jackson sent for me, and I went to her room in 33 North street, where I found her dead, lying upon the floor. She had several punctures in the face, from some very sharp instrument. She was about forty years old.



Mr. Broughton (to the prisoner): Do you wish to put questions to this witness? — Prisoner: No, I don't seem to care much about it, but I'll ask you this, did she ever complain to you in my presence of any ill-usage on my part? Witness: No, but she has often complained to me in your absence, and has said that you were addicted to drinking and neglecting your home. — Mr. Broughton: Where are her two children? Witness: I do not know. — Inspector Jackson: One, the daughter, is outside. She is, I am sorry to say, upon the streets. — Prisoner to witness: How long is it since your sister first complained of my bad behavior? Witness: Ever since I have known you in London. The last time I saw her she said you were never at home till one or two in the morning. — Prisoner: And a good reason why. I generally worked till that time. Do you know Mr. Thompson, a gasfitter; and did you bury his wife? Witness: Yes; about twelve months ago. — Prisoner: How came you to do that? Witness: I was recommended to the job by my sister. — Prisoner: I do not wish to ask you any more questions.

Edward Braston, aged seventeen, deposed that he lived with his parents in Brook's-gardens, Bagnigge Wells road.

The magistrate questioned him as to his knowledge of the nature and obligation of an oath, and the replies which he gave evinced a most lamentable degree of ignorance. He knew not where God was, could not tell where people went to when they died, if they had lived a wicked life, nor had he ever heard of the devil.

Mr. Broughton expressed pain and astonishment at the neglect of this boy's education, and said that his evidence could not be taken.

Mrs. Sarah Abrahams, mother of the lad above mentioned, said: I am a widow, and the lad is my son by a former husband. A woman named Hands and another woman lodged four nights at my place, and both left on Friday fortnight. My son carried some boxes away. On Monday last, the prisoner at the bar came to me, and asked if I had a little woman lodging up stairs? He could not tell her name, but said his wife was with her. I said, 'Yes, there were two.' He exclaimed, 'Then that's my wife, and the boxes are mine; she took them away from me, and they are up stairs in your room.' He asked to go up stairs to see them, but I said he could not, as Mrs. Hands had gone off with all the things on Friday night. The prisoner then went away, and soon after returned with a woman, who said that the prisoner's wife had behaved very ill

to him, and that there was something wrong between the wife and a gasfitter. The prisoner then said, 'You must know where they are gone to' I replied that I did not; but he persisted in coming every other day afterwards up to last Saturday night, pressing me to tell where his wife was, and he said that he was afraid his wife would come to a bad way, as his daughter had; and rather than see her in the same 'emaciated' state as his daughter, he would die in Newgate, for 'he loved her after all.' This was on Saturday. I then said that I was going to send my son to the place where he left the boxes for the door-key, which Mrs. Hands had taken away, and that he might accompany him. He said he was much obliged, and would pay my son for his trouble, and they went away together. This was at twenty minutes past six.

Prisoner: Did you ever see Mrs. Hands and my wife drink together?—Witness; No.

Prisoner: At what time did they generally come home?—Witness: I never knew them to stop out late.

George Lanning, landlord of No. 33 North street, where the deceased had lodged, said: That at half-past seven on Saturday night last, a lad called on him and asked for the two females for whom he had brought the boxes a fortnight before. They were not then at home, and the boy left. At eight o'clock the prisoner came and asked was Mrs. Bare there? Not knowing her by that name I said that she did not lodge there, and in telling the names of my lodgers I mentioned that of 'Miss Nott,' and he said, 'That's she; that's my wife; that was her maiden name.' He was very violent, and threatened to break open the door unless I gave up the boxes. I said that would not be a legal proceeding, and asked him to sit down in the parlor, which he did. I said that Miss Nott (his wife) would be sure to be in by nine o'clock, as she was so very regular. After conversing for an hour and a half she came in, and walked through the passage, and I said, 'That's the good lady you came for.' The door being open he could see her as she passed, and I gave him a candle and he followed her up stairs. I left the boy in the parlor, and went to seek a policeman to guard against any disturbance. In half an hour I returned, and found the deceased lying on the floor, upon which was a great quantity of blood. My wife was bathing her face with water. A box lay on the pavement outside, and I took it into the house. The policeman ran for a medical man, who speedily arrived.

Prisoner: Did not I tell you what sort of characters you

had got in your house?—Witness: You said that I had two bad characters, no better than common prostitutes, who were able to deceive any one, and that your wife had repeatedly robbed you in your business, and absconded with your property. The deceased was a well-conducted woman, and both she and Mrs. Hands, the deceased's fellow-lodger, I believed to be serious and religious women. You told me several times that your wife had sold up your home, taking the property with her.

Prisoner: You, sir, seem to be very warm on the subject. I have no more questions to ask you.

Mrs. Hands, deceased's fellow-lodger, was called, but was so affected by the awful occurrence, that she was unable to undergo examination.

Rebecca Lanning, the landlady, said that when the two women came to lodge at her house, one represented herself as a single woman, and the other as a widow. They took the apartments on Friday fortnight, when the boy brought the boxes there. On last Saturday the boy called to inquire for them, when they were not at home, and the prisoner afterwards came. He was much excited, and very noisy. She told him to be quiet, as there were other lodgers in the house, and he, at her request, went into the parlor. After his wife came, the prisoner went up stairs, and I heard some loud talking. The prisoner called up the boy, who was in the parlor. The boy went up, and immediately I heard the poor woman screech most awfully, and cry out, 'Oh! you're murdering me;' the boy came down first with one box, and then with the other. The screeching lasted about three minutes. The prisoner came down after the boy, and tried to open the front door, but could not, and I opened it for him. I saw blood on the back of his hand. While he was in the room I heard a noise like the throwing down of a chair. After he left, the 'screeching' ceased, and I ran up stairs into the room and found a chair lying across the fender. The deceased was lying upon it, with her hand up to her face. She could not speak. Her bonnet and cap were off, and her hair, which was hanging over her neck, was smeared with blood. She breathed; but when the doctor arrived shortly afterwards, she was dead. I saw a great deal of blood upon her, and in the apartment.

Other lodgers gave evidence corroborative of the preceding, and one of them said she saw the prisoner beating his wife, and begged of him, for God's sake, to desist from ill-treating her. The boy was in the room while he (prisoner)

was attacking the poor creature who had fallen a victim to his violence.

It was further proved that the prisoner was apprehended at the Bedford Arms, South street, near North street, where he had a glass of gin at the bar. He was the worse for liquor, but not drunk. He was conveyed to the station by Gott, 338 D, and on the way thither he said that his wife had taken a chisel or something of that sort to strike him with, and that he snatched it from her hand, and 'gave her the contents.' His right hand was covered with blood, and upon his chin were also spots, as if blood had spurted out upon it. He inquired frequently how his wife was, and on being told that she was dead, he exclaimed, 'Christ Almighty! who'd have thought I'd the heart to do it? I have a daughter on the town, and a little boy in bed at a beer-shop. He little thinks that I have killed his mother, and I wish I was going to be hung this very moment.'

Church, 129 D, produced a triangular saw file about six inches long, very sharp at each end, and it appeared to have been recently ground and pointed. There were on it marks of blood. The implement was found between the bars of the grate, and the handle was broken in two, and picked up in different parts of the room. The portions of the handle had also blood on them.

Mr. Dickenson, surgeon, 15 Charles street, Manchester square, deposed that he was called in, and found the furniture and other things in the room in great disorder. The woman was lying upon the floor, to all appearances dead, and blood was flowing from various wounds. Witness described the wounds, which were sixteen in number, and they had been inflicted upon various parts of her person. One of them was on the left side of the chest, over the second rib, which was fractured about an inch and a half from the breast-bone; and on tracing that wound, upon making a *post mortem* examination, he found that it had penetrated two important blood-vessels to the covering of the heart. The wound alluded to was of itself sufficient to cause death. The wounds were all of a triangular shape, and the file produced was just the kind of instrument with which the fatal injury might have been inflicted.

The prisoner, when asked had he anything to say! replied, 'Nothing.' He was then removed, and conveyed to the House of Detention. The proceedings did not terminate till six o'clock."—*Observer, November 17th. 1851.*

When the case had terminated, and we had left the room, I said to my servant, "Buck, what do you think of that Bagnigge Wells lad who was called as a witness, and who, though seventeen years old, knew nothing of God, and had never heard of the devil?"

*Buck.* "I was never so 'stonished, Marster, in all my born days. Ef I live to git home, I'll git up a surscription 'mong the niggers to send a mishunnary to them poor Bag-in-the-wells people — a raal Methodist mishunnary, Marster—some o' them shoutin' Bonarges fellers, as Mars Joe calls 'um; for hit 'll take sich a preacher, Marster, to maul the grace o' God into their ignorant souls. None o' them nice smooth pairsons, with their frocks on——"

*Myself.* "Gowns, you mean, Buck."

*Buck.* "Well, 'pears like hit's pretty much the same thing, Marster — leastwise they aint coats and breeches, like our preachers wars. But, as I was a sayin', Marster, none o' them nice gen'l'men will do, no way you can fix it. They aint gwine to put themselves to no trouble for no sich people; an ef they did, p'raps the people wouldn't onderstand 'um.\* Ef we could only git Pairson Duncan, now, or Mars George Pearce, to come over here, sir, they 'ud soon larn 'um who God is; and then they 'ud run the devil out of 'um, sartain *and* sure."

*Myself.* "I really do think they need some such instruction, Buck. And I confess myself greatly surprised at finding such specimens of a low civilization in the metropolis of Great Britain."

*Buck.* "After sich doins as we've jest been hearin' about, Marster, 'mong these people, I don't know that we ought to be sprised that that boy didn't know nothin 'bout God — but hit raaly do seem sorter strange, sir, that he shouldn't know nothin 'bout the devil, don't it? Howbever, they say hit's a wise child that knows hit's father, an I spose he aint wise."

\* This was before the present Bishop of London and a few other eminent ministers of the Church of England — roused to the task, perhaps, by the example of one of those Boanerges sort of fellows, as my servant styles them, Mr. Spurgeon — had made those efforts which have been put forth in the last few years to preach to such people.

I could not but smile at Buck's conceit; but, notwithstanding his fun, I found that he was graver than was usual with him.

"Marster," said he, "I couldn't help feelin' sorry for that poor man. He deserves to be hung, I spose; but I couldn't help to do it, nohow."

*Myself.* "Why what is the reason? It was surely one of the most wicked and revolting murders of which I have ever heard any account—the murder of a woman, the man's weak, unhappy wife—in such a savage way, too!"

*Buck.* "Well, maybe hit was, Marster; maybe hit was. I don't say it warn't. But when they told us 'bout what he said consarnin that poor little boy in bed in a beer-shop, and 'bout his darter, I couldn't help thinking 'bout little Billy, an my other chil'n at home, Marster; an that, but for the goodness of God, they mought a been as bad off as them poor chil'n, sir; an I sorter growed sorry for the man, sir; though I know very well his wife warn't to blame for his misry, and he no business to kill her for it. But, poor feller! I reckon he was so onhappy he didn't care much what he done, nor what come of him."

I saw at once, Major, that the mention of that poor "little boy in bed in a beer-shop" was the "touch of Nature" which had asserted the kindred of that man of blood even to my kind-hearted slave, and had enlisted his sympathies. The truth is, the whole evidence, and all the circumstances of this case, presented a picture as touching as it was wicked and shocking—a picture which serves as another illustration of the extent to which social profligacy prevails among the English people. Group for a moment, if you please, in one "night scene," that wretched mother, dying under the bloody blows of the infuriate father, whilst in the street beneath, their famished and outcast daughter wanders in darkness and guilt, and hard by, in the hell of a drinking-shop, their infant boy sleeps, unconscious of the hell of passions which is flaming around him. And when you have done so, you will admit that it is difficult to gaze steadily on such a scene with clear head and undimmed eyes.

About the beginning of 1852, this man Bare was



MURDER OF A WIFE BY HER HUSBAND.





brought to trial in the Central Criminal Court. Here is a condensed account of the trial, taken from the "Observer" of that date. The heathenish boy, Braston, in the interval, had been instructed in the obligations of an oath, and you will find his testimony in the record.

"CENTRAL CRIMINAL COURT — THE MURDER IN MARYLEBONE.

On Thursday, Thomas Bare, aged 43, pipe-maker, was indicted for the wilful murder of Louisa Bare, his wife. The details of the evidence in this case have been already fully given in the Observer, in the reports of the proceedings before the police magistrates. He was well dressed, and of respectable appearance. He betrayed no emotion.

Fanny Nott, the mother of the deceased, deposed that her daughter had been twenty years married to the prisoner, but had for some time lived separate from him. Shortly before the murder the prisoner called on witness and asked after his little boy, and where his wife lived. Witness refused to tell him, and he then said that he would be revenged, and would do something to some one, but he did not say to whom. Witness, on cross-examination, admitted that this was the first time she had made this statement.

Sarah Abrahams, of 5 Brook's Gardens, Bagnigge-wells, repeated the evidence previously given by her.

Edward Braston, aged 18, the last witness' son, deposed to having gone on the day of the murder with the prisoner to No. 33 North street, Marylebone, where the deceased lodged. They did not get there till near seven o'clock in the evening, as the prisoner had drink at three houses on the way. The deceased was not at home when the prisoner and witness came, but the prisoner waited in the parlor, and on the deceased coming home and going up stairs, the prisoner followed her, and went into her room. Shortly after he called up witness to fetch the boxes, and the witness went up, and found the prisoner and his wife talking quietly together. The prisoner said to witness, 'Here, my lad, take this box down stairs.' Witness did so, and as he was leaving the room, he heard the deceased screaming 'murder,' and the prisoner hitting her three or four times, but witness saw no instrument. Witness put the box down in the parlor, and went up again to fetch the other box. He met the prisoner on the stairs, and he told him to fetch the other

box down. When witness returned to the room, he found the deceased lying by the fire-place. There was blood upon her face, but he did not hear her groan or make any sound. He then carried down the box, and found the prisoner in the street. He told the prisoner to come back, for he had killed his wife. He denied it, and said, 'If I have, do you call a policeman.' Witness did so, and gave him in charge. The prisoner and the deceased appeared to be friendly when the witness first entered the room.

Sarah Beckett, who lodged in the adjoining room, deposed that she heard loud quarrelling in the deceased's room, and then screams of 'murder.' She rushed out and saw the prisoner and deceased standing by the window fighting. They both fell down together, the deceased appearing to be holding the prisoner. She did not see the prisoner use any instrument but his clenched fist. Not a word was said by either of them whilst they were fighting. Witness requested the boy to interfere, but he said he should not, as 'it served the woman jolly well right.' She saw the deceased on the ground, and the floor covered with blood.

The witness Braston said he could not recollect having used the above expressions. From the testimony of other witnesses, it appeared that the prisoner had suspected and accused his wife of infidelity, and of frequenting low public-houses with prostitutes. On being taken into custody, and being told that his wife was dead, he said, 'Christ Almighty! who'd have thought I had the heart to do it!' It was also proved that, previous to the murder, he had purchased a file; and the surgical evidence showed that sixteen wounds had been given upon the face, trunk, back, and ribs, one of which had been broken, and the pulmonic artery severed, the wounds being triangular, as if given with a file.

Mr. Ballantine, in defence, submitted that it was clear that the prisoner's original object was merely to obtain possession of the boxes; and that if he had intended to use violence, a file would not have been the instrument purchased for the purpose, but a knife. The evidence of the lodgers also showed that the parties had quarrelled, and that, in the midst of the altercation, he said, 'All I want is my property.'

Several witnesses deposed to the general humane, quiet, and good conduct of the prisoner.

The judge then summed up, and the jury retired at twenty minutes to five o'clock, and at six returned with a verdict of guilty of manslaughter.

Mr. Justice Platt immediately passed sentence. He said that, upon what grounds the jury had rested their verdict, it was not for him to inquire. It was their province to decide upon the facts; and, whatever might be the opinion of the great majority of the hearers of the evidence in this case, the court must act upon the verdict of the jury alone. Under the circumstances he should sentence the prisoner to be transported for the term of his natural life."

You perceive that the prisoner was found guilty of manslaughter only, to the surprise of the judge and of the audience. It will equally surprise you, I do not doubt. The verdict was supposed to furnish another instance of that toleration of wife-murder to which I have referred.

I am making this letter too long, and must forthwith write myself,

Respectfully,

Yr. friend and cousin,

P. JONES.

To MAJ. JONES,  
Pineville, Ga., U. S. of America.



## LETTER XXVI.

MURDER OF A WOMAN BY HER HUSBAND IN THE CITY OF OXFORD—ATTEMPTED MURDER OF A WIFE, AND SUICIDE OF HUSBAND, AT NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE—HORRIBLE MURDER OF A WIFE BY THE HUSBAND IN THE CITY OF LONDON—EXECUTION OF THE MURDERER, AND REMARKABLE DECLARATION MADE BY HIM—DEATH OF A WIFE FROM BRUTAL ILL-TREATMENT—BRUTAL MURDER OF A WIFE.

London, December 3d, 1853.

DEAR MAJOR:—I will send you, in this letter, other notices of wife-murders in England. Here, for example, is a case occurring in the city of Oxford:

## "MURDER OF A WOMAN BY HER HUSBAND.

Considerable excitement was manifested at the city of Oxford on Monday, in consequence of the death of a woman named Elizabeth Noon, who had been stabbed in the back with a sword by her husband Elijah Noon, on the previous Saturday night. An inquest was held on Monday afternoon, when the following evidence was adduced: On Saturday evening, the husband, who is a plasterer, went to a public house in St. Giles's, called the North Star, to receive his wages from his brother, Mr. T. Noon, builder, who usually paid his men at this house. In consequence of his not coming home at twelve o'clock, his wife went to fetch him, and met him on the way, when it appeared that she continued to upbraid him for his conduct, until they reached their house. On reaching home, the wife told her husband in the presence of their daughter, thirteen years of age, who had been sitting up, that he was a good-for-nothing villain for stopping out so late. He made no observation, but appeared to be greatly annoyed, although he was tipsy at the time, and shortly after he emptied his money out of his purse on the table, when his wife told him that he could go out and treat other people, but he could not treat her. This put him in a passion, but he spoke not a word, and he went to a shelf in the room and took off an old sword which was kept there. He drew it out of the sheath, which he threw on the floor, and then struck his wife across the back with the flat part of the sword. The daughter unlocked the door of the sitting-room leading into the street, and tried to pull her mother out by her right arm, but she would not go, and while she was doing this, the father, who held the sword in both hands, ran it into his wife's left side, and she fell partly in the street and partly in the house. She afterwards got up and went to a neighbor's next door but one to her own house, and there she fell again. With the assistance of her daughter she returned home, when she found her husband putting the sword back on the shelf; he afterwards took a seat by the fire, when his wife fell on her knees and begged him to take her hands, for she knew she should die. The husband sent his daughter to get some brandy, and on her return she found that her father had carried her mother up stairs to bed, and undressed her. A neighbor was fetched, and in answer to her inquiry what she was suffering from, she pointed out a wound in her side, which she said her husband had inflicted with a sword. The husband was pre-

sent at the time, and did not deny it, but said, 'Oh, dear!' and left the room immediately. During the whole of Sunday the poor woman was attended by her neighbors, and her husband came into the room to see her several times. They were reconciled to each other, and she told him that she freely forgave him all things, and hoped that the Lord would forgive her. She also begged him to avoid passion.

A post mortem examination was made by Mr. Godfrey and Mr. F. Symonds, when it was ascertained that the sword had passed between the seventh and eighth ribs, through the pleura, wounding the left lung; it had also passed through the diaphragm and penetrated the small curvature of the stomach, wounding the coronary artery, and gone through the stomach to the opposite side. The sword had penetrated from ten to eleven inches.

The jury returned a verdict of wilful murder." — *Observer*, May 10th 1852.

The following terrible tragedy occurred in the latter part of 1852, in the city of London. I invite your attention to the comments of the press upon the case, to a remarkable feature in the case itself, growing out of a declaration of the criminal, and to the observations of Lord Palmerston (induced by the case), in proof of all that I and others have said as to the toleration of barbarous cruelty to the weaker sex, and of wife-murder in this country, which boasts of its civilization, and which ventures to hold up our slaveholding States to reprobation.

#### "HORRIBLE MURDER IN THE CITY.

A murder of a most horrible character, which produced the greatest sensation in the eastern portion of the city, was perpetrated at an early hour on Tuesday morning in Sun street, Bishopsgate street Without. The unfortunate creature who perished was a young married woman, named Mary Horler, aged twenty-five, and the party who has been apprehended on suspicion of destroying her life is her husband, Henry Horler, a journeyman shoemaker, who is about the same age as his unfortunate victim. They had been married about twelve months, and occupied an apartment at No. 76 in the above street, but in consequence of his intemperate habits, they do not appear to have lived happily together.

. . . . .

In the course of the morning, the prisoner was charged at the Mansion house with perpetrating the deed, and after some brief evidence, he was remanded, as it was evident he was then laboring under the excitement of drink. After a slight detention in the cells, he was removed to the Compter in a cab.

On Wednesday *Horler* was re-examined before Alderman Finnis, at the Mansion house.

Dixon, the police serjeant, gave the following statement:— ‘I conveyed the prisoner, when he was remanded on Tuesday, to prison. In going along, he said— ‘After mother left the night before, I had talked with my wife respecting her leaving me in the morning to go home with her mother, which, I believed, she did not want to do, and we then agreed to destroy each other. She took a knife, and I took one also. I then was on the bed with her, and said to her, ‘Remember, this will be the last time.’ I was then on the point of cutting her throat with the knife I had in my hand. She then said, ‘Henry, stop, I will tell you where your razor is, by which you can do it quicker.’ I (the officer) said to the prisoner, was she undressed? ‘No,’ said he, ‘we were not undressed, either of us.’ He also said it occurred before day, early in the morning. When I first discovered the body it was dressed. The prisoner, upon being asked whether he wished to ask any questions of the witness, said, ‘Oh, not at all, not at all.’ Witness, in continuation, said— ‘On the evening before I was sent by the inspector to the prisoner’s house. I saw the deceased and her mother sitting in the room. We came down stairs together, and there met the prisoner, and the mother said she had come for her daughter. The prisoner said he had worked very hard to keep her and make her happy and comfortable, and he should do so still, and they would be very happy together, if the mother would not interfere with them. The deceased said to him, ‘Henry, if you ill-use me I certainly shall not stop with you.’ I said, ‘It’s a pity you cannot settle your affairs; if your husband ill-uses you, you know where to apply.’ She said, ‘It’s not the first or second time he ill-used me.’ He made no reply to that observation.’ The prisoner: ‘It’s an untruth to say I ill-used her; but she said so, I know.’

Thomas Balcher (city police, 618): ‘I accompanied Serjeant Dixon to the room in which the body of the deceased lay. A counterpane was thrown over the body, and covered it completely. I turned down the counterpane, and saw the corpse of a female with her throat cut.’

Alderman Finnis: 'Was there any appearance of a struggle in the room?' Witness: 'Not the slightest. I then went to the station to report. The prisoner was in the cell at the time. He asked me for some water, which I gave him, and he said, 'I can tell you more than all the world can. I have done it. I know I must die for it. I know I must be hanged, but her mother has been the cause.'

O. Saunderson (station serjeant), said: 'On Monday evening, at a little after five o'clock, the prisoner came to the station house, and said he wished for advice. He said that he and his wife lived exceedingly comfortable, and were going on as well as any man and wife could go on, but her mother and aunt were at his house, and were inducing his wife to leave him and to go with them to Bath. He stated that his wife's mother was a fortune-teller, and earned a great deal of money, as much as £5 a day; that she had several other married daughters, all of whom had children, and that his wife being without children, her mother was the more anxious for her to keep the door of her fortune-telling room. He asked me what he was to do, and I asked him whether his wife was inclined to leave him, to which he answered that they had so worked upon her that he believed she would leave him. He intimated that he had £40 or £50 in the savings bank, and that they wished to have it. He left the station apparently satisfied. At a little before six o'clock he returned to the station-house and mentioned that he had been home, and that they had treated him roughly. After nine o'clock he came again, accompanied by a young man, to whom he said he wished to deliver over his book and money. He was perfectly sober and collected during the whole time. On Tuesday morning I was in the station-house when the prisoner was brought in, at half-past ten o'clock, on the charge of being drunk. He said that his mother-in-law charged him with doing away with her daughter, and he was very drunk and foolish at the time. He was asked repeatedly by his mother-in-law what he had done with his wife—the daughter. He always evaded answering the question, and talked in a foolish manner about her being a fortune-teller. He afterwards said his mother-in-law, the fortune-teller, had brought him to that. I asked him what had become of his wife, and he said she was right enough, and that he had slept with her last night.'

Mr. G. B. Childe, surgeon to the police force, said: 'I was sent for by Dixon to attend at 76 Sun street, Bishopsgate, and I saw lying on a bureau bedstead in the attic the corpse of a

young woman, apparently twenty-two or twenty-three years of age.' The prisoner: 'Older, older.' Witness: 'She was dressed in a claret-colored gown. Her right hand was raised towards her throat. Her left hand was lying straight by her side. She was lying on her back, with her chin slightly inclined towards the right shoulder. An extensive wound was in the throat on the left side. The muscles and windpipe, together with the principal nerves and arteries on that side of the neck, were cut through, as also was the tube leading to the stomach, and the vertebræ at the back of the neck were exposed. She must have been dead several hours, the body was quite cold and stiff, and the muscles were rigid. I believe that, at the time the act was committed, she was either stupefied by drink or sleeping. There was no appearance of struggling having taken place. The hand had been raised too late to arrest the fatal weapon.'

Mr. Henry Shaw, surgeon, of Bishopsgate street, said: 'I saw the body at about 11 o'clock yesterday. I believe the act was committed when the deceased was asleep, and my impression was, that from the coldness and rigidity of the body, life must have been extinct ten or twelve hours.'

Ann Rogers, mother of the deceased, said: 'I am the wife of a mason who resides at Bath. The prisoner married my daughter Ann on the 10th of June, 1851, at St. James's church, Bath. I came to London on Monday last, in consequence of a letter which I received from Ann. I went with my sister to her lodging, at 76 Sun street, Bishopsgate, and had not time to speak a dozen words to her when he came in. In answer to my inquiry after his health, he said he was very poorly. I said I did not wonder at it from his usage of poor Ann, and I told him I was come to fetch her away.' After a few words, expressive of the determination of the witness to take away her daughter, the prisoner went away, and soon afterwards returned with a police-sergeant, who told her she was breaking the peace in forcing the man's wife away from him. To that she replied by stating that it was the wish of her daughter to go; and the deceased confirmed the statement, at the same time acknowledging that she had no objection to live with him if he would keep his hands off her. 'I said to my daughter (continued the witness), 'Are you ready to come with me, Ann? I have got a return ticket to Bath at 9 o'clock.' She said, 'Yes, I shall, but I hardly think I am going.' She then began to pack her things in the trunk. The prisoner then said she



should not go that night, but she should go with me at 10 o'clock in the morning. I told him that I did not consider her safe with him. He then took her by the hand and pulled her upon his knees, saying to her, 'You are not afraid of me, Ann, are you, dear?' She replied, 'No, provided you keep your hands off me.' After some further conversation, he said he would next morning get her clothes out of pawn, and she should be ready to go with me to the country. She then wanted me to sleep in the room, but the prisoner objected, and told me I should have some coffee in the morning, and that my daughter would be ready to go with me. I told him I did not think she was safe with him, and I asked him what I could think when he strove to strangle her last week, and her neck was bruised? He said, 'Was your neck bruised, Ann?' 'Yes,' said she, 'it was bruised; I'll never run from my word.' All this took place while she was sitting on his knee. I got a lodging in the neighborhood, and in about a quarter of an hour afterwards I returned and got a bed-gown from her, and I told her to be in readiness to come with me next day. They both replied that she would. I did not see either of them that night again. Next morning, at a little after 10, I went up stairs, and called 'Ann' at their door, about five minutes. I heard him say, as if speaking to somebody, 'Oh, that's Mrs. Rogers.' I said, 'Why don't you open the door to me, Henry? where is Ann?' He said, 'She is all right.' The witness then proceeded to state her suspicion of the desperate nature of the prisoner's conduct, and the fact of alarming the police, as had been represented in effect in the other evidence.

Other witnesses, from the evidence of some of whom it appeared that the prisoner had contrived to get into a beastly state of intoxication, were examined, and the Alderman stated that he would commit the prisoner for trial for the murder of his wife.

The prisoner was again placed at the bar on Thursday, and the depositions having been formally read over, he was fully committed for trial."—*Weekly Dispatch*, Nov. 21st, 1852.

In December, 1852, Horler was tried and convicted, and I send you an account of his last moments, and of his execution. In this account you will find the observation of Lord Palmerston and the declaration of the criminal, to which I have referred.

“EXECUTION OF HENRY HORLER—REMARKABLE DECLARATION  
OF THE CRIMINAL.

This wretched man, who was convicted at the December sessions of the Central Criminal Court of the murder of his wife, Anne Horler, under circumstances of great atrocity, suffered the extreme sentence of the law yesterday morning, at eight o'clock, in front of Newgate. About ten days since the sheriffs, Messrs. Aldermen Carter and Croll, accompanied by the reverend ordinary of Newgate, waited upon Lord Palmerston at the Home-office, for the purpose of urging the royal clemency in the case. The sheriffs dwelt particularly upon the fact of mercy having been extended in similar cases. Lord Palmerston listened attentively to the application, and expressed an opinion that the sheriffs had only done their duty in laying before him certain facts that had not transpired at the trial, but his lordship added that, after conferring with the judge who tried the prisoner, he saw no reason to recommend the exercise of the Queen's prerogative; in fact, he was not sure that the frequency of crimes similar to the prisoner's had not arisen from the clemency referred to.

The unfavorable result of this application was communicated by the ordinary to Horler, who appeared little affected by it. He evidently still clung to the hope that his life would be spared. His mother and his father and his wife's aunt visited him subsequently, to take their last farewell. The interviews are described to have been very painful, but it is feared the prisoner exhibited little sign of true repentance. The sheriffs have been exceedingly attentive to the wretched man since his conviction, and the reverend ordinary has used the most unceasing efforts to bring him to a state of mind becoming his awful position. In the course of conversation with the Rev. Mr. Davis on Saturday, he made a remarkable admission, which will probably shake the faith of some of those gentlemen who are just now loudly urging the propriety of abolishing the punishment of death. After expressing the great fear he had of undergoing the actual pain of a violent death, he stated that he did not think his crime would have cost him his life — that he expected he should have been imprisoned for life or transported; but that if he had looked forward to the punishment of death as a probable contingency, he should not have committed the crime.

The remarkable statement made by the prisoner, that *if he*

*had known his own life would have been the penalty, he would not have committed the crime, will scarcely surprise those who remember that the following capitally convicted murderers, tried at the Old Bailey, have had their sentence commuted to transportation during the last ten years: William Stolzer, October, 1843; Edwin Dwyer, November, 1843; Mary Farley, April, 1844; Augustus Dalmas, June, 1844; John Smith, August, 1846; William Newton Allnutt, December, 1847; Mary Ann Hunt, August, 1847; Arnette Meyers, February, 1848; William Tomkins, May, 1848; George M'Coy, December, 1849; S. A. Jordan, October, 1849; Anne Merrett, April, 1850; and William Smith, November, 1851."*—*Weekly Freeman's Journal, Jan. 15th, 1853.*

In the latter part of 1852, the following was reported as occurring at Newcastle-upon-Tyne:

“ATTEMPTED MURDER AND SUICIDE.

On Tuesday morning, at the borough police court, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Robert Knox, a tailor, was brought up for further examination on the charge of attempting to murder his wife. Mrs. Knox, who was disinclined to appear against her husband, but had been summoned by the magistrate to attend, said that, on the evening of Saturday, the 28th of November, her husband came home very tipsy, and a quarrel took place between them, but she lost all recollection of what happened, until she found herself wounded, and police officers in the room. They had been married twenty-eight years, and had nine children. Mrs. Brennan said she lived in the room adjoining the prisoner's. About one o'clock in the morning of Sunday, the 29th of November, she heard a daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Knox screaming on the stair-head, and on going to their room, she found the prisoner and his wife lying on the floor. Both were bleeding. The prisoner said, 'I have done it, and want to die in peace.' Mr. Brennan, the husband of the last witness, said that on the morning in question, he followed his wife into Knox's room, assisted to lift Mr. and Mrs. Knox from the floor, and then went for policemen and medical assistance.

Mr. Finnigan, clothes dealer, Dog Bank, said that at one o'clock on the morning of the 29th ult., he heard the prisoner's daughter shout, 'My mother is stabbed—he had a knife to my mother.' He ran into their room, and saw Mrs. Knox lying on her left side, near the window. The prisoner was lying

close to her, and a large carving knife was sticking in his breast. Witness inquired who did it, and the prisoner then drew the knife from his body, threw it upon the ground, and said, 'You see you I have done it myself.' Mrs. Knox screamed and said, 'Oh my heart—I am dying;' to which the prisoner replied, 'Die hard, you ——.'

Mrs. Finnigan, wife of the last witness, said that when she entered the room on the morning in question, she heard the prisoner, who had been told that his wife would recover, say, 'I wish I had done it more effectually, and I wish to die in peace.' She unloosed Mrs. Knox's stays, and found that she had been stabbed.

Mr. J. L. Miller, surgeon, said that between one and two o'clock in the morning of the 29th ult., he was sent for to the prisoner's house in Dog Bank. Mrs. Knox had a wound two inches in depth over the eighth rib, which must have been inflicted with great violence by a sharp knife. For several days she was dangerously ill, but was now out of danger. The prisoner had a wound two or three inches deep immediately over the breast bone, but it was not a dangerous one, the knife having been arrested in its progress by the bone. Several other witnesses were examined, after which Mr. Stoker, solicitor, who appeared for the prisoner, said that Mrs. Knox had no wish to prosecute, but if the magistrates considered that that was not sufficient reason why the prisoner should not be sent for trial, he could say nothing after the evidence that had been given.

Dr. Airey, the sitting magistrate, said that the case must undoubtedly be sent for trial. The prisoner was fully committed for trial at the next assizes."—*Observer*, December 27th, 1852.

In the early part of this year, I attended a trial at the Old Bailey, which I think you will admit seems to show that those "vigorous measures of repression" which the Parliament has been invited to adopt for the prevention of such savage treatment of their wives, and of women generally, by Englishmen, are likely to prove but a shabby remedy, whilst the courts and juries who try the offenders are composed of persons who sympathize with the criminal. But possibly we should not be hard on these gentlemen—possibly they really feel, in all humility, that they are not sufficiently "without sin" in this respect

themselves, to "first cast a stone." This conclusion would seem to be justified by the testimony of the witnesses quoted in my last letter, who deposed that one of these wife-murderers beat his wife only "in common with other husbands."

Here is the trial to which I have referred:

**"DEATH OF A WIFE FROM BRUTAL ILL-TREATMENT.**

At the Old Bailey Court on Thursday, John Parrott, forty-five, was indicted for the wilful murder of his wife, Sarah Parrott. Mr. Bodkin, counsel for the prosecution, opened the case in a temperate address. He said that, although it had been deemed advisable for the ends of justice to prefer the present charge against the prisoner, yet he thought the jury ought to be informed that the matter had been previously inquired into by a coroner's jury, and that they were discharged without returning a verdict. It was, however, thought that a case of this description ought not to be allowed to pass without full investigation; and after they had heard the evidence he should lay before them, they would have to say whether it established the fact that the deceased met her death from violence inflicted upon her by the prisoner, and, if so, whether the act committed by him amounted to the crime of wilful murder, or was an offence of a less aggravated character.

Three or four witnesses were then examined, and from their evidence it appeared that the prisoner got his living by hawking meat about the streets, and that he and his wife lodged in a garret at No. 6 Spicer street, Spitalfields, and that they were in a most wretched state of poverty. The deceased woman was in a very weak and emaciated state of body, and nearly blind; and it appeared that during nearly the whole of the time the parties occupied this lodging they were continually quarrelling, and the deceased was repeatedly heard to scream for assistance, and to call 'murder.' It would seem that in the evening of the 7th of December the deceased and the prisoner were heard quarrelling upon the staircase of the house by some of the other lodgers, and the prisoner, in answer to something that was said by the deceased, told her that he would do something for her the next day. On the following morning, between seven and eight o'clock, a woman named Merrett, who occupied a room directly under the prisoner's garret, heard screams and cries of murder come from his room, which continued for nearly half an hour. \* During this time

prisoner was heard to swear at deceased and make use of very foul language, and deceased repeatedly called out that her husband was murdering her. This witness went out of her room and called to the prisoner, and said, 'Parrot, what are you doing to that poor creature?' and he made some answer which she did not clearly hear. She then said that she should go for the police, to which the prisoner replied, '— the police.' Shortly after this the prisoner went out, and did not return until between nine and ten o'clock, and he then went into his own room, and immediately afterwards the deceased again began to scream and call murder, and there was the sound of a scuffle, as though some person had fallen, and that some struggle was taking place upon the floor. After a short time had elapsed, the prisoner left the house a second time, and when he was gone, all was quiet in his room. He came home again about five o'clock; immediately after he got into his room he alarmed the lodgers, and on going to the garret he occupied, the deceased was found lying on a straw mattress quite dead, and from the rigid and cold state of the body it was evident that death had taken place for several hours. When the prisoner was informed that his wife was dead and cold, he said, 'nonsense,' and that the persons who said so were mad; he added that he had spoken to her ten minutes before, and asked her to have some tea, and he said that she answered him by saying that she did not know where she was. These were the main facts of the case; and it appeared that when the prisoner was apprehended, he at first denied that his name was John Parrott, but afterwards, upon the policeman telling him that it was no use his doing so, he admitted the fact; and when he was told that he was charged with causing the death of his wife, he said that he had got over all that by the coroner's inquest.

Dr. Godfrey, the surgeon who was called in upon the occasion, said that, upon examining the body of the deceased, he was unable to discover any mark of external violence, but on the 11th of December, he, by direction of the coroner, made a *post-mortem* examination. He then discovered that the body was in a dreadfully emaciated condition, every portion of fat in the intestines being entirely absorbed. One of the lungs was very much compressed, and full of venous blood, and from this and other appearances that presented themselves, he was of opinion that the death arose from suffocation. Upon examining the head of the deceased, he found a quantity of

hair had been torn out completely by the roots, and there was some coagulated blood inside the head corresponding with the place whence the hair had been taken. He expressed an opinion, from all the circumstances, that the deceased had died through some person having seized her by the hair and pulled her head forcibly forward upon her chest, and this, in her attenuated condition, he said was very likely to have caused suffocation. He also expressed an opinion that the death might have been occasioned by the pressure of a person kneeling upon the chest of the deceased, and he was rather fortified in this opinion by the condition of the lungs; and he added that the pressure might be sufficient to cause suffocation, and yet not leave any external mark.

Mr. Sleigh, in his address to the jury for the prisoner, urged that the evidence as to the cause of death was not sufficiently conclusive to justify them in finding a verdict of guilty upon so dreadful a charge; and that, from the evidence of the medical gentleman, starvation might have had quite as much to do with the death, as any act of the prisoner.

Mr. Justice Cresswell having summed up, the jury, after a very short deliberation, found the prisoner *Guilty* of manslaughter.

The learned judge said the prisoner had been found guilty of a very dreadful crime, and he entirely concurred in the verdict of the jury. He thought it was very probable that he did not intend to kill his unfortunate wife, and, therefore, he had been properly acquitted of the crime of wilful murder; but, at the same time, it was quite clear that her death was the result of his savage and brutal violence. The offence had been clearly made out, and he should sadly fail in his duty to the public, if he did not pass a severe sentence, which was, that he be transported beyond the seas for his natural life.—*Weekly Dispatch, February 6th, 1853.*

Pray notice that the coroner's inquest was unable to agree as to the character of the crime in this case; and the jury, upon the final trial, convicted of manslaughter only—the learned judge agreeing to the correctness of the verdict, but admitting that it was quite clear that “the wife's death” was the result of the husband's “savage and brutal violence.” And yet, though this savage and brutal violence was the cause of that poor, helpless, starv-

ing, emaciated creature's death, both judge and jury find and say that she was not murdered. How can such a conclusion, by possibility, be accounted for, but upon the supposition of a controlling sympathy with the brute murderer? Again I repeat it, that Englishman spoke truly who said that, in this country, "the vow to protect confers a license to kill."

Another case occurred in London during this year, which also serves as an illustration of what I have just said. The report is entitled "Brutal Murder of a Wife;" but of course the jury did not find it to be more than manslaughter.

#### "BRUTAL MURDER OF A WIFE.

On Saturday week, a man named Francis Mead, a shoemaker, residing in Henry street, Marylebone, beat his wife to death. The principal witness against him was his own son, a lad fourteen years of age. It seems that, on Saturday week last, the prisoner beat his wife, until her face, head, and arms, were bruised and swollen; then kicked her, and hurled her about the room, until he had broken two of her ribs, which, penetrating her lungs, brought on inflammation of those organs, of which, on the following Monday, she died. Mary Wynn, an acquaintance of deceased, said that she visited her on Monday, when she saw her husband sitting at deceased's bedside. Witness asked how she met with the injuries. The husband replied that on Saturday night his wife had been drinking, and that on running away from him she fell down stairs and fractured her ribs. He then asked deceased if she wished to say anything in witness' presence. She replied, 'What do you wish me to say? I forgive you, and may the Lord forgive you. I have nothing to say; I die in peace.' After a pause, she further said, 'Francis, I am dying; take care of my children, and don't beat Frank.' About an hour afterwards, she died. The jury found a verdict of 'manslaughter' against Francis Mead."—*Hull Packet*, June 17th, 1853.

Poor, poor creature! Well might she feel that it was peace to be free from such a state of existence—peace to go where there were no more husbands; although, in so



doing, she had to leave that poor little Frank to the tender mercies of the savage who had had no compassion on her.

I will return to this subject in another letter; and will close this with the assurance that I am, as ever,

Respectfully,

Yr. friend and cousin,

P. JONES.

To MAJ. JONES,

Pineville, Ga., U. S. of America.

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## LETTER XXVII.

MURDER OF A WIFE, AND ATTEMPTED SUICIDE OF THE HUSBAND — BUCK'S INDIGNATION THEREAT, AND CRITICISMS THEREON.

London, December 9th, 1853.

DEAR MAJOR:— In the latter part of August last, I visited the Royal Mint, taking my servant with me. We started to return, during the afternoon, on foot, and were lingering somewhere in the (to me) interesting neighborhood of the Minories, when our attention was attracted by a cry of distress. I looked in the direction from which it proceeded, and beheld a spectacle which I sometimes still see in my dreams. A woman was running towards us, her arms thrown wildly about, and her clothes covered with blood, which was flowing from a frightful gash in her throat. She soon fell to the ground. We and others ran to the spot, raised her, and, at the instance of some one present, carried her to a surgeon who lived at no great distance. She was evidently in a dying condition, and I left her and returned to the scene of the catastrophe, that I might learn something of the particulars. As we proceeded, I said to my man that I thought it very probable this was another case of a wife murdered by her husband.

“As sure as a gun, Marster,” said he, “hit is 'nuther one o' them bloody family frays, which I bleve in my soul

these English people raally loves. In our country, you know, sir, when husbands git oudacious mad with their wives, they cusses and quits, and thinks they's done their worst; but here they kills 'um. But, Marster, what's too much for this nigger to onderstand is, the way they most allers does it. 'Pears like hit's the natur of Englishmen to stick their wives in the throat. In Georgy we does hogs so, and cuts the throats of beasts, becuse we wants to blood the meat well; but why these Englishmen should want to do their wives so, beats me. Hit raally do seem like they loves to see blood run."

"It does indeed, Buck; and there I suspect you have hit the nail upon the head," said I. "They seem to be gratifying two passions when they are thus acting—one of anger, the other, love of blood. The number of such cases is trully wonderful, as you have suggested. But what is this?"

The last observation was induced by the approach of a crowd of person, in the midst of whom a man was borne along, who seemed also to have received a wound in the throat. I asked a Jewish-looking person who stood near me for an explanation, and was told that the wounded man was the husband of the woman we had seen; that, after cutting her throat, he had endeavored to perform the same office for himself, and that the neighbors were now taking him to the surgeon also, but that he was not as dangerously hurt as his wife.

"Bound for that!" said Buck. "Bound for that! becuse, mister, hit was one thing to stick his wife in the gullet, and another thing to stick hissself. He pushed the knife into his poor critter of a wife hard enough, God knows! But in course he cut hissself sorter more gradual. Nobody but a coward would hurt a 'oman, and a coward is allers mighty clar of bein much in arnest when he comes to hurtin hissself. All I hope, mister, is, that the doctor won't sew the hole up, but let the bloody varmint die, ef thar's any chance for it."

"Buck, Buck," said I, "this is going too far. You are forgetting yourself."

"Beg pardon, Marster, but I was sorter ryled, from seein that poor sufferin creetur of a 'oman, who I spect is

dead 'fore now; and I couldn't help thinkin that ef the man that killed her didn't take his own life, nobody would do it for him in this country, an a mighty bloody crime would go onpunished, Marster."

The woman died, as I supposed she would, in a short time after I left her, and an inquest was held over her the next day. From a report in a paper of the day, you will get the facts of the case. I send it, as follows:

**"MURDER OF A WIFE—ATTEMPTED SUICIDE BY THE HUSBAND.**

On Wednesday afternoon, Joseph Mobbs, residing at Enoch court, Goodwin's-yard, Minories, murdered his wife, and then attempted to destroy himself. Since Easter he had lived in the house of an industrious man named Riardon, and his four children, by a former wife, lived with him. He was intemperate in his habits, and, when intoxicated, behaved so brutally in flogging and ill-treating his wife, that he latterly acquired in the neighborhood the cognomen of 'General Haynau.' In the course of Tuesday night he quarrelled with his wife, and she ran to a neighbor's in the same court, where she remained all night. On Wednesday morning he called for her, and compelled her to go home, when he resumed his ill-treatment, loading her with curses and execrations. About the middle of the day the landlady of the house left home to obtain from the Lord Mayor an ejectment summons, to get rid of Mobbs and his family. The landlady returned at three o'clock, and heard Mobbs and his wife talking in a subdued tone in their room on the first floor, and shortly afterwards she heard a scream, and Mrs. Mobbs rushed from the room with a frightful wound in her throat, and ran about one hundred yards from the house, when she fell exhausted, and faintly exclaiming, 'Murder! he has cut my throat.' A crowd collected, and she was taken to a surgeon, and then conveyed in a cab to the London Hospital, but was a corpse before she reached it. Meanwhile the neighbors had proceeded to the room of the murderer, and found him weltering in his blood from an extensive wound in the throat. On his way to the hospital he used incoherent exclamations respecting his wife. It seems that he was very jealous of her, but the jealousy appears to have been unfounded. He was seen in the morning industriously sharpening a table-knife, which was found on the floor of his room when his wife was

murdered. He is a jobbing wine cooper, and is about 40 years of age. The wife was about the same age."—*Observer, Aug. 29th, 1853.*

You will perceive, Major, that his neighbors called this man Mobbs "Gen. Haynau," because of his cruelty to his wife. After all the facts which appear in my last two or three letters, you may think it surprising that Englishmen—and that class of Englishmen, too, who so contemptuously and insultingly treated this woman-flogging Austrian general—should have been so excessively indignant at the conduct of "General Haynau." Can it be that they desire a monopoly of the article of brutality to woman? Seriously, though, whilst I truly sympathized with those who so flouted the brutal soldier, and rejoiced at what they did, I cannot but think that the proceeding was very much of humbug—I cannot but feel that this English people have a strong leaning towards the practice of humbugging themselves. The case before us, and the slavery agitation, are both illustrations; for surely they cannot be so prodigiously blinded in vision and blunted in sensibility by the beams (some splinters of which I am pointing out for your inspection), though I admit that these are huge, which are in the eye of their social system, as to be entirely ignorant of their presence. It is impossible, therefore, not to think and talk of humbug, when we witness these outbreaks of virtuous effort to pluck the mote out of the eyes of their neighbors.

It would be easy for me to continue this catalogue of wife-murders. But I have too much else to write for your consideration, to spare more time and space to this class of crimes. Enough has been shown you to authorize the inference which I have pressed upon your attention. I will continue to send you evidence of the terrible cruelty with which the women of this country are treated by its men. But first, and in my next letter, I will show you how the wives serve the husbands here occasionally.

In the meantime, I am,

Very respectfully,

Yr. friend and cousin,

TO MAJOR J. JONES,

P. JONES.

Pineville, Georgia, U. S. of America.

## LETTER XXVIII.

MURDER OF THEIR HUSBANDS BY MARIA CAGE AND SARAH CHESHAM — FORTUNE-TELLING AND POISONING — A WIFE POISONS HER HUSBAND IN SUSSEX — DR. JONES AND BUCK ATTEND THE TRIAL, AND FIND THAT SAUCE FOR THE ENGLISH GOOSE IS NOT ALWAYS SAUCE FOR THE GANDER.

London, December 31st, 1853.

DEAR MAJOR:— It is reasonable to expect that, in a country where the men are bloodthirsty and savage in their tempers and conduct, the women will partake more or less of the same characteristics. It would be strange, too, in such a country, where husbands are in the constant habit of murdering and otherwise maltreating their wives, if the latter were not sometimes driven to acts of desperate wickedness. Accordingly, it is true, as you may have inferred from the facts which I have already furnished you, that the women of England have a share in the cruelties and crimes, and more especially in the horrid murders, which abound there. It is true, and must be confessed, that, if domestic Tarquins do abound in this land, and frequently make victims of their wives, an Aruns here occasionally finds his Tullia.

After the long list of ferocious murders of wives by their husbands which you have been reading, it will, perhaps, be almost a gratification to be reminded that the wives "turn the tables" on their husbands here sometimes. Before proceeding with other remarkable illustrations of the cruel treatment of women which prevails in England, and by way of somewhat diversifying the gloomy interest of the subject, I will call your attention to a few cases of the murder of husbands by wives.

In my letter of October 15th, last, I mentioned to you the case of Maria Cage, who poisoned her husband with

arsenic. In the same letter, I referred to the remarkable case of Sarah Chesham, who was executed for a similar offence. Here is an interesting case, taken from the "Observer" of September 1st, 1851, and by that paper copied from the "Ipswich Express."

"FORTUNE TELLING AND POISONING.

At the petty sessions for the Wisbech division, Catherine Dancock, of Wisbech, was committed for seventeen days for pretending to tell the fortune of Hannah Neale, of Outwell, the unhappy woman who now stands committed for the murder of her husband. The case was proved by her sister-in-law, who accompanied the prisoner to the house of Dancock on the 17th of July last. Dancock gave Hannah Neale a pack of cards to shuffle, and desired her to cut them three times, which having done, she returned the cards, and Dancock then placed nine of them upon the table with their faces upwards, and in reading from them said, 'Your husband won't live long, for all the dark cards lay before him; you will be married to Cater, have two children, and keep a public house.' Upon hearing this, the infatuated woman desired Dancock to write a letter for her to Cater in the following words: 'My husband has been very ill, and I thought he would have died. I wish you to come home at Michaelmas, as I want to see you.' The letter was signed with the initial letters H. N., and addressed Church Cater, Sheffield. Neale paid 3d. for the prediction, and was to pay 3d. more for the letter writing when she next went to the house. It was their second visit, they having been there about six weeks previously, when Mrs. Dancock pretended to reveal to them the future. They had also visited a Mrs. Mudd, at Upwell, for a similar purpose, and she was also summoned, but for want of sufficient evidence was discharged.

As it appeared from the evidence against Hannah Neale, on a charge of poisoning her husband at Outwell, that she had purchased two quantities of arsenic at the shops of John W. Feast and Henry Whitaker, these parties were on Monday charged before the magistrates, at Downham, with having sold to Hannah Neale a quantity of arsenic, without having complied with the provisions of an act recently passed for the sale of poisons. This act renders it imperative that before the arsenic is delivered to the purchaser, the seller shall enter in a book kept for the purpose the date of the sale, the Christian name and surname of the purchaser, the purchaser's place of

abode, the condition and occupation of the purchaser, the quantity of arsenic sold, and the purpose for which it is required; and also, that before the arsenic is delivered, it must be mixed with soot or indigo, in certain proportions. In neither of the above cases had any of these stipulations been complied with; and each of the parties rendered themselves liable to a penalty of £20; but this being the first case which has occurred since the passing of the act, and the object of the information being rather to give publicity to its provisions than to punish the offenders, the magistrates allowed the information to be withdrawn, upon the parties paying the costs incurred, expressing a hope that it would act as a caution to other dealers in poison; but it is lamentable to reflect that the life of a fellow-creature was probably sacrificed by this neglect of the provisions of the law."—*Ipswich Express*.

A similar murder occurred last year, the report of which I send you. It is almost as atrocious as any of the crimes with which I have made you acquainted, and certainly affords evidence of shocking social depravity.

#### “A WIFE POISONS HER HUSBAND IN SUSSEX.

On Monday, a second inquest was held at Chiddingley, eight miles from Lewes, before Mr. Gell, the county coroner, on William French, an agricultural laborer, aged 35 years. The deceased had been married nine years to Sarah Ann French, and was generally considered sound and healthy; but a couple of days before the 7th ult. he took suddenly ill, and died on that day. There was no suspicion entertained of unfair treatment, and an inquest was held on the body, and a verdict of ‘Died from natural causes’ was returned. But circumstances subsequently led Mr. Flanagan, superintendent of constabulary, to institute inquiries, which led to the apprehension of deceased’s widow, and the coroner re-opened the inquiry. On this second inquest it appeared that a couple named Pelling resided in the same house with the Frenches, and on the morning of Wednesday, the 7th (the day of the death), Mrs. Pelling called in to see Mrs. French. She asked French how he was, and he said he was better. At eleven o’clock that night, Mrs. French rapped smartly at the partition dividing her apartments from those of the Pellings, and said, ‘Make as much haste as you can.’ Mrs. Pelling got up and hastened in to Mrs. French, who said, ‘I think my husband is gone;’ and that he had been

taken ill, and had vomited after Christmas Eve, and that he had suffered from a rupture. A young man, named James Hickman, had often been at French's house, but it did not appear that French complained of Hickman's visits.

A variety of evidence was given as to the treatment of the deceased, and it appeared that at Christmas medicine had been supplied to him by Mr. Holman, the surgeon, for pains in the bowels; but his death was nevertheless sudden, for his brother, who worked with him, was unaware of his indisposition, until he was called up at one o'clock on the morning of his death, and on going in, found him dead. He had not heard until then that he was ruptured. He asked Mrs. French how he 'went off?' She said he turned in his bed, and said, 'You are my wife, haint you?' and then died.

On the Monday previous to his death, Mrs. French was met by a woman named Sale, and said, 'I have been that way (meaning the way that led to the church) once too often.' Sale asked was that when she went to be married? She answered, 'Yes.' This, however, was said in a joking mood, and the general evidence showed that she and French lived on good terms together. With respect to her applying for and procuring arsenic, some rather strong and probably conclusive evidence was adduced. On the day before French died she is described as having visited the shop of Mr. Uriah Clark, of Dicker, and asking him whether he sold arsenic. She stated she wanted it for a farmer. She, however, was told that it was not kept there, and she went away.

Naomi Crowhurst, the wife of Owen Crowhurst, a farrier, at Horsebridge, deposed that about three weeks ago, in the beginning of the week, she recollected seeing Sarah Ann French, the widow of the deceased, come into her kitchen to see her servant, Harriette Wilmshurst. When she came in, she asked for two pennyworth of arsenic. The witness (Mrs. Crowhurst) at first said she had not got any, and then asked her what she wanted it for. Mrs. French replied she was overrun with mice. After some further inquiries, however, and being cautioned as to how she left it about the house, she was served with a small parcel of white arsenic. Mrs. Crowhurst did not weigh it, but wrote the word 'poison' upon it, and told her to be very careful, as many people might mistake it for magnesia, and that several people had been poisoned by it. She replied, 'Oh! has there?' She tendered 1s. in payment. She was charged 3d. for the packet, and received back the change. On the 28th inst., Mrs. Crowhurst saw Mrs. French at a public-



house called the Gun. At that time she was dressed as a widow, and it was suggested, in order that there should be no mistake about her identification, that she should dress herself in the apparel she had on when she procured the poison. She did so, and Mrs. Crowhurst recognized her as the person who had purchased the arsenic, as she had stated. Mrs. French remarked that she had never seen her before, but the servant, Harriette Wilmshurst, was called, and she confirmed in every respect the testimony of her mistress. She also had no doubt of Mrs. French being the person who was supplied with the packet of arsenic. On being apprehended, she stated to Superintendent Flanigan that she never purchased any arsenic in her life, but that at Christmas her husband had bought two separate halfpennyworths to kill mice; and that if any poison were found in him, he must have taken it himself, as he was very low at Christmas about some bills coming in. She said he was not attended by any medical man, that he took ill on Sunday night, was better on Monday, worse on Tuesday, and died on Wednesday.

Mr. Holman, surgeon, deposed to the result of a post mortem examination.

Mr. Alfred S. Taylor, professor of chemistry of Guy's Hospital, deposed to making the usual analysis of the contents of the stomach, and finding arsenic in sufficient quantities to cause death.

James Hickman, whose appearance was very youthful, deposed that he had known Mrs. French for twelve months, and that he used to visit her house, as he was courting her sister, Jane Piper. He said that Mrs. French was very fond of him, but that he had no improper intimacy with her during her husband's lifetime. She had often kissed him, and she said she loved him, but he refused to have any intimacy with her during her husband's lifetime. She then asked him would he marry her if her husband was dead, and he replied, 'Yes, as her sister, whom he was courting, had got another man.' She said she expected a little money, about £100. On Christmas Eve deceased ate onion pie for supper. No one else tasted it. Mrs. French gave witness a ring a month before Christmas to keep in remembrance of her, and she said she would expect him to give her a ring when they were married. He repeated that he never was improperly intimate with her during her husband's lifetime.

The prisoner, after being duly cautioned by the coroner, said

she was quite innocent, and that she never bought arsenic in her life.

The coroner summed up, and the jury returned a verdict of wilful murder against Sarah, otherwise Sarah Ann French.

She was committed to the county jail for trial at the next assizes: On arriving at the jail she was seized with alarming illness, but was restored in about two hours by medical aid."—*Observer, February 9th, 1852.*

As Lewes, where I was informed the trial of this woman would take place, was comparatively a short distance from London, being situated in Sussex, but little more than an hour's ride by rail, south from the metropolis; and as it was an ancient historical locality which I desired to see, I determined to attend the sessions of the court there. I went down, therefore, in time for the trial. The evidence submitted was very much the same as that which was before the coroner's inquest, and which I have already furnished. I shall not repeat it, but will send only a succinct report of it, from a number of the "*Observer.*"

"HOME CIRCUIT.—LEWES.—SATURDAY.

[*Before Mr. Baron Parke.*]

Sarah Anne French, aged twenty-seven, was indicted for the wilful murder of W. French. The particulars of this case have already been reported in *The Observer*. The trial was commenced on Friday, and terminated last night.

John French, a brother of the deceased, said that the last time he saw his brother alive was on Christmas Eve, when he was in very good health. On the morning of the 7th of January, he saw him dead. The prisoner was crying when he got to the cottage, but he expected to see her hurt a good deal more. A witness proved that the prisoner had arsenic in her possession.

Mr. H. Holman, a surgeon, said he had made a *post-mortem* examination of the body, but discovered no cause from which death could have proceeded. At that time there was no suspicion of the deceased having been poisoned. — Dr. Taylor, who had examined the contents of the intestines, proved the presence of arsenic.—Mary Bennett stated that when the body of the deceased was taken up for examination, the prisoner said all she was afraid of was that they should find poison in

him.—James Hickman, a young man, about twenty, was then examined, and said he had been in the habit of visiting the deceased and the prisoner. He had first gone to the house while he was courting the prisoner's sister. He was often in the cottage while the deceased was absent, and the prisoner had more than once told him that she loved him, and she had often kissed him. After detailing many familiarities which had taken place between the prisoner and himself, the witness acknowledged having had guilty intercourse with her. He denied ever having purchased arsenic, or having any in his possession.

On cross-examination, the witness said that the prisoner had told him that she had got as much as £500, and if she were to marry him she could keep him without his being obliged to work. The deceased had bought some arsenic to kill mice with the day before Christmas Day. The night after the funeral of the deceased, witness was called out of his bed to go and see the prisoner, and he went to the cottage and staid the remainder of the night with her. They had some conversation about the death of her husband, and the prisoner said that if any poison was found in his body he must have taken it himself.

After some further evidence had been given, Mr. Rodwell addressed the jury for the prisoner, and begged that they would not find her guilty, unless they were of opinion that no other hand than hers had administered the poison, from which the deceased had evidently died. He then commented upon the conduct of Hickman, who, he said, from the gross criminality of his conduct, was as likely as the prisoner to have given the poison.

Mr. Baron Parke, in summing up, said that if the jury thought the poison was administered by any other hand than that of the prisoner, still if they came to the conclusion that she was cognizant of the fact, she was equally guilty of the crime of murder.

The jury, after being absent about two hours, returned into court with a verdict of Guilty.

The learned judge then put on the black cap, and in a brief but impressive address, sentenced the prisoner to death, observing that the enormity of her crime left no hope of mercy in this world."

My servant was with me, as usual, when I attended this trial; and after its close, he was very bitter in his denunciations of the witness Hickman.

“The low-lived rascal!” he said; “why, he aint worth shucks. Praps the ’oman desarves to die—I reckon she do; but maybe I wouldn’t rot, ef I was a jurorman, ’fore I’d hang anybody upon sich a feller’s *evidence*. Tell you what, Marster—that gen’l’mán with long har, an a frock on, that spoke up so mighty smart for the ’oman, was right when he said that feller was bad as her. He was woser ’en her, to my mind; for ’peared like he wanted her husband pisened, though he was too big a coward to help her do it; an arter hit was done, he got skaad, turned round, an let the cat out o’ the bag. That’s the way to tell it, to my mind, Marster. Then whar was the use o’ his tellin ’bout her kissin him an lovin him so? My Lord! heap o’ these Englishmen too mean. Even poor nigger wouldn’t let a ’oman kiss him an then tell on her.”

*Myself*. “I agree with you, Buck, that he was a very despicable witness; but there can be no doubt of the woman’s guilt.”

*Buck*. “Looks so to me, Marster; but that Judge Melud oughten to let the juror put any *confidence* in that villain, but told ’um to hang him with her. Nuther thing sorter puzzles me, sir—Judge Melud told the ’oman——”

*Myself*. “Who, Buck? Who told her?”

*Buck*, “Judge Melud, sir. Didn’t them lawyers call the Judge ‘Melud,’ Marster? Aint that his name, sir?”

*Myself*. “Pshaw, Buck! They said, or meant to say, ‘my lord.’ That is the title by which a judge is called in England.”

*Buck*. “My lord, Marster! I didn’t know, sir, they was tryin to say ‘my lord.’ Well, as I was a sayin, sir, the judge told that ’oman that the ’normity o’ her crime left her no hope for marcy in this world; an I couldn’t help thinkin that hit was not adzackly so in them cases we been seein an hearin of whar the husbands murdered thar wives in this country. The ’normity o’ them crimes didn’t forbid hope o’ marcy in this world. I heap o’ times hear say, my Marster, that what is sarce for the goose is sarce for the gander. But ’pears like ’taint so with English gander.”

*Myself*. “There is much force in what you say, Buck.”

*Buck.* "Then whar was the use o' the judge puttin' on that 'bominable black cap to skaar the poor critter with, when he was gwine to say what he did to her. God knows he was ugly 'nuff before."

*Myself.* "The putting on of the black cap by the judge, when about to pass sentence of death upon a criminal, is a very ancient custom, established in the English courts, when they were less refined in their tastes than they are now, and more addicted to form and ceremony; and was intended, I suppose, to be symbolical of the mournful duty which that officer was about to perform. It is a form in which the improved taste of the age should not see much to admire, in my opinion. But the English people are slow to change their venerable forms, for fear that respect for the matters of substance of which they are usually the type, or drapery, should rashly undergo a change."

*Buck.* "Fact is, Marster, more I see of this English people, more it raaly does 'pear to me I never shill git the hang of thar ways, no way I can fix it."

You shall hear from me again soon, Major; until when, I am,

Respectfully,

Your friend and cousin,

P. JONES.

To MAJ. J. JONES,

Pineville Ga. U. S. of America.

## LETTER XXIX.

BRUTAL TREATMENT OF THEIR WIVES BY ENGLISHMEN—MALICIOUS STABBING OF A WIFE—SAVAGE AND INHUMAN CONDUCT TO A WIFE BY HER HUSBAND—ATTEMPTED MURDER OF A WIFE, AND ATTEMPTED SUICIDE OF THE HUSBAND—ILL-TREATMENT OF A WIFE, AND HER REFUSAL TO PROSECUTE—WIFE-BEATING, AND WIFE REFUSING TO PROSECUTE—THREATENING TO MURDER A WIFE.

London, January 30th, 1854.

DEAR MAJOR:—I have not informed you of half the remarkable instances of brutal violence committed by the men of England upon their wives, with which I have been made acquainted during the last three years. I will now send you some reports of cases less fatal in results than the murders to which I have called your attention, but scarcely less atrocious in character.

In the year 1851, a man by the name of McLean was tried before the Central Criminal Court at the Old Bailey, for attempting to murder his wife by hanging her. He was acquitted. I have not the record of his trial, but you will find a reference to it in an article contained in my letter of December 1st, last, and headed "Ill-treatment and Murder of Wives." You will there find an English editor's opinion of the case, and of the way in which, to use Buck's figure of speech, the sauce is supplied to the English gander.

Early in 1852, the following case occurred. It furnishes another illustration of that trait in an Englishman's nature, of which Buck has spoken: viz., a strong propensity, when in a passion with his wife, to thrust his knife into her throat.

## "ASSIZE INTELLIGENCE—MALICIOUSLY STABBING.

At the assizes held at Winchester (Western Circuit) before Mr. Justice Talfourd, Edwin James Harris was indicted for maliciously stabbing his wife, Mary Harris, with intent to murder her, at Southampton, on the 27th of December. It appeared that these parties, who seemed to be decent kind of people, had been married twenty years. Differences at last arose between them, which ended in a separation; but they had so far become reconciled as to meet and walk together, and shortly before Christmas Day they arranged to dine together on that day, and he gave her 7s. 6s. to purchase the dinner. They met again the next day, and he then wanted some of the money back again, and she returned him some part of it. He was in liquor, and she went to his lodging with him to take care of him. He kissed her many times and cried very much. She begged him not to cry, and said she would come and see him in the morning, when he would be better. She left him and went home. They met again on the 27th of December. She went to his lodging and made his tea. He cried and kissed her. They saw his landlord, who said he wondered he would be seen with his wife after what he had called her. His countenance instantly changed. She said he dared not repeat the word in her presence, and she became angry, and said if he repeated it, she would slap his face; she had always been a faithful and virtuous wife to him, and had supported herself by stay-making during the time she lived separately from him. After the words had passed in the public house, they left, and walked together some distance without speaking a word. At length the prisoner said, 'What did he say?' alluding to what the landlord had said. He then said, 'There's no knowing the heart of any man;' and he began to push his wife. She told him not to do so. He laid hold of her, and she thought he was going to kiss her. She remonstrated with him, and she then saw him draw a knife from his pocket, and he attempted to cut her throat. She screamed, and they fell—he was still endeavoring to cut her throat. The cuts went through her shawl, bonnet, and ribands, and five wounds were inflicted on her face and neck. At the instant a young woman came up and seized the hand in which was the knife, and pulled his head back. She contrived to hold his hand and the knife for some time, till he got his hand away, and again cut at his wife, who screamed 'Murder,' and said, 'My dear, don't cut my throat.'

The other woman said, 'You bad man, you've killed the woman,' and she ran and procured assistance. She returned and took the prisoner by the collar. He said, 'I am not going to run away.' She said, 'I'll take care you don't, you bad man;' and she gave him into the custody of two policemen. The wife was confined to her bed for some time; the wounds did not heal for nearly a month, and were still at times very painful. When the prisoner was sober, he was very kind to his wife, but he was given to drink, and was then very excitable; he would change in a moment. When the prisoner was taken he said his wife was a brute, and had taken the knife out of his pocket and tried to cut his throat. The knife was a common pruning knife. There was blood on the ground.

Mr. C. Saunders addressed the jury with considerable force for the prisoner, contending that there was not a deliberate intention to murder the wife. Two days before the man had treated her with the greatest kindness and affection; he had cried, he had kissed her, he was anxious to forgive and forget; but on the unfortunate day when this had happened, the landlord had made use of an expression which touched that chord which had been wounded. His countenance altered in a moment, his whole feelings became changed, his jealousy was again roused, but still he did not intend to murder. He walked with his wife; not a word passed for some time; the expression of the landlord was rankling in his heart, and he asked what words the man had used; the wife would not answer, and in a moment of uncontrolled jealous, drunken passion, he had drawn the knife from his pocket, and had acted in the manner which had been related to them.

Mr. Justice Talfourd having summed up, the jury returned a verdict of guilty, with intent to do grievous bodily harm, and the prisoner was sentenced to be transported for life.

The learned judge told the young woman who had rendered such assistance, that he could not let her go without saying how much they were all indebted to her for the great courage she had displayed; he had never heard of any one acting so well. He had the power of awarding a small sum to a person for apprehending a felon, and he should, therefore, in this case, award her £5, and he hoped she would purchase some trifle that might be kept by her and her family in remembrance of her courageous act."—*Observer, March 8th, 1852.*

The following case was before one of the magistrates' sessions in the city during the last month; and it affords



you another fine specimen of a cowardly and ruffian wife-bruise :

“At Worship street, on Thursday, George Snowden, a cabinet-maker, was charged with brutal conduct to his wife. The wife, a pale, delicate woman, said she had been ten months married, and during that time her husband had so continually ill-treated her, that she sank under it, and was seized with brain fever and sent to an hospital. Typhus fever supervened, and after being in the hospital six weeks, she was slowly recovering, when the prisoner called and promised to treat her kindly if she returned home. He so strongly entreated her that she consented, and left the hospital, against the advice of the surgeons, a week before she ought to have been discharged. The prisoner, however, continued his ill-treatment, and on the preceding evening, at her father's house in Boston street, Hackney, he made himself so disagreeable as to cause a few words, and in a violent passion he demanded the key of his house, and said that if she set a foot in doors that night, he would break her neck down stairs. She refused to give the key, and he left her father's without it, but immediately returned and ordered her to look for something he had left behind him. She looked for it, but could not find it, and on telling him so at the door, as he would not come in, he struck her senseless to the ground with a violent blow in the eye, and the back of her head was injured by falling on the floor. From his constant threats her life was not safe.

Richard Barnfeather, the wife's father, a respectable, grey-headed man, aged 60, said that, bad as his wife's account was, she had concealed the worst part ; for, when witness, on hearing her screams, went to the parlor, he found her prostrate on the floor from another blow from the prisoner. Witness interposed to protect her, and the prisoner pulled off his coat and challenged him to fight, although he knew that witness labored under many infirmities. ‘My wife and an aged mother,’ said the witness, ‘are quite ill from his conduct ; his conduct is most cowardly and outrageous, and any means you could devise for putting a stop to it would be a boon to us. For ten months we have had no peace ; he has destroyed his wife's clothing, driven her to the hospital with inflammation and typhus — illness occasioned entirely by his provoking conduct, and, although she had always before her marriage, been strong and healthy, she is now so weak that her feet would scarcely

support her to this court. In fact, he has almost worried her to death.'

John Richardson, complainant's brother-in-law, and a much less man than the prisoner, said that when the prisoner struck his wife senseless he ran away, and witness stepped over her body, pursued him, overtook him at a baker's shop, and took him by the collar. The prisoner immediately put up his hand, and said, 'I will go quietly anywhere with you, if you will not strike me.' Witness held him till a constable came, and then gave him in charge. The prisoner pleaded aggravation, and treated the matter very lightly.

Mr. Hammill said: Your whole conduct has been what might be expected from such a man, and only proves that cowards who practise such brutality upon their wives always shrink from the slightest injury to themselves. It is a very bad case, and you will go to the House of Correction for six months, with hard labor, and at the expiration of that time, you must put in two substantial bail in £20 each for your peaceable behavior for the further term of six months, or remain committed in default." — *Observer, December 19th, 1853.*

If you should suspect, as I did at first, that such disgraceful violence is confined to the very lowest classes among this people, you will have your mind disabused of this impression by the following, among other cases. You will find the throat-cutting passion as strong in this person, who was probably entitled to write himself gentleman, as in some of the laborers and artizans whom we have had under review.

**"ATTEMPTED MURDER OF A WIFE, AND ATTEMPTED SUICIDE.**

At Bow street, on Wednesday, William Entwistle Willis, a law writer, 61 years of age, was brought up in custody from King's College Hospital, charged with stabbing his wife in the throat, and subsequently attempting to commit suicide, on Christmas day last. Mary Willis, the prosecutrix, of 5 Lee's buildings, Chancery lane, stated that she had been married to the prisoner about twenty-three years, and within twelve months after her marriage, he was committed for seven days from the Hatton Garden police court for assaulting her with a poker. They had lived together very unhappily ever since, and had had six children. For the last three or four years they had slept in separate beds, and for more than eleven months past

he had not contributed a penny towards her support. She had worked for her own living, and had paid the rent of the lodgings herself. On Christmas Eve she went to bed shortly after twelve, and about two hours afterwards was aroused from her sleep by her husband, who came into the room without a light, and got into her bed. He said, 'Poll, I am come to you, for I am so cold.' She replied merely, 'Then, why come to me if you are cold?' In the next moment she received a violent stab from a sharp-pointed knife, which severed her ear and entered her throat; and, in raising her hand to resist him, she received a severe cut upon her fingers. She then called, as loudly as she was able, to a Mr. Hyatt, who lived at the bottom of the house, exclaiming, 'My husband has stabbed me.' Hyatt and his son came to her assistance, the prisoner, in the meantime, having gone back to his own room. A surgeon was sent for, and her wounds were dressed under his direction. The next morning her daughter found the carving-knife produced in her (witness') bed, stained with blood. Hyatt deposed that, on finding Mrs. Willis's bed linen saturated with blood, and a pool of blood on the floor, he sent for a surgeon, and then went to the room of the prisoner, whom he found wrapped up in some bed clothing, with several wounds in the throat. The prisoner said, 'If she is not dead, my hand must have been nervous.' They had lived in his house five years, and quarrelled on account of the man's drunken habits. He latterly spent all his money in drink. The wife was a well-conducted, hard-working woman, although occasionally indulging in a glass.

The prisoner: Have you never seen her lifted upstairs drunk by her own children?

Witness: Never; but I have often seen you in that predicament.

The prisoner here accused his wife of infidelity. His wife denied this, and Hyatt said her conduct had been most proper while lodging at his house.

Mr. Jones, surgeon, deposed that the wound in complainant's throat was close to the artery, and if deeper, it would have been fatal.

Mr. Taylor, surgeon of the King's College Hospital, said that the wounds in the prisoner's throat were skin wounds from a razor; none of them dangerous.

The prisoner reserved his defence, and asked to be allowed a glass of beer, as he had had nothing in the hospital for eleven days but rice-water.

Mr. Henry said the medical men knew best what to give him, and their order must be attended to. He was committed for trial."—*Observer, Jan. 16th, 1854.*

In the same paper from which the above is taken, I find the two cases following:

“BRUTAL TREATMENT OF WOMEN—REFUSAL OF A WIFE TO PROSECUTE.

At Guildhall, on Monday, Adolphus Johnson was charged on remand with having assaulted his wife. The officer said the wife had been in the hospital, but was now able to attend if she chose. The defendant's master here stated that he had seen the wife, who had received a severe injury on the forehead, apparently inflicted by a poker. The wife told him that she was letting her husband in at one o'clock in the morning in a state of intoxication, when he assaulted her, as he had frequently done before. Witness therefore felt it his duty to state these facts, as the wife persisted in not attending. The defendant said that as his wife had forgiven him, he hoped the magistrate would forgive him also.

Alderman Challis said that though the wife was satisfied, he was not. Such a case should not be dismissed merely because a wife wished to screen the man who ill-treated her, and in every such case he was determined to send the offender to prison for six months. He should, therefore, remand the case, and order the officer to summons the wife, and if she refused to attend, he would issue a warrant.

Defendant: May I give bail in the interim?

Alderman Challis: Certainly not. You must go to prison.

“WIFE BEATING—WIFE REFUSING TO PROSECUTE.

At Worship street, on Monday, Michael Regan, bricklayer's laborer, was charged on remand with assaulting his wife, and thereby placing her life in danger. Mr. D'Eyncourt said that it was a most brutal outrage, but as it appeared perfectly manifest that the prisoner would altogether escape punishment, from the affectionate and forgiving feeling which was now displayed towards him by his unfortunate wife, if he sent him before a jury, as he had originally intended, he should deal summarily with the case, and sentence him to six months' hard labor in the House of Correction.”

A paper of to-day furnishes the following reports :

“ILL-TREATMENT OF WOMEN—THREATENING TO MURDER A WIFE.

At Westminster, on Wednesday, Henry Hill, of 47 Vincent square, formerly clerk to Mr. Draper, solicitor, was charged with threatening to murder his wife. Mrs. Mary Hill, the wife, said that on Sunday morning, the defendant took up a knife, and said he would stab her if she interfered with him that day. She had not spoken to him before he used the threat. He had frequently threatened her before. He had never struck her, but had repeatedly twisted her arms round in the sockets, so as to cause much pain. She is nine years married to him, and has four young children. He has no reason for such conduct to her. He never complains of her conduct. On Sunday morning he called her niece, and because she did not answer immediately, he said it was through her (witness') tuition. The other morning, at three o'clock, when witness was in bed, he threatened to murder her, because when he came up, after sitting two hours by himself in the kitchen, the candle was nearly out.

In defence, the defendant expressed sorrow for his conduct, and said it was the effect of his having been drinking on the night before.

The wife : He was certainly tipsy on the Saturday night ; but one day, when he was perfectly sober, he told me that sometimes at night he thought of getting up and cutting my throat. This so alarmed me, that I refused to sleep with him, and had my mother in the house, and he came to my bed-room and demanded admittance. I was so terrified that I called the police, but they would not interfere.

Mr. Arnold to defendant : If you use such threats, your wife must be protected.

The defendant : There is no danger now, we are going to separate.

Mr. Arnold to complainant : Is it so ?

Complainant : I very much wish it. Besides his threats I have had for a year and a half to support myself and children by my own exertions. I was never brought up to anything of the sort. I had money when I married, but he soon ran through it. I now support myself by dressmaking, through the assistance of some kind ladies. The defendant was bound over to keep the peace.”

“At Southwark, on Wednesday, John Finnigan, a respectable looking man, was charged with beating Ellen Finnigan, his wife. The wife, a middle-aged woman, whose face was dreadfully lacerated and swollen, said she had been married to the prisoner about four years, and had had two children by him. They resided in Chapel-court, Southwark, and, until within the last twelve months, they had lived very comfortably together, but since then his habits had greatly changed, and he had often struck her, but she had hitherto refrained from making any complaint against him, in the hope that he would return to his former good conduct. On Tuesday he went, as usual, to his work, and between twelve and one o'clock in the morning he returned home in a state of intoxication, and immediately began to abuse her. She made no reply, but placed his supper before him, when he struck her a violent blow in the face, and, on her making an attempt to leave the room, he locked the door, and knocked her down, and, while she was lying on the floor, he kicked her repeatedly with great force, on the head and body, till she became insensible. Some persons who lodged in the house called a policeman, who came and rescued her from her husband's violence. — Defendant: I am willing to allow her a separate maintenance, if the charge be withdrawn. — Mr. Combe: What, after you have nearly murdered her? You must first suffer six months' hard labor in the House of Correction, before you can be allowed to talk of such an arrangement. — The defendant: I hope you will not send me there. What will become of my children? — Mr. Combe: You are a cowardly fellow. Your wife and children shall be taken care of.—He was removed.”

You will observe that these cases are placed under a general heading, entitled “ILL-TREATMENT OF WOMEN.” This is precisely as it stands in the paper from which they are taken, and it appears to have been adopted as a sort of standard or stationary title in that paper, under which all such reports are ranged. This fact sufficiently shows the frequency of this wife-butchering, woman-beating system in England. It speaks volumes of itself. But the editor shall still further enlighten you on the subject in my next.

Continue to believe me,

Very respectfully,

Yr. friend and cousin,

To MAJ. J. JONES,

P. JONES.

Pineville, Georgia, U. S. of America.

## LETTER XXX.

BARBAROUS AND SHOCKING ILL-TREATMENT OF WOMEN IN ENGLAND—NEW CHRISTMAS SPORTS, WHERE THE NOSES OF WOMEN, ONLY, GET SMASHED, AND THEIR EYES KNOCKED OUT—ATROCIOUS OUTRAGE UPON A WOMAN—A YOUNG GIRL OUTRAGED—A WOMAN SHOT BY HER LOVER—BUCK FINDS THE DIFFICULTY OF UNDERSTANDING “THE WAYS” OF ENGLISHMEN INCREASING—A LONDON MAGISTRATE CERTIFIES TO THE CHIVALRIC TREATMENT OF WOMEN BY AMERICANS.

London, February 18th, 1854.

DEAR MAJOR:—The savage violence to which I have been calling your attention is not perpetrated upon their wives only by Englishmen. It manifests itself in the treatment which the weaker sex generally receives at the hands of those who should be their protectors. I will make it my business now to send you some specimens of as brutal and inhuman treatment of the women by the men of this country as ever occur in the most barbarous nations of the world. Indeed, I know not that any reports of the most degraded and barbarous tribes on our globe furnish such evidence of revolting and shocking inhumanity to the women of the land.

I am afraid, Major, that I shall weary you with so many horrible pictures of savage and bloody deeds; but I have used strong language in the charge which I have brought against this English people, and I must make out my case, and sustain my assertions, at the risk of a trial to your nerves.

That I have not been influenced by prejudice in making these charges and assertions, is sufficiently proven, I hope, by the *facts* which I have submitted for your consideration. To prove that I have not been so influenced, and that I have kept within the bounds of moderation in the language I have employed, I further call as a witness an

Englishman, the editor of a London journal; and I furnish you with what he says, in even stronger terms than I have used, on this subject.

During the early part of last year, appeared the following editorial article in the "London Observer." It was the honest outburst of a just indignation, excited by some of the shocking cases of barbarity and cruelty which had been reported as having occurred a short time previously, and during the Christmas holidays. To some of these I shall probably hereafter call your attention.

#### "NEW CHRISTMAS SPORTS.

In ancient days, when wassail ruled the land, it was the Christmas custom for our ancestors to belabor one another in their cups, until the victor and the vanquished lay insensate beneath the table; in these days, however, we have changed all this. Our men of mettle now get drunk as of yore — that seems a condition inherent in Anglo-Saxon humanity; but they go on safer grounds of quarrel, for at present they belabor only defenceless and unoffending women. In fact, as regards what Winifred Jenkins terms 'the fair sect,' the London of this day, especially in seasons of general rejoicing, is even worse than the London of the days of the *Spectator*; for if the town had then its Mohawks, who 'pinked' the passers by *secundem artem* (always be it understood, only those who wore breeches), it has now its brutal ruffians, who, too cautious or too cowardly to 'ruffle' with their fellow-men, vent all their villanous instincts upon the weaker portion of the creation, smashing their noses, knocking out their eyes, and breaking their limbs *ad libitum*.

What is worse, these ferocious scoundrels — more brutal in this respect than the wild beast — commit those atrocities, which, it is no exaggeration to state, are unparalleled even in the annals of savagery, with comparative impunity. A rascal in broad-cloth, for example — he cannot be called a man — is brought before a police magistrate for defacing the features of a poor young woman whom he encounters in the streets for the first time, as he, staggers along, reeling under the weight of strong drink, with which he is gorged to repletion. For this he pleads drunkenness as an excuse; but there stands the poor creature, disfigured for ever — her nose broken, her eye



smashed ; and all his apologies cannot restore her the sight of the one, or the symmetry of the other. Of course the magistrate is all virtuous indignation, and he reads, belike, a homily upon the vice of intoxication, which the scarcely sobered scoundrel in broad-cloth probably does not comprehend ; and the victim of his brutality sobs and cries as if her heart would break, even for her butcher — ‘sweet sensibility of woman’s nature,’ &c. ; and every one, even the callous jailor of the court, is prepared to hear the maximum punishment awarded as sentence—and ‘serve the fellow right,’ as they all say. But lo and behold, it all ends *in fumo* — ‘words, words, words’ — ‘Pay a fine of 40s., or go to prison for two months,’ is the magisterial alternative offered to the scoundrel at the bar ; and as the scoundrel at the bar, quite delighted with the option, clinks his cash upon the counter of the shop — begging the magistrate’s pardon, it must be a shop, where justice is sold, and passes out of custody into a condition of undeserved freedom, he chuckles at the police, probably ‘tips’ them ‘a little sixpence,’ and leaves the shop—or court—in triumph, without even casting a remorseful glance at the cowering creature, who, in the expressive language of the poor, he has ‘made an object of for life.’”

You will not wonder at this strong language, when you come to learn something of other cases than those alluded to by this writer, as well as something more of the details of some of the “New Christmas Sports” to which he does refer.

What, for example, do you think of the following ? If the fiends from the bottomless pit were unchained and turned loose upon earth, do you think they could get up a scene more strikingly in character ?

#### “MOST ATROCIOUS OUTRAGE.

At the Chester Assizes, on Friday, before Mr. Baron Martin, Richard Kear, twenty-four, James James, eighteen, George Charles, twenty-two, Thomas Stephens, twenty-one, and Thomas James, twenty, colliers in the Forest of Dean, were indicted for having violated the person of Mary M’Carthy, on the night of Tuesday, the 29th of July, at the parish of Lydney. This case was peculiarly atrocious. The prosecutrix,

an Irish woman, aged thirty-five, and not at all handsome, left Ireland seven years ago, and had lived as a servant for some time in London, and lately went to Cardiff and Bristol to look after a brother, who, she was told, worked on some of the railway lines, and as she travelled alone, she subsisted by sometimes working at needle-work for the country people, and occasionally by haymaking. Whilst going from Chepstow to Gloucester, on the 29th of July, passing through the Forest of Dean about two o'clock, A. M., by a bye road leading to the main road, she was very weak and ill; and not knowing her way, got benighted in the forest, and went towards a fire, which turned out to be in an uncovered hovel near the mouth of a coalpit. Exhausted with fatigue, cold, and hunger, she lay down near the fire, and shortly afterwards two of the prisoners came and spoke to her. She told them she was very ill, and asked for a drink of water. They told her to go to the Nag's Head public house, one hundred yards off, where she could get water in the yard. She got up and struggled to the yard, but could find no water there, and, being a stranger, without money, she did not like to go into the house, and turned back towards the fire. In returning, two men and a woman met her. They said that if she went down the road she could get some water. She was going down, when Kear came up, pretended to compassionate her, put a shawl round her neck, and told her that if she went back he would bring her some water. Believing that he pitied her, she went back to the fire, and Kear returned with another man, who brought some water to her in a pitcher. It appeared that a club of colliers was that night drinking at the Nag's Head, and when she drank the water, they all came about her, and asked, was she better? She was frightened, and said, 'No.' Kear then said, 'There is a house here; I am master of it; nobody shall interfere with you.' She said she would rather stay at the fire, being cold and ill. George Charles then jumped up and said she should go. She saw them whispering. Kear said she should go. She refused as often as twenty times. Kear and Charles then ordered the two men beside her to take her into the cabin. One of the men was James, the other was not in court; he fetched the water. Charles took a shovel, held it over her head, and said he would burn her in the fire if she did not go in, and that one person was burnt there before. Another said there was. There were nine or ten men there. They then took her in like a prisoner. There was a large fire in the cabin. Charles brought in two shovels of red coals.

Kear opened the door. Charles walked out when he put on the coals. Kear stood outside, and some one locked the door. James and the man who fetched the water remained inside. That man then came opposite to her. James sat by her side and held her arms behind her back. The prosecutor then detailed her sufferings from the nine men, whilst they ill-used her. She cried out 'murder,' and he and those outside laughed at her. James James acted with peculiar barbarity, the revolting details of which the witness described. Stephens and Thomas James acted with a little more mercy. Only five of the men are yet arrested. James James was such a brute, that not content with the outrages by himself and eight others, he went to the Nag's Head, and endeavored to rouse up another collier to assault her, but who was so drunk that he could not be awakened. He afterwards deposed to that fact. By this time day was dawning, and she was scarcely able to move. She sat against a form, and Kear came in and said she might stop in the cabin till seven in the morning, and he would give her the key, and she might lock the door on the inside, but George Charles came in, seized a shovel, and said he would 'kill her if she did not leave.' She went out down the road. Thomas Stephens and three others came up and said, 'Well, missus, what is the matter with you?' She said, 'You know well; you have almost killed me.' She went towards a house, and Stephens said he would kill her if she went towards it. She met a woman, and afterwards went to a hayrick and lay down; she was afterwards taken to the Westburn-on-Severn Workhouse.—Cross-examined: Has a child; is not married; was six or seven weeks in Bristol. Has a brother on the railways, and was going to look for him.—Anne Jenkins deposed that she met the prosecutrix on the road about five o'clock in the morning, with her hands on her stomach, crying dreadfully, and saying she had been almost torn to pieces.—William Ellison, policeman, found prosecutrix at three or four in the afternoon of that day lying on a hayrick, and so weak as to be unable to stand. A woman gave her a little wine, and witness had her removed to the workhouse.—The surgeon of the workhouse deposed to her exhausted state, and to the shocking lacerations she suffered, especially from James James using his hands in a brutal manner. — For the defence, Mr. Cooke addressed the jury, and called a witness who knew one of the prisoners for three months, and gave him a character for that period. — The judge summed up, and the jury, after one minute's deliberation, found all the prisoners Guilty. — The

judge said the offence was the most abominable he had ever heard proved in a court of justice. Had not the law been altered, he would have left them all for execution, except Stephens and Thomas James, who, bad as they were, treated the woman with some little kindness. Richard Kear, James James, and George Charles, were then sentenced to transportation for life, and Thomas Stephens, and Thomas James, to transportation for fifteen years."—*Observer, August 18th, 1851.*

A few days later, the following case, of similar, if not of such intense atrocity, occurred. The ruffian was tried and convicted in the Central Criminal Court.

“CENTRAL CRIMINAL COURT.

*A Miscreant.* — On Tuesday, in the Third Court, Thomas Spurrier, twenty, a glass-blower, was indicted before Russell Gurney for unlawfully inflicting on Sarah Elizabeth Brown, grievous bodily harm, by violently assaulting and beating her. The prosecutrix, a young woman apparently about eighteen years of age, having been sworn, stated that she was a nursery-maid, and resided at No. 6 Anne place, Ball's pond. On the evening of the 22d of July, at about five o'clock in the afternoon, she was going along the broad path near Hornsey Wood House. She saw the prisoner and two other young men in a field close by. There were two young women ahead of her on the same path. After she had passed down the lane in the wood, she stopped to look round, when some one came up and struck her a violent blow on the ear. She turned round and saw that it was the prisoner, and he immediately struck her another and more violent blow on the eye, which knocked her down. The prisoner then fell on to her with great violence, sticking his knees on her stomach so as to nearly deprive her of her senses. He then continued to behave in the most infamous manner. She struggled as much as her exhausted condition would permit of to prevent the prisoner from accomplishing the purpose for which he had evidently attacked her. Prisoner had by this time dragged her some short distance into the wood, holding her all the time by the throat, and endeavoring to stifle her cries by squeezing her tightly. Finding that she still resisted him he drew a large clasp knife from his pocket, and with the most violent and disgusting language said he would cut her head off if she did not submit to his

desires. Some boys coming up at the time, the prisoner relinquished his hold of her and ran away, throwing away the knife before he was secured. Her nose bled very profusely; her eyes were swollen, and she was in great pain from the treatment she had experienced, and since that period she had been subject to fits arising out of the fright and ill-treatment, and was still very unwell. In answer to Mr. O'Brien, the prosecutrix said that she had not been drinking with the prisoner, nor was he known to her in any way. Two other witnesses having deposed to similar facts, the jury found the prisoner Guilty, and he was sentenced to two years' imprisonment.—The prisoner shed tears on hearing his sentence."—*Observer, September 1st, 1851.*

In the course of the year 1852, the following curious case occurred:

#### "A WOMAN SHOT BY HER LOVER.

A crime was perpetrated on Friday week at Newport, which, it is feared, will terminate in the death of the victim—a middle-aged, handsome woman, named Etheridge, who has been shot at by her sweetheart, named Samuel Greening, formerly the guard of a coach, and latterly the assistant of Miss Etheridge's blind father, who keeps a public house and a large market-garden a short distance from the town of Newport. It appears that Greening had long paid his addresses to Miss Etheridge, who is his cousin, and being a resident in the same house, frequently gave her occasion to remonstrate with him on his dissipated habits, he being a member of a band, from whose performance he frequently came home drunk. She refused, it is stated, to be married to him on the ground of these habits. This would appear to have caused a fit of jealousy, under the effects of which he resorted to drink. For two or three days last week he is stated to have been intoxicated. A continuous quarrel between himself and Miss Etheridge was the result. On the day previous to the shocking occurrence he was observed examining a pistol, which Miss Etheridge kept by her, in consequence of the garden being sometimes visited by plunderers, whom she (being a daring woman) would have shot at, it is supposed, had any come within reach of the house. Greening was seen trying a cap on the pistol, and pretending to fire up the chimney. The pistol was afterwards found to be missing from the place where it was usually kept. On the evening in

question, Greening, still under the effects of intoxication and jealousy, was again quarrelling with his sweetheart, and for a moment or two was missed from the room where Miss Etheridge and an assistant gardener were seated at a table. On Greening's return, he walked up and down the room again, still bickering with his cousin, when suddenly he rushed up to where she was sitting, presented a pistol at her, and fired. The unfortunate woman's shrieks, as she fell down, awoke her father, who had retired to rest ; and when assistance was procured, she was taken up insensible, bleeding profusely from the mouth, ear, and cheek, on the left side of the face ; the contents of the pistol, which were supposed to be shots or hard wadding, having entered just below the left ear, fractured the left jaw, and smashed some of the teeth, passing afterwards through the mouth. She was at once conveyed to bed, and Mr. Woollett, surgeon, one of the borough magistrates, was called from Newport. Greening still remained about the house in a half-drunken, sullen humor, till he was apprehended by the borough police, and lodged in the station-house cell. The prisoner has since stated that he was not aware the pistol was loaded, though this does not agree with the fact of his snapping and trying it in the chimney on the previous day. He is also stated to have told his victim that, if she did not have him, but married another, it should be no good to her — he would prevent her happiness. The woman, when consciousness was in some measure restored, in the course of the night frequently expressed a desire to see Greening, and appeared to feel deeply from the consideration that he would have to suffer in prison for what he had done. Both her father and herself, it was thought, would further avoid giving evidence against the prisoner, if possible. On Saturday the prisoner was brought to the bar of the police. Evidence was taken to establish the charge of wilfully shooting, but the case had not concluded when our despatch left."—*Observer, September 27th, 1852.*

I wish you could have seen Buck's face when I read the last case, above quoted, in his hearing. No deep-sea line can be found, on a thousand British decks, long enough to fathom the unutterable disgust which was depicted in his honest face.

*Buck.* "Lead me into the light of that a little, if you please, Marster. Did I onderstand you to say hit was a onmarried man that did that thing, sir?"

*Myself.* "Yes."

*Buck.* "Well, raaly! An he shot his sweetheart 'thout bein married to her?"

*Myself.* "So this report says."

*Buck.* "Well, well, well! I been all along sorter persuadin myself thar was some sense in these Englishmen killin thar wives, becace that made way for new ones. But how a man with breeches on, 'thout sich a temtation, could shoot a 'oman, an she his sweetheart, too, is a huckleberry over my persimmon. I give it up."

Accustomed as we are in Georgia to treat the sex so differently, I think that you will heartily join in Buck's honest indignation, and agree with him that such a case presents a moral puzzle to any one brought up in our State. It is difficult for such an one to express the intense contempt and disgust he must feel for the great lubberly coward who could so treat a woman.

About three months subsequently, a man named Gaball, who called himself an American citizen, was charged before one of the magistrates of the city with having committed an assault upon a young woman. He may have been an American citizen, but I strongly suspect he was only a naturalized citizen — being, as I should suppose from his name, a foreigner by birth; hence, perhaps, he was jeered (as he said he was), when he claimed to be an American citizen. Certain it is, as you and I could almost swear, Major, he was not a native of our Southern States. What the magistrate says as to the feelings of our countrymen towards women, I believe to be true, as a general rule, in all parts of the country. I know it to be especially true in the slaveholding States.

#### "AN AMERICAN CITIZEN.

At Marlborough street, on Wednesday, James Gaball, who described himself as an American citizen, was charged before Mr. Bingham, with committing an unprovoked assault on Miss Mary Gray. It appeared that a party of five friends and relatives, amongst whom was Miss Mary Gray, of 103 Regent street, were on their way home from the play, when defendant came up to her and addressed some filthy language to her, and then laid hold of her; but her brother came up and interfered for her protection. Defendant then struck her with his stick

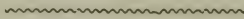
a violent blow on her head, which hurt her much, and cut her head, rendering her almost insensible. The defendant, in answer to the charge, said he was first accosted by the party, and on his saying he was an American, he was jeered by them. Finding he was attacked by five persons, he defended himself with his stick, and in doing so might have struck Miss Gray. It was said he was not sober. Mr. Bingham would by no means allow that excuse to have any weight, for it was a known fact that quite a chivalrous feeling towards females was displayed by Americans. He should inflict the highest fine the law allowed, £5, or two months' imprisonment. The fine was paid."—*Observer, December 27th, 1852.*

I will resume the subject; but must now conclude, with the assurance that I am, dear Major,

Yr. friend and cousin,

P. JONES.

To MAJ. J. JONES,  
Pineville, Ga., U. S. of America.



## LETTER XXXI.

**BILL PASSED BY PARLIAMENT FOR THE BETTER PROTECTION OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN—LORD GRANVILLE'S JEST UPON THE SUBJECT—THE WHITE SLAVE IN ENGLAND—ILLUSTRATIONS OF EARL GRANVILLE'S JEST—PRICE OF INSULTING AND ASSAULTING A LADY—A PUGILIST BRUTALLY BEATS SEVERAL YOUNG WOMEN—SAVAGE ASSAULT UPON A WOMAN—ATTEMPT TO STRANGLE A WOMAN—AN EDITOR DISCOURSES ON CRUELTY TO WOMEN.**

London, March 27th, 1854.

DEAR MAJOR:—This brutal ill-treatment of women by Englishmen had reached such a pitch of horrible infamy as to force the matter upon the attention of the British Parliament, and to call for some attempt by legislation to curb the devilish tempers, and restrain the appetite for blood, in which it has its origin. Accordingly, early in



last year, leave was asked to bring in a bill for this purpose, some account of which you will find in the following extract. You will also find in it a condensed statement, by a member of Parliament, of some of the disgusting barbarities which the bill is intended to restrain, and it will save me the work of sending them to you.

“ ASSAULTS ON WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

Mr. *Fitzroy*, in moving for leave to bring in a bill for the better protection of women and children, said that no one could read the public journals without being almost daily struck with horror and amazement at the cruel and brutal injuries inflicted upon members of the weaker sex by persons whom one blushed to call Englishmen [hear, hear]. Nothing but the most ignominious punishment could adequately mark the manner in which every right-minded individual would regard such outrages; but, unfortunately, the summary powers granted to magistrates to punish such offences were confined to a penalty of £5, or in default of payment, to two months' imprisonment without hard labor,—a punishment which in such cases it would be absurd to look upon as in any degree a sufficient retribution [hear, hear]. He would quote a few cases in proof of this remark. On the 8th of December, Thomas Bennett was brought up at Bow street, charged with assaulting his wife. He was living separately from her, and, meeting her in the street, he called her an opprobrious name, knocked her down, and beat her. The next day he went to her residence, beat her, and, pulling out a knife, attempted to cut her throat. In defending herself, her fingers were severely cut. The magistrate, doubting whether the wife would appear at the sessions, fined the defendant £5, or in default, committed him for two months, but without hard labor [hear, hear]. In another case the defendant's wife, fearing that her husband would be enticed away to a public house, went out to him, and begged him not to go. Shortly afterwards he went in and beat her in a most brutal manner, alleging that she had made him appear little in the eyes of his companions. He, too, was fined £5, or two months' imprisonment. In December, 1851, a man was charged with beating his wife with a poker; and in another case a husband was charged with having grossly beaten and ill-used his wife, because he had missed a small piece of cloth, of the value of three pence. On the 23d of November, Susannah Preston appeared against a man with

whom she had been living as wife. He had beaten her with the buckle end of a strap, until her head and face, her arms and shoulders were one mass of bruises, and covered with blood. A ring on her finger was actually beaten into the flesh quite to the bone, and when she was taken to the hospital it had to be cut out [sensation]. In all these cases the same fine of £5 only was inflicted. He would only mention one other case. About half-past twelve one night, the attention of the police, in a street in Mile End-road, was attracted by cries of murder. They went to the room whence they proceeded, and found a woman sitting in a chair, and attended by several other women. She had a large cut over her left eye, both her eyes were blackened, and she had sustained such severe internal injuries from her assaulter having jumped upon her, that she was obliged to be taken to an hospital. Both parties were sober. When she appeared at the police office, she represented the assault as having been a very slight one, and the magistrates, thinking it would be very difficult to induce her to prosecute him at the sessions, committed the defendant for two months. Such proceedings could only have the effect of bringing the law into contempt, and of producing a prejudice against the magistrates, as if they could have inflicted heavier penalties [hear, hear]. Nothing could be less satisfactory than the power of committing the parties to the sessions; because, in addition to the natural placability of the sex, women were liable to be coaxed, or intimidated, and even forcibly withheld from appearing in court; besides which, as the marks of violence would be in a great measure obliterated, the courts might be disposed to take a less serious view of such cases than if the adjudication was prompt and on the spot [hear, hear]. Now, the first object of the bill would be to give the magistrates power to inflict a fine of £20, or six months' imprisonment—a no greater power than they already possessed to avenge the wrongs of a tortured poodle or an ill-used cat [hear, hear]. It was also proposed to take away the power of removing indictments for this species of misdemeanor by certiorari, except on affidavits stating that a fair trial could not be had in the court whence the indictment was attempted to be removed. He anticipated great opposition to this clause from the members of a learned and powerful profession. A similar proposed enactment had been introduced by the late Attorney-General into the Metropolitan Grand Jury Bill last year, but by the pressure of the bar he was induced to withdraw it. He (Mr. Fitzroy) felt bound to press the clause, not-

withstanding the objections of the legal profession, because now that there was a court of criminal appeal, he thought that the power of removal by certiorari was useless and mischievous [hear, hear]. Another clause would place the forfeited recognizances for not appearing to answer indictments on exactly the same footing as those for appearing and refusing to give evidence. Lastly, he should propose a clause to enable the Secretary of State to order a prisoner to be brought up in order to give evidence, and thus avoid the expense of a writ of habeas corpus [hear, hear]. He hoped that all these improvements would meet with the approbation of the house, and in conclusion he begged to move for leave to bring in the bill [cheers].”—*Observer, March 14th, 1853.*

When this bill reached the House of Lords, Earl Granville moved the second reading, as follows :

“AGGRAVATED ASSAULT BILL.

The Earl of Granville moved the second reading, and censured the cruelty at present observable—a cruelty which it was necessary to repress, although the old proverb said that “A woman, a dog, and a walnut tree, the more they are beaten, the better they be” [a laugh]. The punishment on conviction of aggravated assaults by this bill will be six months’ imprisonment or £20 fine.”—*Observer, May 30th, 1853.*

I have learned to entertain sentiments of high respect for Lord Granville, as well as for several other noblemen in that venerable assembly, the House of Lords. But that respect was not increased by this miserable jest of the noble earl, and the evident relish with which the *per-siflage* was received. It was worse than frivolous, it must be confessed. It was too much in the jaunty, devil-may-care vein of Lord Palmerston — this sorry sporting with so serious a matter — this dance, as it were, upon the brink of a volcano. It serves, however, as another proof of the prevailing tone of sentiment in England, when senators, in the highest ranks of her nobility, thus trifle as they legislate upon this horrible subject.

The dull couplet, too, so enjoyed by these noble and reverend legislators, is itself an exponent of the disgraceful wife-bruising, woman-beating characteristic which we

have been considering; and it is but a poetic expression, I suppose, of a great national proclivity and passion.

There are Englishmen, however, who not only are witnesses to the magnitude of this great social evil, but with passionate eloquence denounce it, and (unlike the House of Lords, but like to Mr. Fitzroy and others in the Commons), when dealing with the subject, treat it in a manner worthy of its importance. Take, for example, the following, from the "Observer" of March 14th, 1853.

#### "THE WHITE SLAVE IN ENGLAND.

The white slave has been often heard of in this country, but it is only now that the general public is coming to any knowledge of that erewhile apocryphal entity. Recent facts have indubitably proved that the white slave in England is woman. In no country in the world—among no people, however imbruted—in no state of society, however savage—are the weaker sex treated with more inhumanity than in this, the highly-civilized, Christian capital of that highly-civilized Christian aggregation of nations, known as the United Kingdom.

If proof of this fact be needed, it is amply furnished in the bill just laid before Parliament by Mr. Fitzroy for the protection of females against the frightful outrages to which they are daily subjected—one tithe of which be it said in passing never come to the ears of the general public. The increase in this form of crime has been so steady and so progressive—it has assumed of late such a violent and aggravated character—that even the executive, slow as it ever is to lead, has been compelled by the magnitude and enormity of the evil to take the initiative for its suppression. It is perfectly possible that even at the best times there was always a good deal of coarse brutality about the boasted true British character, and it is patent to all persons that savage domestic tyranny is no new phenomenon in English legal annals; but it cannot be doubted that cruel crimes upon women, chiefly perpetrated by their husbands and paramours, are daily augmenting, and that these unhappy creatures are every recurring year reduced to a lower and still lower condition in the social scale, for the want of adequate protection against such outrage. That this protection should be proposed by a member of the Government is therefore highly to his credit.

Lest, however, it should even for a moment be supposed that

the object did not demand legislation, a few facts, in addition to those which will be found enumerated in Mr. Fitzroy's speech on introducing the bill in question to Parliament, are herewith furnished to the reader. They are, one and all, derived from the police reports of the metropolis; and they refer, one and all, to the brief period of time included between the 1st of December, 1852, and the 16th of February of the present year. The first is that of a fellow who beat his wife brutally, after keeping her in a state of starvation. Then follow, in rapid succession, an Irishman, who stabs his wife with a table-knife in the arm, having previously attempted the life of one of their children; a pugilist, at Hammersmith, who is convicted of a most ruffianly assault on a publican's wife; a ruffian, who kicks his wife brutally on her body, until she is a mass of wounds; a blackguard, who beats his mother with a heavy hammer on every part of her person; a scoundrel, who makes indecent proposals to a poor little girl of eleven years of age, and when the innocent child refuses his solicitations, knocks her down with a heavy stick, and cruelly beats her; a rascal who hammers his wife on the head with a hammer, inflicts several wounds, and fractures five ribs; a 'Protestant,' who beats his wife because she is a 'Catholic,' constantly tearing her clothes and assaulting her, and inflicting blows on the face and head until she is covered with blood; a brute, who in broad daylight commits a filthy act of indecency, accompanied by an assault on a young lady, and upon being remonstrated with, immediately knocks her down by a violent blow on the face; a savage, who assaults his wife, whom he nearly murders with a thick stick, because his supper was not ready (on a previous occasion his brutal violence had kept the woman in the hospital for thirteen weeks); a knave, who assaults a poor prostitute, without the slightest provocation, walking up to her, and knocking her down with great violence, and regretting that 'he had not done for her,' as he 'had often threatened to do;' a monster, who thrusts his tobacco-pipe into the eye of a poor woman who came to fetch her husband home from the public-house; the keepers of a brothel in Wych street — a man, and the woman with whom he cohabited, who brutally assault the servant girl of the house, nearly beating her to death, and who are fined £5 each—the fine being paid by the man, who produced a bag of sovereigns; and, finally, a fellow who throws a poor girl, with whom he had cohabited, into the Regent's Canal."

It is in view of such facts, statements, and confessions

as these, that I say, when I find this people favorably inclining towards the perpetrators of such disgraceful enormities, or, at best, but turning indifferently from them, and concentrating their sympathies on the slaves three thousand miles away, that it can only be accounted for by putting it upon the broad basis of humbug. Any attempt to explain it otherwise involves me in inextricable perplexity.

It is now almost a year since that law was passed. During this time I have been watching its operation and effects. As I expected, the disease has proved to be too deeply seated to be reached by such a remedy. The same blood-red flag, inscribed with the words "Brutal Treatment of Women," or "Ill-treatment of Women," etc., is still kept flying by the journals of the day, as you will see by those I send you. Under these inscriptions is still to be found an awful and apparently undiminished list of these cruel and disgraceful crimes. The woman-bruises and butchers still continue to maim and to slay, and the magistrate still goes on to sermonise about it. Occasionally he regrets that the clause which allowed flogging had been omitted from the bill, as in the following case, for example :

#### "BRUTAL TREATMENT OF WOMEN.

At Guildhall, on Wednesday, James Barrett was charged with the following savage assault : — Margaret Tubbs, whose eye was frightfully blackened, and the side of her face contused and swollen, said she lodged in the same house with the prisoner, and went to his room on Saturday night to call out her husband, who was drinking with him and his companions. The prisoner, with a filthy expression, said, 'He shall not come; I have known your walking the streets more than once, and I'll make your husband leave you altogether.' My husband then tried to get me away, and pushed me out; but the prisoner immediately rushed towards me, and dragged me by the hair of my head into the room. He then struck me on the eye, knocked me down and kicked me with his heavy boots repeatedly about the face and body, while I was lying on the ground. I screamed for assistance, and had it not been for Mrs. Finnigan, who rescued me from the prisoner's violence, I believe he would have murdered me. I am so dreadfully bruised all over

my body, that I can neither stand nor sit without experiencing great pain in all my limbs.

Sir R. W. Carden : 'Who gave you that black eye ?'

Complainant : 'That gentleman, sir (the prisoner)'.

Sir R. W. Carden : 'Gentleman ! Don't call him even a man. Call him a brute. Such conduct to a woman deserves no better title.'

Two witnesses corroborated the complainant.

Prisoner : 'It's all false. I never struck her. It was her husband that gave her the black eye.'

The complainant : 'He did not ; he only pushed me out of the room.'

The prisoner called his father and mother, but they rather confirmed the complainant's story.

John Carr was then called for defendant, but his evidence was so palpably false, that he was ordered to quit the court.

The jailor said that defendant was a tailor, who for the last twelve years had been frequently in prison for assaults, and he had been in the Compter for six weeks for beating his wife.

Sir R. W. Carden regretted that the clause in the act allowing such persons to be flogged had not been passed by the House of Commons. Had he the power, he (Sir William Carden) would have ordered him to be tied to the cart's tail and flogged through the town, and he would have placed the scourge in the hands of his victim.

He sentenced him to six months' imprisonment and hard labor."—*Observer, December 19th, 1853.*

I send you the following, as another beautiful specimen from the same paper, of what this attempt at reformation has effected :

"At Bow street, on Wednesday, Henry Bennet, a carpenter, was charged with assaulting his wife. The complainant, whose face was sadly disfigured, said she had not lived with the prisoner since his last previous assault, but now contrived to maintain herself and her children without his aid. On Wednesday morning she accidentally met him in Drury lane. Her face was tied up at the time, and he asked her what was the matter ? She said she had a face-ache, and was passing on to avoid him, when he exclaimed, 'I'll make your cheeks ache a little more,' and he gave her a blow in the face which knocked her down, and raising her head from the ground, he struck her

a succession of blows on the head with his clenched fist. She crawled into a shop, where she was protected from further violence.

Mr. Billington, of Wilson street, Drury lane, deposed to the incredible brutality of the assault, and having sheltered the woman in his shop.

The prisoner: It was all her own fault.

Mr. Henry said this was the seventh time within a short space of time that the prisoner had been charged with assaulting his wife, and, even now that she had separated herself from him, she was not safe from his inhuman treatment. He committed him to prison with hard labor for six months, and at the expiration of that time to find sureties to keep the peace for six months. The prisoner, on leaving the dock, said, with a malignant leer at his wife, he would settle the matter yet by murdering her when he got out of prison."

What a charming picture is presented by the above cases in illustration of the poetic proverb so felicitously quoted by Lord Granville, and to the delectation of their lordships! How vastly delighted they must be at such *striking* applications of their poetry, fun, and sentiment!

I add a few more such illustrations, which at the same time serve to disclose what this bill was worth in affording protection to helpless women from the brutality of these sanguinary Englishmen.

"ILL-TREATMENT OF WOMEN — PRICE OF INSULTING AND  
ASSAULTING A LADY.

At Guildhall, on Tuesday, James Tracy, commercial traveller to Mr. Robert Wild, of Houndsditch, was charged as follows:—Mrs. Wallis said she had been spending the previous evening with some friends, and was returning home with her daughter at a late hour. At the end of a court on Ludgate-hill she directed her daughter to fasten her boot lace; whilst so engaged, the defendant came and pulled up witness' dress. She instantly pushed him from her, and told him to go away. He then struck her violently in the face, and she gave him in custody. The defendant was sober, but the person with him was very drunk. Witness' eye was bloodshot, and she was very ill during the night. On leaving the witness-box, complainant fainted, and was carried out of court. The defendant said he never touched the lady's dress. He was very drunk,



and when she slapped his face he certainly did strike, but he had offered to apologize. The complainant said that at the station she offered to accept an apology, but the defendant refused to make one.

Sir J. Musgrove said it was a very serious case. It was not because ladies are sometimes compelled to go home alone at a late hour that they should be assaulted or interfered with. An apology should be made to the lady, and the defendant must pay 40s. fine, or suffer one month's imprisonment. The fine was paid.

#### “COWARDLY ASSAULT.

At Worship street, on Wednesday, John Anderson, an artist, of Church road, De Beauvoir square, was charged as follows: Miss Martha Baker, daughter of a tradesman at Hoxton, who was dressed in deep mourning, and had her face severely bruised, said that on the previous evening she and her sister proceeded by omnibus from the house of some relative in Camden Town, to Islington, and then by another omnibus to the bridge in the City road, not liking to take a cab at that hour, past eleven o'clock. They were walking the remainder of the distance, but when half way down Myrtle street, the defendant came up after them, and invited them to take his arm. They made no answer, but he endeavored to force his conversation on them, and at length forcibly thrust himself in between them. Witness said that if he persisted she would give him in charge to a constable, and she and her sister ran to the other side of the road, but just as she reached the foot pavement, he knocked her down with a blow, and she fell, by which her face was injured, as it now appeared. On getting up, she claimed the protection of a gentleman who passed. She never saw the prisoner before. Miss Lavinia Baker, complainant's sister, corroborated the above. Mr. George Tanner said that when passing through the street, he heard loud screams, and, on turning round, he saw the complainant lying partly on the road and partly on the footpath. The defendant was walking off quickly, and on witness asking what was the matter, he carelessly replied, 'Oh! they are drunk,' and passed on. The complainant, however, came up, and claimed witness' protection, and a policeman coming also, he gave the prisoner in charge. He was somewhat intoxicated, but knew well what he was about, and at the station he said he would give any compensation that would be accepted. The prisoner, in an effeminate, mincing tone, expressed his regret, and said the

the only impression he had of the matter was, that he had been first struck by one of the ladies, and he gave a blow in retaliation.

This statement was confuted, and Mr. D'Eyncourt sentenced him to £5 fine, or two months' imprisonment. The money not being forthcoming, he was locked up."

#### " WORSHIP STREET.

A powerful fellow named *Daniel White*, who was recognized as a notorious pugilist, was charged with having savagely assaulted and ill-used several respectable women in the White-chapel-road. It appeared from the evidence that the prisoner had brutally attacked the complainants, and had struck them violently, and abused them in the most disgusting language. No reason could be assigned for his conduct. The only excuse the prisoner had to make was that he was drunk. He was sentenced to four months' imprisonment in the House of Correction, and required to find bail for his good behavior for the further term of six months."—*Observer, January 2d, 1854.*

The two cases following afford similar illustrations of the workings of this bill in other parts of the kingdom:

#### " SAVAGE ASSAULT.

John Kidd, a laborer, was committed for trial at the assizes, charged with a most savage assault on Catherine Sherry, an unfortunate woman with whom he cohabited. The brute, meeting her in Bannastre street, knocked her down, kicked her repeatedly on the head as she lay on the ground, then went to a piece of waste ground for a brick, and, returning, struck her repeatedly with it on the head. How she escaped death under his hands seems a marvel.

At Leicester, James Bull, aged 19, a farm servant, was indicted for having attempted to strangle Ann Clarke, the house-keeper in the same service, a comely-looking personage, about forty years of age. The prisoner had pressed her repeatedly to marry him, and, because she refused, went to her bedside and got a rope round her neck. He repeated the attempt twice the same night; and, in the intervals between courtship and attempted murder, the parties were engaged saying prayers and singing hymns. He was convicted and sentenced to fifteen years' transportation."—*Liverpool Journal, March 25th, 1854.*

It seems to be generally admitted that this bill has proven to be a failure, and that something else is needed as a remedy for this terrible evil, as in the following extract:

“CRUELTY TO WOMEN.

There can be no question that the new law, making cruelty to women, in the shape of aggravated assault, a misdemeanor, has practically issued in failure. The records of the police courts of the metropolis present an increasing number of cases of this degrading offence, which not even the horrors of the treadmill, for six months, have been found sufficient to modify, still less to repress. Indeed, it may be doubted whether, anywhere on the face of the globe—in the lowest kraals or the most savage caves—the same disgraceful and inhuman brutality is committed on woman, which is of daily and hourly occurrence in this, the first city of the world, where monsters, who miscall themselves men, smash their wives with pokers, kick them till they are senseless, blacken their eyes, break their ribs, and vent all the bestial furies of drunkenness in the shape of blows, curses, and unmanly and indecent violence.

Nor is this brutality confined to the class of husbands or the class of ‘fancy men,’ as they are designated, who may consider themselves in the light of ‘chartered wantons,’ and act accordingly; neither does it seem necessary that the victim of man’s brutality should be his chattel, and the sharer of his bed and board. Maddened with beer and lust, another class of savages rage through the streets at nights and attack all manner of women they meet: modest or wanton, all are looked on as their proper prey. If a woman resists an insulting overture, she is smote in the face, disfigured in a moment, and then is knocked down and trampled on, as a reward for her pudicity; nay even the poor outcasts of the streets are regarded as fair game for these murderous scoundrels. Neither honor nor dishonor protects a female; wife or prostitute, all are the prey of the strongest arm, the heaviest foot, the bloodiest license of intoxication.

The worst feature in the case, however, is the fact that among the poorer classes, this brutality has come to be regarded as a matter of course, even by those who do not themselves practise it; and how bad soever may be the case, as far as bystanders of these classes concern themselves in the matter, the perpetrator enjoys perfect impunity. Men ill-use their wives and mistresses as systematically and regularly, and in as cold blood,

as they take their meals, so that savage assault has got to be an element in their natural life. It has become to be part of the system of their being—it is a recognized economy in their existence ; and ‘the neighbors’ never think of interfering. *Hinc illæ lachrymæ.*”—*Observer, September 12th, 1853.*

I am afraid that I have exhausted your patience with this long letter, Major, and must hasten to subscribe myself,

Respectfully,

Y'r ob't serv't and cousin,

P. JONES.

To MAJ. J. JONES,  
Pineville, Ga., U. S. of America.



## LETTER XXXII.

CRUEL TREATMENT OF CHILDREN IN THIS COUNTRY—CHARGE OF ADMINISTERING GIN TO A CHILD OF SEVEN YEARS—MYSTERIOUS MURDER OF A BOY NEAR PLYMOUTH—A WOMAN THROWS HER SON, AGED SIX YEARS, FROM A THIRD FLOOR WINDOW—BUCK'S HISTORY OF THIS TRANSACTION—HE IS SOLICITED TO LEAVE HIS MASTER—REFUSES, AND SETS FORTH SOME OF THE ADVANTAGES OF SLAVERY IN GEORGIA OVER POVERTY IN ENGLAND.

London, March 31st, 1854.

DEAR MAJOR:—If I added nothing to what I have already furnished, I think you would be satisfied that I have fully proven all that I have asserted in relation to the sanguinary character of the British people. But if I paused here, you would form but an imperfect idea of that blood-lust, as I have termed it, awful as may be the proportions of those developments in and by which it now appears to you. To know it in all its horrible aspects, you must be furnished with proofs of the cruelty with which children are treated by the men and women of this country.

Such cruelty is altogether unexampled in our country, as the causes which there favor and protect our women, also protect our children—and I might add, indeed, all inferior dependents, to a great extent. Such instances, then, as I shall bring to your attention, from their novel and extraordinary character to you, cannot fail to interest; and when you have read them, you will fully appreciate the truth of what my servant said on this subject, in his peculiar way, to the lady whom he was addressing on the evening of the demonstration in favor of Mrs. Stowe, made by the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, at Exeter Hall, and mentioned in my letter of June 1st, 1853.

I begin with the following:

“CHARGE OF ADMINISTERING GIN TO A CHILD, SEVEN  
YEARS OLD.

At Marylebone office, on Thursday, Hannah Maria Ewens, a widow, about 50 years of age, was brought up in custody, and placed at the bar before Mr. Broughton, charged under the following extraordinary circumstances; and it will be seen from the subjoined evidence that the conduct of a police-sergeant in reference to the affair was of a most inexplicable and unsatisfactory nature. Police-constable Ramsey, 57 D, said: I live with my family on the first floor of No. 13, Upper Dorchester-place, and the prisoner lives on the second floor. After going off night duty I returned home and went to bed at seven this morning, and at eight o'clock I heard what I thought to be a loud knocking over head, which proceeded from the prisoner's room. I sent my little girl Elizabeth, who is not yet seven years of age, up stairs, to say that I could get no sleep for the noise, and in the course of a few minutes I heard something rolling on the floor. I shortly afterwards sent up my son to fetch down his sister, and he brought her in his arms to me, and laid her down in the room. She was quite insensible, and was incapable of moving either hand or foot. She was perfectly well when I sent her up. I put her to bed, and I smelt that she had had gin. After the lapse of an hour, finding that she did not get better, I got up and dressed myself, and took her to Dr. Guy, in Dorset place, by whose advice I conveyed her instantly in a cab to the Western General Dispensary, New road. We arrived there at half-past ten. The

stomach-pump was applied, and the child was put into a hot bath. I left her at the dispensary, and then repaired to the station-house in Molyneux street, where I reported to Sergeant Pearce, the acting inspector on duty, what had occurred; and the remark he made was, 'It's not a proper charge; you can't take her into custody, for no person saw her give the child the gin.' The child was then in a most dangerous state, which I mentioned to the inspector. John Ramsay, complainant's son, proved that he found the child as described by the father. Prisoner was in bed, and a bottle was standing by. Mr. Buxton, resident surgeon to the General Dispensary, said: On the previous day the child of prosecutor was brought there insensible. The stomach-pump was applied, and nearly a quart of lightish fluid drawn off. The child continued extremely ill all the afternoon, and he was obliged to open the jugular vein. He still regarded the child's situation as dangerous. But for the application of the stomach-pump death must have overtaken the child. Osborne, 280 D, said prisoner had admitted to him that she had given the child something which would make it all over with her. He took her to the station house, as she was drunk and incapable of taking care of herself, but Sergeant Pearce would not take the charge. Mr. Broughton remanded the prisoner till Thursday next. The poor child has passed from this mortal world, having died early on Friday morning."—*Observer, February 24th, 1851.*

The next extract refers to the murder of a boy near Plymouth, and is as follows:

“MYSTERIOUS MURDER OF A BOY NEAR PLYMOUTH.

Great excitement has prevailed in the village of Brixton, near Plymouth, owing to a rumor that a boy, named John Bunker, who was found hanging on a tree in an orchard, had been murdered by the son of his master, Mr. Henry Rowe, a respectable farmer. W. Rowe, the accused, was arrested on Saturday week; and Mr. Bone, the coroner, opened an inquest on that day, which was resumed on Monday. The following is the substance of the evidence given:—

John Layers, a lad in Mr. H. Rowe's employ, said that on Friday morning at a quarter to six o'clock, he saw the deceased leave the court-yard of the farm house, with a cart drawn by two horses. He was in a great hurry, and appeared to be

well, and in good spirits. He had a whip, but no rope in his hand. About noon the same day Mr. Henry Rowe left his work in one of his fields, having heard that something had happened to the deceased.

Thomas Froude, a policeman, said that he had been informed that there was a charge of a horrible crime against W. Rowe; and on Saturday receiving information that he was suspected of having murdered John Bunker, he arrested him on both charges. The prisoner denied all knowledge of the acts charged, and said that the deceased had fetched from the house the rope which had been found round his neck. There were marks of coagulated blood on the back of the deceased's right and left hand, a scratch on the temple, and blood coming from the nose and mouth; that from the mouth fresher than the rest. In the orchard where deceased was found, he saw foot-marks corresponding with the prisoner's boots. The prisoner's handkerchief and vest had blood marks, some of them fresh, and five bullets were in his waistcoat pocket. He said he used bullets to kill rabbits.

The clothes and the blood marks were exhibited to the jury.

Mr. W. Pattison Mould, surgeon, knew Rowe's family many years. At about ten, P. M., on Friday week, the prisoner's brother, John, called witness to see deceased's body. It at first seemed as if death had been from suffocation. On examining the body, he saw on the back of the knuckle of the right hand middle finger a streak of dry blood an inch long, and three or four spots of blood on the back of the left wrist, such as might have been produced by chaps in the hand. The boy had been to 'lime,' and the backs of his hands were in a bad state; the right hand very dirty, the left clean. There was very little mud on the boots. A mark, as of a blow, was on the left temple. There was a blood mark under the division of the nostril on the upper lip, and a streak of blood on the mouth, extending an inch and a half down the cheek. The knees of the trousers were soiled with mud. On minutely examining the body, no further external violence was perceptible, excepting a slight blood mark under the left ear, proceeding from a small chap, and the lobe of the ear was bruised. No blood had effused from the ears, and on wiping the blood from the upper lip no wounds were visible. The blood had evidently escaped from the nose and mouth, and dried on the skin. The cheeks were slightly swollen. The eyes were not suffused with blood.

Anne Couch, Mr. H. Rowe's servant, said the deceased ap-

peared pale and poorly, and wished, on that morning, to go 'liming' (*i. e.*, to fetch lime) from the kiln.

W. Good said that on Friday week, whilst in a field half a mile from the orchard, he heard a loud 'screech' from the wood adjoining the orchard. It was as if a man were strangling a youngster with his hands. This was shortly after nine o'clock.

Richard Scoble, when in the field on Friday week, heard a cry in the direction of the wood. His brother was on horseback, and they proceeded towards the wood, but saw nothing.

James Ellis spoke to deceased respecting the other horrible crime charged against the prisoner, and deceased said that the charge was true, and that the prisoner had offered him money not to say what he knew concerning it.

After the examination of some other witnesses, the jury consulted for two hours, and returned a verdict that 'Deceased died of strangulation, and that he was wilfully murdered by some person or persons unknown.'

The prisoner, who remains in custody, was to be examined by the magistrates."—*Observer, March 17th, 1851.*

A month or so after my arrival in London, my servant obtained permission one day to go out and see the "curosities," as he expressed it. Guided by a lad who ran on errands for the house where we were staying, he wandered in the direction of St. Paul's, and into the heart of the city. During their stroll they met with an adventure, which you must have as Buck gave it to me.

"We was gwine 'long, Marster," said he, "lookin at the curus sights, an the things in the shops, an the boy he said, says he, 'Thar's the Post Hoffice, Mr. Buck,' says he, 'whar people gits letters from,' says he. Why, Mars-ter, that Post Office in Augusty can't hold a candle to them bildins, sir. You can almost put hit into one o' them big rooms.

'Well,' says I, 'Tom,' says I, 'to my notion, hit must cost a power o' money,' says I, 'to carry the mail from one part o' that big house to 'nuther. I spose they must keep a railroad in thar to do it with,' says I.

The boy luffed at me, sir, he did, becuse he thought I didn't know no better—all time I was divartin myself with him, sir.



'Come 'long, now, Mr. Buck,' says he, 'an I'll show you the Chartrus,' says he.

So, arter we had seen the Chartrus——"

"The Charter-house, I suppose you mean, Buck," said I.

"Well, I spose that was what the boy meant, Marster; for you know he can't talk very plain, sir, no how. He perposed then, sir, that we should go to the — the — what-do-you-call-um? — the big-gun ground, sir."

"The Artillery Ground," said I.

"Adzackly so, Marster. 'An to Bunhill Fields,' says he, 'whar thar was a buryin-ground,' says he, 'an hit wasn't far off,' says he.

I thought it mighty curus, Marster, how thar should be any fields right thar in London, an a buryin-ground, too; for you know, sir, that in Georgy we allers has 'um on the outskearts of the town. Howbeever, thinks I, I'll go an see them fields, an maybe 'mong them all I'll find a patch of new ground, an we'll git a showin for Marster's plough yit, 'fore the Great Exerbishun's over." [Here the rogue turned his head away, but I plainly saw that he was grinning.] "Well, Marster, as we was passin along, an takin a nigh cut as the boy said, to them fields, sir, we heerd a scream from the up-stars winders of a house, but we couldn't see whar it was, adzackly, sir. Presently we seed people runnin to the place, an we follered, an then we seed a poor little boy lyin on the ground bleedin. There was a mighty jabberin an gwine on over him, an I couldn't 'zackly larn how hit was; but, as well as I could tell, he was flung out of a winder, an by his own mother, too, everybody said, sir. Arter a while, I sees a woman 'mong the crowd that they said was his mother, an done it. She was sorter drunk, an cavorted round mightily, tell a pleeceman come an tuk her off to jail, an had the child tuk away to a doctor.

'Marster,' says I, to a gen'l'man that was tellin the crowd about it, 'hit aint true, now, that the child's mother flung him out the winder, sir. Hit must a been somebody else, musn't it, sir?' says I.

'No, blackamoor,' says he, 'hit mustn't. Hit was her, an nobody else,' says he.

'What could have made her gone an done it?' says I.

'Gin,' says he; 'gin an the devil.'

'Well raaly!' says I, 'I think the devil must a had somethin to do with it; for all the gin in the world, and knock-kneed whiskey to boot,' says I, jest so, 'couldn't make a mother kill her own child, 'thout the help o' the devil—leastwise, that's the way with the mothers whar I comes from, Marster,' says I.

'Whar do you come from?' says he.

'Georgy,' says I.

'What sort o' Georgy?' says he; 'not whar they breeds gals for Turkey?' says he.

'Come, Marster,' says I, 'for I wasn't in a humor for funnin with the gen'l'man, 'come, Marster, you're arter pokin fun at this nigger. They don't breed no gals in my country for turkeys, you know very well,' says I; 'but I must say, Marster,' says I, 'ef they did, an cooked one on 'um every day for dinner,' says I, jest so, 'thar would be more sense in hit than the way the people has here, of killin thar children for nuthin, an puttin 'um to no use at all,' says I.

The gen'l'man seemed to think what I said was powerful funny, Marster, for he laffed mightily.

'*You* goose,' says he, 'who talked about turkeys? I asked you ef you was from Georgy in Asia,' says he, 'whar gals are bred and trained as wives for the Turks,' says he.

'No sir-ree!' says I. 'Ef thar's any sich Georgy as that, Marster, I'm not from thar. I'm from Georgy in Ameriky, sir,' says I, 'whar we has as pretty gals, too,' says I, 'as any in the world, sir,' says I. 'But we takes mighty good care, Marster, that they corniffles in the breasts of our own men the dextority of their charms,' says I, jest so.

You see, Marster, I sorter talked what you call hyfer-lutin at the gen'l'man, becuse I wanted him to see that this nigger knowed a thing or two hissself when he thunk about it, and becuse I was determed to stand up for my country when it was insulted.

'Oh, that's hit, is it?' says the gen'l'man. 'An so you are from Georgy in Ameriky,' says he, 'whar they have slaves, don't they?'

'Yes, Marster,' says I.

'Why, ef we bleeve half what we heer,' says he, 'ef the slaveholders thar don't fling thar children out o' winder, they makes nothin o' whippin thar slaves to deth, any time. How 'bout that?' says he. 'Aint that so?'

'Nairy time,' Marster,' says I. 'Leastwise I hardly ever heerd o' sich a thing,' says I. 'An hit don't stand to reason, Marster,' says I. 'People ginerly don't part with thar money so easy,' says I. 'Niggers is mighty high,' says I; 'an ef a man kills his nigger, he flings his money away. Your people,' says I, 'can 'ford to fling thar children out o' winder,' says I, 'becase they aint worth much, ef anything; but they's mighty clar of doin thar money so,' says I, jest so. 'Fact is, Marster, to my notion, we aint so servigious, no how, no way you can fix it,' says I, jest so, 'as you are in this country.'

'Were you a slave, old boy, whar you come from?' says he.

'Yes, Marster,' says I.

'An yit you call it *your* country, as ef you was free,' says he. 'How come it any country of yourn,' says he, 'ef you was a slave?'

'Marster,' says I, 'that's whar I was born an raised, that's whar my wife an chil'n is,' says I; 'an we's all mighty happy thar, an I think I has a right to call it my country,' says I. 'Besides that,' says I, 'my granddaddy he fout for the country in the Independence War; an, for the matter o' that, I sorter done somethin o' that kind myself—leastwise, my Marster he went out agin the Seminoles, an fit through the Fluridas, an I went 'long with him as his sarvant. It's true, we didn't git much chance to extinguish ourselves, an killed more alligators than Injuns; but we done the best we could, an you know, Marster, nobody could do no more,' says I, jest so.

'How did you git here?' says he.

'I come with my Marster, sir; who I left this mornin at his lodgins in the Strand,' says I.

'An you're gwine back to him?' says he.

'Sartain,' says I, 'ef I live.'

'You fool,' says he; 'what! go back to slavery? You

shouldn't think of it. Come 'long with me, an I'll git you employment.'

'What will you git me?' says I.

'Let me see — I will git you,' says he, 'I will git you ten pence a day,' says he; 'an that's big wages for a hod-man, for carryin brick,' says he; 'but bein you're a slave,' says he, 'an wish to git away from your Marster, I'll do that for you,' says he.

'Marster,' says I, 'ef hit was ten shillins, hit wouldn't begin to pay. I should be givin up a sartainty for a on-sartainty,' says I, jest so. 'Why, hit's as much as the workin people kin do here, Marster, to keep soul an body together—an a great many on 'um don't do it; for I meets 'um everywhar 'bout, sufferin for somethin to eat,' says I. 'Us slaves in Georgy, Marster, has got a plenty, an to spar. An then our marsters has to tote all our cares an troubles, an the troubles o' our families,' says I; 'they aint on our backs. Our marsters is bound to do it; an ef we git's sick, we's nursed, Marster, at our marster's expense. We's his money, an he wants to turn us over soon as possible,' says I, jest so. 'For same reason, sir, our marsters couldn't 'ford to let thar sarvants drown thar cares, ef they ever has any, — which ef they has is onbeknowns to me, — in gin, or any sich pisin, as your poor people do. An so we is decent, an sober, an God-fearing people, Marster,' says I. 'When we gits old,' says I, 'an can't do anything for ourselves,' says I, 'he's obleeged to take care of an support us; an he'll love to do it, becace marsters ginerly, in my country, gits to likin thar sarvants,' says I, jest so.\* 'An that aint all,

\* See Appendix, D.

Whilst these pages have been passing through the press, events have occurred at Harper's Ferry, which have afforded a striking illustration of much that has been said by Dr. Jones and his servant in these letters, as to the relations of master and slave in the Southern States.

As has been remarked by Governor Wise, when speaking of this Harper's Ferry affair, it seems impossible for Northern men to understand the patriarchal character of the relation between master and slave in our country — that is to say, the nature of the strong family tie which, as a general rule, exists between them. It is to be hoped that this affair has by this time taught them something on this subject. That it has at least satisfied the viper of abolitionism, that in attempting to excite our contented and comfortable slaves into rebellion against their masters, it bites against a file.

Marster,' says I: 'to tell you the truth, ef I was sure of gittin plenty to eat here in this country, an bein tuk care of while I lived, an ef I didn't like my marster too well to desart him,' says I, 'I wouldn't live in a country whar

The author of these letters passed through a portion of Virginia and Maryland, attended by a colored servant, about the time of the occurrence to which he has just referred, and had thus some opportunity of forming an opinion as to the amount of sympathy with the movement on the part of slaves, and of the impression made upon them by it. He was thus enabled to ascertain (what is everywhere now well known) that even in the border States it met with no encouragement from slaves, and was, indeed, treated by them with contempt. This fact is so well understood at the South, and our people are so conscious that there is no *materiel* of disaffection among our slaves, out of which insubordination or insurrection can arise, that, notwithstanding all the excitement which has been created by this affair, and the increased vigilance which has been exercised in looking after strange visitors among us, little or no change has been made in our police regulations with reference to our slaves, and the value of these slaves, as property, has been in no wise affected. There can be no better tests than these of security and confidence among our people, on this subject.

When the circumstances to which I have referred first occurred, the people of the South were disposed to regard them as overt acts of the treason which fanatical Abolitionists of the North had been so long talking and writing; and we repeated to ourselves the trite, but classic sentiment, that "Whom God wills to destroy, he first makes mad" — almost rejoicing in the confident expectation, that this outrage, which was but the practical working out of Abolition doctrines, was so dangerously and shockingly evil, that the friends of our Constitution and of the Union in the Northern States would now be enabled so to speak and act, as effectually to overwhelm all who were concerned in, or responsible for the treason, with infamy and disgrace. In this, great and general disappointment has been experienced and expressed. And now, in the opinion of moderate and reflecting men of all parties in the South, of men who are by no means mixed up with the manœuvres of politicians, there has been so much of sympathy with the perpetrators of this mad treason manifested at the North, without effective rebuke or denunciation from those whom we have been accustomed to regard as the conservative members of society there, as greatly to lessen our confidence in these persons, and very much to loosen the hold of our affections upon the Union of these States. I see very plainly what the result will be unless the remedy be applied without delay. That remedy must be taken in hand by the *people* (not the *politicians*) of the Northern States. If these people desire a continuance of the Union with us, they must bring to bear upon the crisis a power before which politicians bow down and grovel, and fanatics stand stricken with awe — *the power of well-defined public opinion*. Unless that opinion be speedily manifested in some energetic and decisive form, (and I know of none so effectual as the ballot.) another republic, in a few years, will be added to the roll of nations upon the North American continent. I shrink from the contemplation of its baptism.

the women flings thar children out o' the winders,' says I, jest so. I think, 'bout this time, the gen'l'man didn't like the way the argument was a gwine, Marster, an so drapped it, and put out."

On the next day, I attended the police court at the Guildhall, where I was informed that the woman who had maltreated her child in the manner stated by Buck would be examined. Below you have an account of that examination:

"POLICE INTELLIGENCE. — *Saturday, August 23.*

*Guildhall.* — Margaret Raymond, aged thirty, was charged before Alderman Wilson, with throwing her son, aged six, from the third-floor window of a house in Sun court, Golden lane. Policeman, 140 D, said he received information on the previous evening that a child had been thrown out of a window, and proceeded to No. 9, Golden lane. The prisoner was coming out, and she exclaimed, 'I have done it now!' The child was sent to the hospital, and the prisoner taken into custody. The child afterwards said that his mother had thrown him out of the window because he would not let her take off his boots. The prisoner: 'I was very drunk, your worship.' Alderman Wilson: 'Do you think that to be a justification of your conduct?' The police officer: 'She knew very well what she was doing. The child fell on his head on the shed below the window, and rolled thence to the ground.' The surgeon's certificate was produced. It stated that the child's head was much injured, but the skull was not fractured. Mary Ann Regan, an intelligent girl, aged eleven, who said she never read the Bible, but always told the truth, deposed that she lived in the house (No. 9), and was looking through the second-floor window. She saw the prisoner holding the child out of the upper window; he exclaimed, 'Oh, mother, don't chuck me out!' The mother then took him by the heels and dropped him out of the window. At the same time a little girl in the mother's room exclaimed, 'Oh, mother, don't throw him out!' The prisoner was committed for trial. She subsequently admitted that she had wanted the boy's boots in order to sell them for gin." — *Observer, August 25th, 1851.*

The scene described in this report has reminded me somewhat of one of Hogarth's famous pictures, known as



A WOMAN THROWS HER CHILD FROM A THIRD STORY WINDOW





"Gin Lane," and suggestive of manners and morals in this metropolis more than a century ago. The principal figure in that horrible picture is a loathsome woman, so drunk that she lets her child fall from her arms into a cellar, situated in the area, above which she is seated. She is surpassed by her modern successor in the gin lanes, however; for the latter does not wait until her child falls by accident from her arms, but throws it from the window, that she may exchange its boots for gin. A catastrophe so shocking was not imagined by Hogarth. I suppose he would have rejected it, as too unnatural for probability—another illustration of the hackneyed phrase that "truth is strange—stranger than fiction."

I bring this letter to a close by assuring you that I remain, dear Major,

Respectfully,

Yr. friend and cousin,

P. JONES.

To MAJ. JONES,  
Pineville, Ga., U. S. of America.

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### LETTER XXXIII.

TWO CHILDREN MURDERED BY THEIR FATHER AT CAMBERWELL—MURDER OF A CHILD BY ITS MOTHER, AND DEATH OF THE LATTER—HORRIBLE MURDER OF TWO CHILDREN BY THEIR MOTHER AT LOUGHREA—MURDER OF AN INFANT BY ITS STEP-FATHER—ILL-TREATMENT OF A CHILD BY ITS FATHER (A CLERGYMAN) AND HIS SISTER, RESULTING IN ITS DEATH—MURDER OF AN INFANT IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF THE BAGNIGGE-WELLSROAD—BUCK DISCOURSES ON THAT TEXT.

London, April 4th, 1854.

DEAR MAJOR:—I hasten to furnish you with other matter which I have in hand relating to the subject which I was considering when I last wrote to you.

I send you, first, the account of the murder of two children, and the injury of another, by a father, perpe-

trated in this city during the fall of 1851. It presents a curious chapter in the bloodthirsty history of cruelty to children on the part of Englishmen.

“TWO CHILDREN MURDERED BY THEIR FATHER AT CAMBERWELL. — SUICIDE OF THE MURDERER.

*The Discovery.*—On Tuesday morning, about eight o'clock, one of the most horrible murders that has been committed for some years was discovered in the Wyndham road, Camberwell, which threw the whole of the neighborhood into a fearful state of excitement, when it became known that a respectable tradesman in that vicinity had cut the throats of his three young children, and destroyed himself. The name of the father is Anthony Fawcett, aged forty-three, and on Monday he took possession of a grocer's shop at the corner of Queen's place, Wyndham road, lately occupied by Mr. Stockham. He brought with him his wife and three children—Emily Fawcett, six years and a half old, deceased; Frederick, one year and seven months, deceased; and Mary Ann, who is badly wounded. He seemed to have been greatly disappointed with his purchase, and grumbled very much to his wife respecting it; but nothing in his appearance indicated any symptoms of insanity. A little after seven o'clock the family got up, and his wife dressed the two elder children and took them down stairs to breakfast, leaving the baby in bed up stairs. While the children and father were partaking of their morning meal in the back parlor at eight o'clock, the wife ran out to convey two letters to the Post Office, which is only two or three hundred yards distant, and during her absence the man cut the throats of all his children. On her return she was horror-stricken at finding her two elder children with their throats cut; and on proceeding further she perceived her husband cutting his own throat in the back kitchen. She immediately ran out and alarmed the neighbors, when police constable 115 P, Edward Sharvill, who was on duty near the spot, entered the house, and instantly proceeded to the back kitchen, where he found the murderer lying under the sink, quite insensible, with blood gushing from his neck. He took him up, and found a large table knife in his grasp, which he had cut his throat with, and at the time he was not dead. A doctor was directly sent for, and Mr. King, surgeon, of Camberwell, attended, but Fawcett's death took place a few minutes after. He had cut his throat from ear to ear. On the constable entering the back parlor, he discovered

Emily, aged six years and a half, lying dead, with her throat dreadfully cut, under the window, and Mary Ann, sitting nearly opposite, with hers also cut, but not effectually. Mr. King, as well as other surgeons, who had been called in, attended to the latter, and there is every likelihood that the poor little girl will recover. On going up stairs, the constable perceived the younger child with its head hanging out of bed, quite dead, with its throat cut, and the bed deluged with blood. There can be no doubt that the father committed the murders with three knives, as a large bacon knife, covered with blood, was found in the bedroom, a table knife in the back parlor, and another in the man's hand. They all appeared to have been recently sharpened. Superintendent Lund, of the P division, was shortly after on the spot, when information was forwarded to the coroner of the horrible circumstance. The news soon spread and thousands of people assembled."—*Observer*, October 6th, 1851.

Here follow two most unnatural and distressing cases :

**"MURDER OF A CHILD BY ITS MOTHER, AND DEATH OF THE  
LATTER.**

An inquest was held at Durham, on Friday last, on the bodies of Catherine Smith and her infant child. It appeared that the deceased woman had been married three weeks to a shipwright when she gave birth to a male child, which she destroyed by dashing its head against the wall, and then expired for want of proper attendance after delivery. Her husband had accused her of being in the family-way, but she had denied the fact. He had given her some medicine when she complained of being ill, and had gone out to work. It was during his absence that she effected the above murder."—*Observer*, December 15th, 1851.

**"HORRIBLE TRAGEDY AT LOUGHREA.**

This town has been thrown into great excitement in consequence of the murder of two children by their mother. The unfortunate perpetrator of this crime is a Mrs Colgrave, the wife of the head-constable of police here. On Thursday night week, her husband being absent, she sent her maid on a message from the police-barrack, in which she lived. Having secured the door, she proceeded to the bed where her children

(two boys), aged respectively four years and a half and nine months, were sleeping, and murdered them by cutting their throats with a razor. The head of the elder child was nearly severed from the body, and the wound upon the neck of the other was such as must have produced immediate death. She then attempted to put an end to her own life by the same means, but did not succeed in doing so. Her husband has become insane since the fatal occurrence. She was of a morbid, melancholy temperament, but until this occurrence an affectionate mother and wife." — *Observer, January 26th, 1852.*

The next case to which I call your attention is the murder of a poor little child by its step-father, who threw it into a well. The annals of desperate wickedness seldom furnish a more revolting case.

#### "MURDER OF AN INFANT IN SURREY.

A most tragical event has just come to light. A man named Keene, who was formerly for some time in the employment of the South-Eastern Railway Company, at Shalford station, as an engine cleaner, was married to a native of Albury, whose maiden name was Jane Broomer. While single, about May, 1848, she was confined of an illegitimate child, the putative father of which was stated by her to be a policeman. It was after this period she was married to Keene, and one day, when walking out together on the Downs, he took the child away from her and walked away with it, being absent from her about three quarters of an hour, when he returned, bringing the shawl the child was wrapped in, and giving it to his wife, stating that she would never again want it for the same purpose it had been used for. This happened about ten months ago. She made frequent inquiries of him what he had done with the child? which she at last elicited from him; for about a week since she disclosed to her mother the sad secret that her husband had thrown the child down a well, situate in the Warren, in the parish of Guildford. The poor old woman, in the anguish of her mind, communicated the facts to one of her sons, who soon made it known to the proper police authorities at Guilford, who took Keene and his wife into custody. Superintendent Radley and one of his men went to Shere, on Tuesday afternoon week, and procuring some well tackle, proceeded with proper assistance to the well pointed out by the woman Keene. A man of the name of William Edser, who

was accidentally passing at the time, and who had formerly assisted in digging this well, undertook to go down. The depth is about 187 feet; when he reached the bottom he was horror-struck at seeing the skeleton of a child lying on its back — one foot across a small beam. On trying to lift it, it fell to pieces. He gathered up the bones, put them into a basket, and brought them to the top with him. An inquest was held on the body, but adjourned. On Tuesday Keene and his wife were examined at Guildford before the magistrates, when evidence was given proving that the female prisoner had confessed the crime of which her husband had been guilty. She said that she would have made the confession before, but her husband had threatened to murder her if she said anything about it. In order to give the police the fullest opportunity of collecting all the facts relating to the horrible affair, as also to learn the result of the coroner's investigation, the bench remanded the prisoners, and they were despatched to Horse-monger lane jail." — *Observer, February 9th, 1852.*

The last case is bad enough, truly, but worse are to follow. Take, for example, the following, which is the destruction of a child from continued ill-treatment and starvation, by its aunt, who was aided and abetted by its own father. I grieve to say, too, that that father was a clergyman, and that the insensate brutality which seems to characterize this British people extends even to those whose mission it is to preach "peace on earth, good-will to men." It is true that the perpetrators of this crime resided at the time in India; but they were from this country, as you will perceive, and the case only proves that "*cælum non animum mutant, qui transmare currunt.*"

#### "THE CHARGE AGAINST A CLERGYMAN AND HIS SISTER IN INDIA.

A previous mail stated that the Rev. J. M'Kay and his sister were charged with inflicting such an amount of ill-treatment on the child of the male prisoner as to cause its death. The following is the indictment. The first count charged Miss M'Kay, with having, on the 4th of October last, and five following days, in Beleepoorah, at Benares, on one Helen M'Kay, the child of the prisoner, John M'Kay, maliciously and felo-

niously made divers assaults with a whip and hempen cords, giving her mortal wounds and bruises in different parts of her body, of which she languished from the 4th to the 9th of October, and then died. And it further charged the male prisoner with having been present at the commission of this felony and murder, aiding and abetting the female in it: and alleged that both did thus kill and murder the child. The second count alleged that both the prisoners, contriving and intending to starve and murder the child, made several assaults upon her from the 4th to the 9th of October, and confined her in a room, and neglected, omitted, or refused to give or suffer to be given sufficient meat and drink for her sustenance, in consequence of which she died, and the prisoners did thus feloniously murder her. They were found guilty of aggravated manslaughter, and sentenced to be transported for life to Van Diemen's Land." *Observer, February 16th, 1852.*

Early in the year 1852, we had another specimen of what civilization was doing for the metropolis in the neighborhood of the Bagnigge-Wells Road. A mother and wife in that neighborhood murdered her infant, and endeavored to hang herself, as you will see by the following account:

#### "MURDER AND ATTEMPTED SUICIDE.

On Monday morning last, considerable excitement was created throughout the neighborhood of Bagnigge Wells-road, by the discovery that on the previous day a young woman named Barbara Goodwin, aged 26 years, the wife of a carpenter in the employ of Mr. Greenend, builder, in the Caledonian road, living at the house of her parents with her husband, No 18 George street, in that locality, had murdered her infant child, Thomas Goodwin, aged seventeen months, and also made a most desperate attempt on her own life by cutting her throat with a razor. From inquiries made on the spot, it appears that for some time past she had been observed to be very low-spirited, and to express a wish that she was in the grave. Her friends frequently urged her to cheer up, and not give way to such dulness, but without avail. She was dotingly fond of her child, 16 months old, and was constantly caressing it. On Saturday night last, about half past six o'clock, she sent for a female relation, who came to her house, on which she found

her in a very depressed state of mind, when she repeated her wish to be in the grave. At about ten o'clock on Saturday night, she retired to rest with her husband and child. At an early hour on Sunday morning, a young woman, residing in the same house, had her attention attracted by a gurgling noise, and shortly after, Mr. Goodwin, the husband, was awoke out of his sleep by the same noise, when he found his child in the struggles of death; his wife having administered to it a quantity of deadly poison, and the mother was lying on the bed bleeding profusely from a wound in her throat, which she had inflicted with her husband's razor. He instantly made an alarm, and Dr. Wicker, a neighboring surgeon, was sent for, and he promptly attended and rendered every assistance. He administered antidotes to the child, and sewed up the wound on the throat of the unhappy mother, who now lies at her residence in a dangerous condition. The poor child, which was a handsome little creature, died shortly after the poison had been administered to it. No reason is at present assigned for the rash acts. She is kept very quiet, and all that she has been heard to say, with reference to the deceased child is, that "the dear child is in heaven, where she hopes soon to be with it."

On Wednesday, Mr. Wakley, M.P., opened an inquiry into the circumstances at the sign of the Britannia, Britannia street, Gray's Inn road, when it appeared that Mrs. Goodwin had always discharged her domestic duties with every affection and propriety, never betraying the slightest aberration of intellect until the death of her father, to whom she was fondly attached, and who died eight months ago, since which period she had become melancholy. It also appeared that when Dr. Wicker had dressed the wound in her throat, and restored her to consciousness, in answer to questions put to her, she said that when she brought the child into the room adjoining the bedroom on the Sunday morning, she gave it a teaspoonful and a half of laudanum, and drank herself the remaining contents of two phials, which she bought at different shops in pennyworths. After taking the laudanum she brought the child again to bed, when she vomited up the poison, and fearing that the child would die, and she would live, she cut her own throat with a razor, which she then wrapped in her pocket-handkerchief and placed under her pillow. The coroner having been informed that the mother was in a hopeless state, ordered her immediate removal to the hospital, and adjourned the inquiry until it was ascertained whether the mother survived or not. The unfortunate creature is under the surveillance of the police."—*Observer, Feb. 6th, 1852.*

When I had read this report, I called Buck's attention to it, and remarked that it afforded further evidence of that need of the missionary in the Bagnigge-Wells Road which he had suggested.

"May depend upon it, Marster," said he, "the devil has got persession o' them people. But fact is, I begin to find so many other places here, 'bout as bad, that I'm sort o' jubous ef it's worth while to send a mishunnary to them people while so many in other places in this country is starvin for the bread o' life. We can't 'ford to send preachers an Bibles to all on um, sir, you know. Hit's a thousand pities, too! But, Marster, I'm beginnin to larn that heap o' the bad doins here is owin to gin. The devil is behind the gin-barrel, I do suppose; but gin is at the bottom of so much villany here, that I think some o' them 'postles o' temperance is needed 'bout as bad as the pairson. I do bleeve, Marster, ef we could git Mars. George Pearce to come over here, he would knock the hind sights off o' some o' old Satan's big guns; but hit 'll take Uncle Jjabney, or some o' them temperance fellers, sir, to spike 'um."

I will recur to the subject of this letter in my next; and now beg leave to add only that I am, sir,

Respectfully,

Yr. friend and cousin,

P. JONES.

To MAJOR J. JONES,  
Pineville, Ga., U. S. of America.



## LETTER XXXIV.

CHARGE AGAINST A FARMER, OF MURDER, BY THROWING A CHILD TO BE DEVoured BY A SOW—CRUELTY TO A CHILD THREE YEARS OLD—MURDER OF A CHILD—FATAL CRUELTY TO A CHILD BY BURNING IT IN THE HAND WITH A LIVE COAL—MURDER OF CHILDREN FOR BURIAL-FEES—MURDER OF A CHILD BY STARVATION, AND ILL-TREATMENT BY FATHER AND STEP-MOTHER—CRUEL TREATMENT OF A CHILD BY ITS MOTHER—CHILD-TORTURE, BY WAY OF CHRISTMAS SPORTS.

London, April 6th, 1854.

DEAR MAJOR:—Continuing the subject which I was treating when I last wrote to you, I send you other instances of brutal cruelty to children on the part of this British people. And the next to which I call your attention is so shocking, and disgusting in its details, as almost to deter me from dwelling on it long enough to enclose it to you. Read it, if you can, and agree with me, that never, even when struggling with the heaviest nightmare, did it enter into the brain of an American to dream of anything half so horrible.

“CHARGE OF MURDER AGAINST A FARMER BY THROWING AN INFANT TO BE DEVoured BY A SOW.

The Brecon county magistrates were engaged for several hours on the 28th ult., in investigating a charge preferred against Mr. Thomas Phillips, of Pentrenaboth, in the hamlet of Senny, Brecknockshire, by a discharged servant of his, named Hugh Williams. It appeared that upon Williams demanding an arrear of wages due to him about three weeks back, a quarrel ensued, when Williams accused his master of having murdered his illegitimate child by throwing it alive to a sow, who devoured the infant. This report having obtained

circulation, Phillips felt anxious to retrieve his character, and caused an attorney at Brecon to demand a retraction of the charge. Instead, however, of doing so, Williams at once denounced his master before the magistrate as a murderer, and brought a lad, who with himself was in Phillips's employ, to prove the fact. Mr. Phillips voluntarily appeared before the magistrates, and declared his wish to meet the charge at once. Hugh Williams was then sworn, and deposed that in the month of March, 1850, he was in the employ of Phillips. One day as he was coming up towards the fold, he saw Phillips. An infant lay on the ground before him, being devoured by a sow. He saw the child in the sow's mouth, and heard it cry. The sow was eating the lower portion of the body. Had never seen the child at Phillips's before. There was a female servant in the house. Had heard people say there was something the matter with her. The previous night she was fainting. There was a boy in the service then, named Thomas Williams. The girl's name was Margaret Morgan. When the sow was eating the child, witness attempted to stop her. She ran off, and had devoured it all before he got up to the sow. Witness told Phillips of it then, and he said if he dared to say anything about it he would kill him directly.

Cross-examined by Mr. S. B. Evans: Mentioned it to 'Peggy of the Velin' (of the mill) directly afterwards. Thos. Phillips turned the sow into the pigsty immediately. Margaret Morgan stood at the door looking at the sow eating the child. She did not work for two or three days about that time. She is now at Dowlais. (Here some person stated that Margaret Morgan was in court, she having, it appeared, been fetched as a witness on behalf of Phillips. She was, however, brought forward and placed in the dock as a prisoner.) She complained of being unwell. She said, after witness went to her, 'Oh!' and clasped her hands together. Witness first ran after the sow, and then returned and asked Phillips and the girl what they had been doing. Davis was in the fold then. He wanted to go home. He was afraid of the sow, which used to be very savage. The witness was then cross-examined at some length as to some delusion he had lately labored under of having been carried away by a ghost many miles across the country, which he gravely admitted to have been the fact, much to the surprise and astonishment of all present.

Thomas Davis was then called. He stated that he was 14 years of age. Last March twelvemonth he was in the service of Phillips. One day, about dinner-time, he saw Phillips bring

a little child out of the house on a tilestone, and throw it down before the sow. Phillips fetched the sow from the cot. Heard the child cry. Hugh Williams came up when the child was half devoured. Margaret Morgan came to the door. Witness was afraid of the sow, and ran away. Told his mother and 'Peggy of the Post' of it immediately he reached home. His mother's name was Ann Davis. The prisoner Margaret Morgan was the girl who was looking at the sow eating the child. The witness, who appeared to be an intelligent lad, gave his evidence in a straightforward manner. After hearing the evidence, the magistrates stated their intention of remanding the prisoner for further examination to Saturday next, when the mother of the boy and other witnesses will be summoned to attend. Heavy bail was tendered for the appearance of Phillips, but refused."—*Observer*, March 8th, 1852.

Another case of parental cruelty occurred about the same time in Birmingham, and is reported in the "*Observer*" of March 15th, 1852; being copied from a Birmingham paper, as follows:

#### "CRUELTY TO A CHILD.

The facts of a very melancholy case of parental cruelty transpired at an inquest held on the body of the sufferer, a little boy named John Le Tort, about three years old, at the Thatched House Tavern, Duddiston row, on Wednesday last. Deceased was the son of William Le Tort, a travelling equestrian, who with his wife, deceased, and another child, two years older, had lived in apartments for about a week previously at a beer-shop, called the Great Gun, and his father had been training him to perform gymnastic and other feats peculiar to the profession to which he belonged. Le Tort was seen endeavoring to make the deceased stand head downwards upon his hands, and each time the poor little fellow failed in doing so, which he did from weakness, his father caught hold of him and shook him severely, and then dashed him apparently with great force to the ground. The poor boy was afterwards found extended upon the ground, in a dying state, and he expired a few moments before the arrival of Mr. Simons, surgeon. Le Tort, when spoken to on the subject, seemed much shocked, and said that he was turning the deceased a somersault, and instead of alighting on his feet, as he should have done, he fell upon his head, and that caused his death. This was the whole

of the positive evidence bearing on the case that could be obtained, and the inquiry at this stage was adjourned until the following day, in order that Mr. Simons might make a post mortem examination. On the resumption of the inquiry, Mr. Simons stated that the child had died from effusion on the brain, caused by some extrinsic force or resistance, and he was of opinion that a child of deceased's age, having such bruises on his body as he had found, was not in a proper condition to perform vigorous gymnastic exercises with safety to his life. The jury returned a verdict of manslaughter against Le Tort, whose real name turns out to be Fitzmartin, and he was committed to take his trial at the ensuing assizes."—*Birmingham Journal*.

In what country, but such an one as abounded in cruel and bloodthirsty ruffians, could be found even a man of weak intellect, who would maltreat and murder a poor little child, as you will find, from the following extract, was done about the same time in Berkshire?

#### “MURDER NEAR MAIDENHEAD.

A laboring man, named John Cannon, residing at Boyne Hill, has, for the last two years, taken as a lodger a relative of his wife, named Isaac Lee, who has always shown indications of weak intellect. On Tuesday morning week, having been left in the house with a little girl about four years of age, a granddaughter of John Cannon's, he cruelly murdered the poor child, it is supposed by knocking its head against the floor, and afterwards kicking it about the room. Lee was taken before the magistrates on Friday week, and committed to take his trial at the next assizes for the county of Berks for murder."—*Observer, March 29th, 1852.*

I now approach a case so fiendish, that, even after the preparation of experience through which you have been passing, you can scarcely believe it possible. It was the burning of a poor little orphan child, in the workhouse at Greenwich, by its nurse, who placed a burning coal of fire in its hand, and held down the fingers until the coal grew black. During the terrible torture, the woman boxed and beat the poor little sufferer, so as to prevent it from crying out in its agony, although, according to the testimony

of the physician, it was so burnt as eventually to cause the thumb and fingers to double into the hand. And all this was done for no offence, and upon slight provocation.

This woman was prosecuted for the assault, and convicted; and the monster was sentenced by the judge to *fourteen days' imprisonment only*.

The child soon afterwards died; its death was attributed to this cause, and an inquest was held upon the body, which herewith I send you :

#### FATAL CRUELTY AT GREENWICH UNION.

The late atrocious case of burning at the Greenwich Union house, which has excited much attention throughout the country, is at an end. After a lingering illness, consequent on the injuries received, the child Gaywood is no more, death having put an end to its sufferings on Sunday last. The public will very naturally ask, is the farcical sentence of fourteen days' imprisonment, passed by the Common Sergeant, at the late session of the Central Criminal Court, to atone for the depriving of this child of life? If so, then, indeed, are the poor left in our unions without protection; for there can be little doubt but that the injuries inflicted have been the cause of its death. From the time the discovery was made, till the day of its death, the child became exceedingly ill, and such was its state on Friday week, that Dr. Sturton called in the assistance of Mr. South, surgeon of Guy's Hospital, who, on seeing deceased, pronounced the case hopeless, and that there was no chance of its recovery.

The nurse, Oldham, was liberated from Newgate on the fifteenth inst., and a very few hours afterwards made her appearance at the Greenwich Union in a disgraceful state of intoxication, and, claiming admission, said that a gentleman had given her a glass of wine, thus rendering her in the condition she was then in. At the meeting of the board on Thursday, she made her appearance before the guardians, when they unanimously resolved to expel her from the house. The child was an orphan, its widowed mother having, at the recent visitation, been taken off with the cholera, and, previous to the injuries inflicted, was one of the healthiest and liveliest children in the house. The question now remains to be decided—Whether she can or cannot be again arraigned, seeing that death has since resulted from her conduct, and made to answer

a charge, if not of wilful murder, at least of manslaughter? If she is altogether to escape, then, indeed, is the law of England an anomaly.

*Inquest on the body.* — On Wednesday last an inquest was held in the Board room of the union workhouse, before Mr. C. Carttar. Mr. B. Carter (chairman of the board) and Mr. John Wade (one of the guardians) were present; and Mr. Saw, clerk to the board, watched the proceedings, which, from the numbers present, appeared to excite great interest.

The coroner begged the jury to dismiss from their minds everything they had heard in reference to the case, and to attend to the evidence, in the first instance, of the medical men as to the cause of the death. . . . There was no question as to who had inflicted the injury, as that had been admitted; the only question was had the injury been the cause of, or had it hastened the death of the child?

Mr. Ellis, the master of the workhouse, identified the body of John Gaywood, aged six; he was an orphan, and had been in the workhouse three years.

Mr. W. Sturton, medical officer of the union, deposed that deceased was first brought under his notice on Monday, the 27th of December. Witness found him laboring under a burn of the right hand, which was not quite healed, and had a poultice on it; at this time deceased appeared weak and a good deal out of spirits, and had lost his usual energy; had known the deceased before, and he appeared a lively boy; witness had him removed to the infirmary at once; when removed, deceased did not appear ill, but a good deal distressed; thinking he appeared very delicate, and required more support, witness ordered him a little porter; a few days after the child went to the police court, and also to the Old Bailey, on the 4th and 5th of January; there was no change in his health for four or five days after this, the wound was healed, but cicatrices left upon the fingers; they were contracted, and would have been more so had the deceased lived. About the eighth or ninth deceased took to his bed, being affected with a slight diarrhœa; upon which witness changed his diet, and instead of porter ordered him port wine, arrow root, anything else he might wish for being allowed him. Deceased continued to get worse till the 20th of January, being then seized with fits and convulsions. . . . His death was caused by watery effusion on the brain. He had written to Mr. South, after he had seen the deceased, to give his opinion for the information of the board of guardians.

In answer to questions from the coroner and jury, witness said he did not think the taking him to the Old Bailey did him any harm. He was assisted at the *post-mortem* examination by Dr. Bristow. They found nothing externally but an attenuated state of body; there was serous effusion at the base of the brain, and the veins and capillary vessels were congested. He had made no examination of the veins leading from the hand to the arm-pit; could not connect the injury on the hand with the disease of which the child died, but if the child was laboring under it at the time the injury was inflicted, it would accelerate it. Fright would produce the disease, and there was no doubt the child had suffered very much.

John Syer Bristow, M. D., demonstrator of morbid anatomy at St. Thomas's, corroborated the statements of Mr. Sturton. He did not think the injury had caused the disease, but thought it would accelerate it. If the child had lived, it never could have had any use of the hand.

It may here be stated that Mr. Sturton did not see the child for three weeks after the injury had been inflicted.

Elizabeth Ellis, inmate of the union, deposed that deceased was playing with the fireguard in the day room, when the nurse Oldham was poking the fire. A red hot cinder fell out of the fire, which Oldham picked up with a piece of rag and placed it in deceased's hand, squeezed it, and held it there from five to ten minutes [sensation]. Deceased did not cry whilst the cinder was in his hand, but did so when the nurse took it out, when she placed him on a form near the fireguard.

By the Coroner: The cinder was of a red heat when placed in deceased's hand. The hand was pressed down on the cinder, which was about the size of a walnut, by Oldham, and when taken from the hand the cinder was black.

Evidence continued: The nurse Oldham went up to the schoolmistress about a quarter of an hour after the injury was done, and told her of it. Deceased was rather tiresome, but never played with the fire.

By a Juror: He was only playing with the fireguard — not with the fire. Witness said, 'Oh,' to which Oldham replied, 'You may say P if you like.' When deceased began crying, Oldham boxed his ears to make him leave off.

By Mr. Wade: Oldham held the deceased's fingers down with her hand.

By the Coroner: When the coal was taken out of deceased's hand, it was quite black, and nothing was done to the hand that night. The hand appeared very red.

Evidence resumed : A bread-and-water poultice was applied to it the next morning. When Oldham told the schoolmistress of it, she said, 'Oh, dear, I've done a most cruel thing; I've burnt the child's hand.' The schoolmistress made answer, 'Yes; you ought not to have done that.'

By Mr. Wade: Had seen the hand once before the doctor saw it, and it was very bad, and was discharging at the time. Did not think the matron knew anything about it. The matron came into the school about once in the three weeks it was bad, but she did not see it then; neither did the guardians, nor Mr. Sturton.

By a Juror: The matron does not often come into the school. The sub-matron (Miss Perry) came in about once a fortnight—sometimes once a month. The nurse and schoolmistress look after the children. The nurse Oldham and myself slept in the same room with deceased, but did not hear him cry during the night. Oldham told the deceased to put his hand under his pinafore. It was the duty of the governess to tell Mr. Ellis, the master, of the affair.

Mary Ann Southward, the mistress of the infant school of the union, was next examined: She said she received information of the injuries from the nurse, Oldham, who said, 'I have done a very cruel act—I have put a cinder into the child's hand, but I did it to save its life, as he was playing with the fire.' Witness looked at the hand and found it red, but did nothing to it till the next morning. With regard to the statement of the witness Ellis, about the fire-guard, and who had said it was impossible for the child to get at the fire, she (witness) would contradict such statement, as on one side of the guard there were six, and on the other four rods out, so that any child could get through to the fire. Witness did not think anything very serious had taken place, but thought that in a few days it would have got well. That was the reason she did not report it.

By a Juror: It was her duty to have reported the case to the master, but did not think it was so serious as it had proved, or she should have done so. Saw the hand nearly every day, and considered it was getting better, when taken to the hospital.

Another Juror: But there is very great blame attached to you for not reporting it.

Witness admitted this, but stated that there was nothing done to conceal it from any one. She denied that the child



had ever been taught to keep its hand under its pinafore to keep it out of sight, as she was aware of.

Mr. Wade remarked that in going through the school, another girl had been found by the guardians with her hand held up, and the question was put to her as to what was the matter. In going through the infant school, however, nothing of the kind had been observed with the deceased.

Mr. Sturton was recalled, and in answer to the coroner, stated that at the time the child was brought under his notice, the thumb and fingers were contracted, and deceased could not use them.

A juror expressed surprise at the schoolmistress taking upon herself the management of the hand, whilst in such a state, which he considered was putting herself in opposition to the doctor of the house, upon which the schoolmistress retired.

. . . . .

A meeting of the board of guardians was held the following day, Thursday, the twenty-seventh instant, at which Mr. Wade moved a resolution for the appointment of a paid nurse, with a salary of £12 per annum, instead of having the children looked after, or rather neglected by paupers, such as Oldham, of whom the best character that could be given by the schoolmistress was, that she was not in general very unkind to the children, but that she was very passionate. It says much for the humanity of the guardians, that the motion fell to the ground for want of a seconder." — *Observer, January 31st, 1853.*

The humane editor who published the above account, and whose voice, as you have seen, has been several times raised to denounce the atrocious inhumanity of his countrymen and countrywomen, again cried out passionately against this frightful crime, as follows :

"In the name of outraged justice, in the name of humanity trampled under foot, in the name finally of violated law, the official protectors of the public at large, the official guardians of the pauper — police, parish authorities, and law officers of the Crown — are hereby required to take up the case of the deceased orphan Gaywood, and, without delay, to bring the woman Oldham, accused by public opinion of his death, before the criminal bar of the country." — *Observer, January 31st, 1853.*

And yet, Major, this people — this very editor among them—are so terribly infatuated, in the face of such facts as appear in this report, as still to meddle with the subject of slavery in our States, and foolishly to talk of its horrors. *Its* horrors, forsooth! Why, what is there, even in the exaggerated pictures of Mrs. Stowe's book, like to this? Can the editor find anything which will bear any sort of comparison with it, in the "Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin?" I put it to you, Major, was ever anything half so awful heard of in our slave States, in the treatment of blacks or whites, children or adults? And are you not sure, with an intensity of conviction, dear Major, that nowhere will such an instance of depraved inhumanity as that just related, create a more unutterable sense of horror, than among the inhabitants of our slave States, white and black?

The following, in its devilish atrocity, is worthy of association with the case of torture at the Greenwich Union:

"Eliza Cornish and John Cornish, by brutal treatment and starvation caused the death of Mark Cornish, a child of the latter by a former wife. The child was often seen eating offal. They were sentenced to fifteen years' transportation." — *The Leader, April, 1853.*

About this time, much was said in the newspapers of England about the pernicious effects of what are called "burial-clubs," as incentives to murder; and several cases were reported of murders, by parents, of children, (who had been made members of these burial unions,) for the sake of the burial fees. You have the subject succinctly referred to, and a case in point cited, in the following extract:

"There are then but two cases of late date which seem to deserve mention at our hands: the first is in Monday's papers, and is that of a young mother, aged twenty, wilfully murdering her child, as stupidly as brutally, with oil of vitriol, for the mere sordid motive of obtaining the paltry gain to be got out of a burial club, of which the infant had been entered as a member. In the trial there is nothing peculiar to remark; nor is there, we fear, in the wretched woman who was tried,

any such great peculiarity as there should be. So low is the moral cultivation of the classes by whose patronage burial clubs thrive, that among them the murder of members by their relatives for the fees is of almost constant occurrence—that even maternal instinct becomes distorted or destroyed. So low is their mental cultivation, that discovery always follows on their crime, and the secretary of the club hangs them, as they poisoned their acquaintances, neither from personal malice nor from public feeling, but simply with a calm and business-like view to the possession of the undertaking expenses. In this case the mother administers oil of vitriol to her child, and doubtless is surprised at the traces left by the dose—an argument for or against education, seeing that the crime would not have been committed, had the criminal been properly trained; and, on the other hand, that it would not have been discovered had she not been perfectly ignorant. The only question left by the dilemma is, whether to prevent be not better than to punish.” — *The Leader*, April 16th, 1853.

Ah, it is sad to think that poor little helpless children are continually doomed to suffer in the way we have seen throughout this kingdom—that such a cry of agony from infantile lips, caused by cruelty, during almost every hour of the day and night, in this great country, is thus perpetually uttered in the ear of God, whilst the great and powerful, and rich and good of the land, are deaf to these mournful sounds, because their ears are filled with the imaginary cries of some fictitious Uncle Tom, who groans beneath the slave-driver's lash upon the banks of the Red River. It is sad, indeed, to reflect that such sympathies are to a great extent expended and wasted upon our generally happy slaves—our slaves, who, with their children, enjoy the blessings of health, and food, and clothing, and cheerfulness, and content, while so many of these wretched little English children are suffering and dying in the way we have been contemplating.

I will add one more case of recent occurrence, which exemplifies the astonishing and indescribable cruelty of parents to their offspring in this country:

#### “CRUEL TREATMENT OF A CHILD.

Mr. a'Beckett was occupied until a late hour on Thursday in investigating charges against George Dalton and Amelia

Holloway, for exercising great cruelty to Mary Ann Holloway, aged fifteen months, their illegitimate offspring.

The additional evidence given on Thursday was of Hannah Willett, sister to the female prisoner, who said she lived with her husband at Manor-street, Chelsea, and she took care of the infant from the 12th ultimo until the 26th, when she delivered it up to her sister, in her house at Brandon-row. No accident had occurred while she had it, and there was nothing the matter with it, except being a little sickly. There were marks of burns on one of the legs and on the chest, but they were healed up. Witness was perfectly sober when she delivered the child up to the prisoner.

Mr. James Moreton, house-surgeon at St. Thomas's Hospital, said the child was brought to him by Mrs. Marley, the landlady, on Wednesday, the 4th inst., when he examined it and found the right fore arm was broken, and the left was also broken. The collar-bone was likewise broken, and scars of old burns were on the right leg from the knee downwards, and on the chest, just under the chin. The fractures appeared of some days' standing — either ten days or a fortnight. There were no marks of violence where the fractures were situated, neither did it appear that any bandages or splints had been used. The infant was extremely emaciated, thin, and weak. It seemed very greedy when food was offered to it, and witness then considered it in danger. It had since taken food well, and was not in anywise incapacitated from so doing. The child had no positive disease, and was then out of danger. He was sure that no one could have nursed that child without knowing the frightful state it was in.

Mr. a'Beckett, on hearing that there were no other witnesses, said he had made up his mind to commit the prisoners for trial, but as he understood from Mr. Moreton, the house-surgeon of the hospital, that the child was not then in danger, he would accept bail for the prisoners' attendance at the sessions.

Mr. Chester requested that twenty-four hours' notice should be given, as the charge was of a serious description.

Mr. a'Beckett finally made that order, and the prisoners were removed by the jailor."—*Sunday Times*, Jan. 15th, 1854.

I cannot afford room for more upon this subject than the following remarks by the editor whom I have several times quoted, and from whose paper, because it was the one most convenient to me, I have taken the greater

number of the reports and extracts which I have sent you. The article was published some time during the past year.

“CHRISTMAS SPORTS.

*Ecce iterum crispinus.* The old story of brutality, brutality, always brutality, only remains to be told. Scoundrels well dressed and scoundrels ill dressed still continue to half murder helpless women. Marital disapprobation has assumed the form of conjugal death; ‘lovers’ quarrels’ have become sanguinary executions, at least on the side of man the stronger; and, to vary this Christmas cheer, little children, innocent, tender infants, have been all but immolated at the truculent shrine of savage irritability and slaughterous propriety.

Two cases of recent child torture present themselves in painful prominence to the mind’s eye in connection with this question of practical impunity. On the Monday of the past week, a head nurse in a pauper establishment near Greenwich, was charged before the police magistrate of the district, with having taken a ‘live coal’ from the fire, placed it in the tiny hand of an infant of four years old under her ‘care,’ held the little hand closed firmly over it until the coal was cold, and, while the flesh was hissing, threatened the sufferer, with an uplifted cane, if it cried or made the least disturbance. The fox eating out the heart of the young Spartan was a trifle to this. But, nevertheless, though the wretch acknowledged the next morning that she had committed a very cruel act, and though the cruelty, in all its hideous atrocity, was completely proved; still the judge before whom she was sent to the Old Bailey, notwithstanding the jury found her guilty, sentenced her only to the inevitable ‘fortnight,’ without — it is almost a wonder — offering her the alternative of a forty shilling fine. It is to be hoped, however, that public indignation, which is never wrong in its abhorrence of such brutality — whatsoever may be said of judges, high and low — will play the part of Grand Justiciar on this occasion, and expel the wretch from human society. The case of the Sloanes was bad enough, God knows! This, however, is a worse case.

But there is even a worse still behind. A short time since another infant of tender years — perhaps about the same age — while passing by the Horse Guards with a poor — a very poor woman, her mother — was overtaken by a necessity which

all must yield to, and obliged to seek ease over an iron grating which covered the window of a kitchen or other subterranean office in that national edifice. While there the infantile creature's body was actually cut into — her little bowels actually dissevered — by a sharp and pointed instrument, probably an office penknife, wielded by the hand of some human monster below ; and she now lies in a hopeless state in a public hospital. The reader will of course cry out with horror, and ask whether the perpetrator of this abominable crime was not promptly secured ? The reply, however, will be in the negative." — *Observer*.

In conclusion, I beg to assure you, Major, that I remain, as ever,

Respectfully,  
Yr. friend and cousin,  
P. JONES.

To MAJ. J. JONES,  
Pineville, Ga., U. S. of America.

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### LETTER XXXV.

CRUEL TREATMENT OF SERVANTS BY THE ENGLISH PEOPLE—  
CHARGE OF ATROCIOUS CRUELTY TO A SERVANT BY MR.  
AND MRS. SLOANE.

London, April 10th, 1854.

DEAR MAJOR:—There is another of the domestic relations of life among this people to which I desire that your attention shall be drawn, in order that you may be able to institute a comparison between them, as a free-labor people, and the inhabitants of our States. That is, the relation of master and servant.

Now, you may be prepared to expect, after what you have read of the brutal treatment of women and children by the people of this country, that such unnatural cruelty is manifested in their conduct towards servants also. I acknowledge that the inference is legitimate. But I am

sure that you are not prepared for the enormity of the developments which are to be made upon this subject; and when you have read what I have to communicate, you will indeed wonder at the fatuity of those who throw stones from such a fragile structure.

In the latter part of the year 1850, there occurred in this city a case of cruelty to a servant so diabolical and despicable as to render it incredible, if it had not been established by undoubted testimony. The proceedings against the offenders were first instituted in December, 1850, but were not terminated until 1851; and I may therefore properly embrace them in the transactions of that year. I send you a portion of these proceedings before the police court, from which you may gather most of the facts.

"CHARGE OF ATROCIOUS CRUELTY AGAINST MR. SLOANE, A  
SPECIAL PLEADER.

On Friday, Mr. George Sloane, a special pleader, of No. 6 Pump court, Temple, and one of the directors of the Church of England Assurance Institution, Lothbury, appeared at the Guildhall police court in discharge of his bail, to answer the charge of cruelty practised upon his servant, Jane Wilbred, during a course of two years that she had been in his service. Mr. Sloane appeared quite collected.

It was generally believed that this case was only remanded for the purpose of completing some of the depositions previous to sending it for trial; nevertheless, at an early hour the doors of the justice-room were closed, in order to prevent the court from being inconveniently crowded during the proceedings. This proved a very necessary measure, as, by the time the alderman had taken his seat on the bench, a vast concourse of people, apparently for the most part composed of citizens and professional gentlemen, had collected in Guildhall yard, each anxious to gain admittance, and to catch a glimpse of the parties who had made themselves so horribly notorious.

On Saturday week a warrant was issued for the apprehension of Mrs. Sloane, in order to insure her appearance at the examination on Friday, but on the officers visiting her residence for the purpose of executing the warrant, they found the furniture strewn about the room in great disorder, as if the occupants anticipated a sudden departure. The chambers under-

went a strict search then, and again two hours after, but Mrs. Sloane was nowhere to be found, although Mr. Philips (defendant's solicitor) assured the court and alderman, on the last examination, that she was unable to leave her bed through severe indisposition, caused by an injury she had sustained to her leg by slipping it accidentally through an area railing. Such was the great interest excited in the minds of the people in consequence of the expected appearance of Mrs. Sloane, who appears to have acted with greater cruelty to the unfortunate girl than the defendant, Mr. Sloane, that there was such a crowd inside the justice room, and in every outlet of the court, as has not been known for many years. So general, indeed, was the excitement, that gentlemen were seen applying at every door of the building, and anxiously claiming acquaintance with the officials of the office, in order to obtain admission to this 'chamber of horrors.'

Alderman Humphrey asked if Mrs. Sloane was present?

Roe (the summoning officer of the court): She is not, Sir.

Alderman Humphrey: Did you serve the summons?

Roe: I did, Sir.

Alderman Humphrey: Was a warrant issued against her?

Roe: There was, Sir.

Alderman Humphrey: Did you serve it upon her?

Roe: I served it at the house in Pump court.

Alderman Humphrey: Whom did you see there?

Roe: I saw Mr. Sloane; he opened the door to me, and said I was quite welcome to search the place, but he could assure me that Mrs. Sloane was not there. He said that Mrs. Sloane's friends had advised her not to attend here, but to surrender to take her trial at the Old Bailey, so as to avoid having a public exposure at every examination by attending the preliminary proceedings.

Alderman Humphrey: Did you search the chambers?

Roe: Yes, Sir; I searched every room twice; but neither time did I see anything of Mrs. Sloane.

Alderman Humphrey: Have you made any inquiries to ascertain where she has gone to?

Roe: I have lodged the warrant in the hands of the police at Fleet street station, and told all the porters and messengers at the Temple to give information immediately they discover any trace of her, or see anything that might lead to her apprehension.



Alderman Humphrey: Have you any reason to believe that you will be able to find her?

Roe: Not at present, Sir.

Alderman Humphrey: Then we must proceed with the case in her absence, and deal with it as though she were present.

During these proceedings, Mr. Sloane, having received an intimation that his presence was required in the court, came from an adjoining room, and quietly took his seat in the body of the court. His back was turned to the audience, and he allowed his head to fall on his breast in such a manner as to screen him from the gaze of the multitude within and without, as if he wished to shrink from general observation.

Mr. Huddlestone said he understood that the guardians of the West London Union had, since the last examination, called a meeting, at which it had been resolved that an application should be made to the Poor-law commissioners with reference to the present case, the result of which was that the Poor-law Board had issued an order for the guardians to carry on the prosecution against Mr. Sloane; and he (Mr. Huddlestone) was instructed for that purpose.

Alderman Humphrey: I was quite sure that the Poor-law Commissioners would never have prevented the guardians from prosecuting had an application been made to them to that effect; but the fact appeared that the guardians had not stirred in the matter, and Mr. Pontifex was afraid to do so without previously receiving his instructions from them.

Mr. Pontifex said he was not afraid, but he was not competent to act in such a matter without their sanction.

The girl, Jane Wilbred, was then brought in and placed in a seat by the side of the Alderman. She appeared much stronger than on the last examination, but evidently much distressed, from the excessive weakness under which she labored in endeavoring to support herself, without aid, in her seat. Her breathing was still very quick and difficult; and, although she has gained about seven pounds in weight since last week, she still presents a most emaciated appearance both in her face and limbs. She was dressed in a servant's plain dress, and, from the great improvement in her general appearance since she has been under Dr. Marsden's care, we are inclined to believe that she will, when perfectly convalescent, turn out to be a pretty and interesting young girl.

Mr. Huddlestone having intimated his intention of putting her under a re-examination, the usual oath was administered to her, and she continued her statement, and the following

appalling and disgusting details were elicited : [It will here be necessary to adhere to her evidence as she gave it, as her own words will better express the atrocity of the defendant's conduct, than any words we could substitute.]

Jane Wilbred, re-examined by Alderman Humphrey and Mr. Huddlestone : Mr. Sloane often beat me ; sometimes in the morning early and sometimes in the daytime. Mrs. Sloane used to beat me because I wore my shift sleeves over my arms and shoulders in the morning ; and when I cried Mr. Sloane used to beat me for crying. Mr. Sloane called me round to the bedside one morning and beat me on the hands with a shoe. My mistress would not let me wear my shift on my shoulders and neck in the morning, and, because I wore it to keep me warm, she used to beat me on my back with a shoe. She would not let me wear anything on my neck, or any part of my body above the waist ; so that, from the waist upwards, I was obliged to go about the house exposed, in the presence of Mr. Sloane and the young lady [sensation]. Her name is Louisa Devaux. My mistress wanted me to do the work of a morning in that naked state [sensation], but I could not bear the cold, as it was in the winter time. I never went to church on Sunday, nor any place of worship. I never asked to be allowed to go, as I did not know any place to go to. My master and mistress and Miss Devaux never went to church. My master sometimes went out on Sundays, but never remained out long. My mistress never left the house. There was always meat cooked on Sundays for Mr. and Mrs. Sloane, but I had none of it.

Alderman Humphrey here said : I have been looking at the girl's hands, from the practice adopted here by the prisoners, to ascertain if they have been doing any laborious work, and I should say that the poor creature has been worked very hard indeed ; at all events, her hands bear strong testimony to that effect.

Witness continued : It was several months after I first went in July that I was treated badly. At first I was allowed to wear all my clothes ; but, as the winter came on, my mistress compelled me to go about the house with only my shift and gown tied round my waist by a petticoat, as she could not wait for me to put them on properly, or anything else to keep me warm. She told me very often that I must not wear anything on my neck and shoulders, but I do not recollect whether Mr. Sloane heard her or not. Mr. Sloane often beat me on the hands, arms, and back with a shoe, sometimes while I was

having breakfast and sometimes after. At that time I had not as much as I could eat. I had meat sometimes three times a week. When my mistress could not make me eat my own dirt my master beat me until he made me do it [great sensation, and long-continued hisses were levelled at the defendant, who sat immovable in his chair, as if he was not at all concerned.]

. . . . . Mr. Sloane was not present when she at first attempted it, but he was when she succeeded in pushing it down my throat. He stood behind me, so as to keep me close in front of my mistress while she put it in my mouth [sensation]. He beat me on that occasion with a shoe because I refused to do as my mistress wanted, and he beat me again after it. This only happened once in Mr. Sloane's presence, and that was about a fortnight before I was taken from his house. Sometimes, if I forgot to scour the fender with ashes, or clean the footman on which the dinner is placed before the fire, Mr. Sloane would beat me on the arms, shoulders, and back with a shoe, in the presence of Mrs. Sloane and Miss Devaux. The latter was present when they made me eat my own dirt. [Great disgust was here manifested by all present, and it was with difficulty that order was ultimately restored.]

Alderman Humphrey said: I wish to know, before proceeding any further, if this girl, Miss Devaux, is present?

Mr. Philips said: She is not present, as I was given to understand, on the last examination, that Mr. Sloane was to be committed to-day, and that the case was only remanded for that purpose. He was not prepared to meet another examination at such a short notice; but he did not complain, as Mr. Sloane was willing and anxious to court the fullest investigation.

Mr. Huddleston said: Under these circumstances, I would ask the alderman to remand the case to meet the convenience of defendant's counsel, as I by no means wish to take an undue advantage, particularly considering the position in which the defendant is at present placed; but I shall certainly consider it my duty to continue the examination before sending the case to the Old Bailey, the more especially as there is now no danger to be apprehended from the state of the girl's health in pursuing such a course. If the case is remanded for a short time, I shall then take that opportunity of entering into the whole of the evidence, and I cannot help thinking that, if Mr. Sloane is well advised, he will have Mrs. Sloane here to answer this charge on the next examination. If she does not appear then, I shall deem it my duty to ask you Sir, not to accept

bail for Mr. Sloane's appearance at the January sessions, but to commit him to Newgate to await his trial.

Mr. Philips said: I must protest against such a principle being adopted with regard to my client, who has always been most anxious that every inquiry should be made, and has given every assistance to such inquiry in his power.

Mr. Huddleston suggested that the amount of bail should be increased.

Alderman Humphrey said: I think it will be expedient to increase the bail, as, in the absence of Mrs. Sloane, it was but natural that the court should come to the conclusion that the defendant, having screened his wife, would be quite as unwilling to go through the ordeal himself.

Mr. Philips: I object to the principle of increasing the bail, although there would be no difficulty in doing so; still, I cannot see the necessity for such a proceeding, as the defendant has already appeared twice to the same amount. With regard to the threat held out by the learned counsel for the prosecution, I beg to assure the worthy alderman that he cannot refuse to accept bail if offered, as it is aailable offence. At all events, if justice is not allowed my client here in that respect, I know where to seek it.

Mr. Huddleston: Perhaps, Mr. Philips, you will recollect the words of Mr. Sloane when the officer went to his house. There can be no other construction put upon them but that he was instrumental in keeping a witness out of the way.

Alderman Humphrey: Will you, Mr. Philips, give bail for Mrs. Sloane's appearance [laughter]?

Mr. Philips: Is it reasonable to ask me, Sir? Would any man in his right senses give bail for 'any woman' as to what she would do [laughter]? I would not.

Alderman Humphrey: Then I shall increase the amount of bail, and shall require Mr. Sloane to find two sureties of £250 each, and himself to be bound over in the sum of £500 to appear and answer the charge on the next examination [great applause followed this announcement, but was instantly suppressed].

Some discussion ensued upon this point, when a gentleman on the bench rose and said, 'As one of the guardians of the West London Union, I object to the present amount of bail.'

The amount of bail as above mentioned was then agreed upon.

Mr. Sloane, during some slight confusion that followed, went into an adjoining room, and there waited until the required bail was forthcoming.

In the interim, the following letter was read, dated —

‘ *Hastings, December 19th.*

‘ Dear Sir : If I knew the address of Mr. Pontifex, I would not trouble you with this ; but, as you heard the case, I thought it better to mention the circumstance to you, so that, if you think it necessary, he may be made acquainted with it.

‘ A young woman called on me yesterday and stated that she had heard of the Sloanes being charged with great cruelty to a servant girl, and that as she had lived with them some time since, and had also been treated very cruelly by them, she wished to know if her evidence would be of any use in furthering the ends of justice.

‘ I am aware that in this particular case she will be of no service, but at the trial, as some proof of the general treatment of their servants, perhaps her evidence might be of some importance.

‘ I trust you will excuse the trouble I am giving you, even to read this, but trusting that the gross nature of the case of those people will be a sufficient apology,

‘ I am, dear Sir, yours very truly,

‘ F. TIERHURST, Surgeon.

‘ The girl’s name is Mary A. Stokes, 14 Bourne street, Hastings.’ — *Observer, December 23d, 1850.*

The following commentary on these proceedings was made by the editor of the paper in which they were published :

#### “ THE CASE OF MR. SLOANE.

Mr. Sloane was again before the police magistrate at Guildhall, on Friday last, on the charge of cruelty to his servant, Jane Wilbred. It was a re-examination for the purpose of including Mrs. Sloane in the preliminary proceedings, but that lady did not appear. Indeed it was stated, substantially, by her husband’s legal adviser, that she did not intend to surrender until the case was sent for trial, in order to avoid public exposure. The facts, in so far as they transpired at that re-examination, will be found elsewhere ; but though there was little that is new elicited, that little was not without its own degree of painful interest, and coupled with the other circumstances that have been sworn to, it cannot be concealed that its tenor is extremely prejudicial to the accused parties.

The additional evidence of Jane Wilbred was to this effect, viz. : that not only was she beaten by Mr. and Mrs. Sloane for wearing her shift sleeves over her arms and shoulders of a morning in cold weather, but that she was actually compelled by her mistress to 'go about the house,' naked from the waist upwards, 'in the presence of her master,' and of a young person named Louisa Devaux, who lived 'in chambers' along with them; and that she was beaten by master as well as mistress, if she did not do her work in that exposed condition. Further she deposed, touching the disgusting act which she alleges Mr. and Mrs. Sloane compelled her to perform, and to which public attention has been so painfully directed.

These 'additional facts' aggravate very materially the case as against the accused parties, and place Mr. Sloane and his wife in a position by no means free from great danger. Of course, statements made in a direct examination, such as the girl was subjected to, are liable to implication on cross-examination; and, generally speaking, there are few of them that cannot in some sort be modified, if not changed, by that searching procedure. Upon the first examination of Jane Wilbred, there was no cross-examination, because her physical condition was too much reduced to permit it, and the counsel for the accused voluntarily and humanely waived his right; but since then there have been two further 'examinations in chief' of the girl — one on last Saturday week, and one on the following Friday; and though Jane Wilbred has regained sufficient bodily strength to submit to the ordeal of the severest cross-examination, no cross-examination was even attempted upon either occasion. To deduce any inference of the guilt or innocence of the accused from this omission on their parts to exercise an undoubted right, which, in the circumstances they are placed in, must also be held to be an imperative duty, would be manifestly unjust; but it cannot be concealed, because it is patent to the understanding of all persons, that the abstinence of their counsel from this course, on Saturday, and his absence from the court on the following Friday, are facts by no means calculated to improve — on the contrary, they are eminently calculated to damage — their legal position.

Furthermore, the fact that Louisa Devaux, who was, according to the testimony of Jane Wilbred, constantly present at all these proceedings, has not been produced to repel the evidence of the girl, will be held as by no means favorable to the case of Mr. and Mrs. Sloane. Although there is no direct statement to that effect in the evidence of Jane Wilbred, yet it

is inferentially certain that Louisa Devaux was a witness of her treatment by the accused parties; seeing that it would be utterly impossible there could be concealment of any kind within the compass of the three comparatively small rooms, in which all four lived together; these rooms opening into each other, be it remembered, and being only separated by wainscot partitions, through which the slightest sound could be heard.

Mr. Sloane and Mrs. Sloane may be perfectly innocent in the matter, as already supposed; they may be the victims of a degree of malicious cunning which is absolutely inconceivable; but supposing the contrary to be the case, to talk of Torquemada and the horrors of the Inquisition, after the statement of the child Jane Wilbred, is to talk without data for a comparison. Such a case, in fact, has never before been imagined; and if it be well founded, it will perhaps more than any other that is known, justify the profound observation of the philosopher—'Truth is strange—stranger than fiction.'—*Observer, Dec. 23d, 1850.*

You will observe what the editor says—to the effect that Mr. and Mrs. Sloane "*may be* perfectly innocent in the matter." But it was, in the end, shown that they were not innocent in the matter. The editor's inferences, in the event of their guilt, are therefore to be drawn: viz., that the horrors of the Inquisition were without data for a comparison.

For the present, I must take leave of the subject, and of you, with the assurance that I remain, sir,

Respectfully,

Yr. obt. servt.,

P. JONES.

To MAJ. J. JONES,

Pineville, Ga., U. S. of America.

\* They both pleaded guilty to all the charges against them, except that of furnishing insufficient food to the girl.—*At the Central Criminal Court, February 5th, 1851.*

## LETTER XXXVI.

CRUELTY TO A "SMALL SERVANT;" OR, THE "MARCHIONESS" DUPLICATED—QUERE: HAVE SAMPSON AND SALLY BRASS TRANSFERRED THEIR ABODE TO GREAT CARTER LANE, DOCTOR'S COMMONS—BUCK ATTENDS AN INVESTIGATION, IN WHICH IT IS SUGGESTED THAT MR. RICHARD SWIVELLER MAY HAVE BEEN INTERESTED—HE (BUCK) DISCOURSES WITH A BENEVOLENT ENGLISHMAN UPON THE ADVANTAGES OF THE RELATION OF MASTER AND SLAVE IN GEORGIA OVER THAT OF MASTER AND SERVANT IN ENGLAND.

London, April 14th, 1854.

DEAR MAJOR:—If you deem the infamous case of the Sloanes, with which I made you acquainted in my last, exceptional in its intensity of atrocity, you may be right. But you may rest assured that treatment of servants similar to this, though not so exceedingly disgusting and depraved, is not unusual in this country; and that Mr. Dickens drew from nature when he sketched his portraits of Sally Brass and her "small servant." If you are not already convinced of this, you must be by the case which I next furnish you. It is so remarkable a likeness, that it is almost impossible to resist the impression that Sampson and Sally Brass, since Mr. Dickens lost sight of them, have ceased to prowl about "the inmost recesses of St. Giles," and instead of returning to Bevis Marks, and the attorney's office (but still hanging on to the skirts of the law), have "settled down" in No. 14, Great Carter Lane, Doctors Commons, and have managed to find another "Marchioness."

'ALLEGED CRUELTY TO A SERVANT.

At Guildhall, on Tuesday, Mary Anne Targett, aged seventeen, was charged on remand before Alderman Hooper with stealing a piece of bread, value twopence, the property of a



policeman. Owing to allegations respecting the treatment of the girl in the service of Mr. and Mrs. Fells, of 14, Great Carter-lane, Doctor's Commons, the following facts were elicited:—Fanny Targett, of 8, Union-court, Holborn, said that the prisoner was her illegitimate daughter, and that she had complained of want of food and of being beaten severely with a rolling-pin. Owing to what prisoner said of witness to Mrs. Fells, witness was forbidden the house, and saw the prisoner but twice since December. The prisoner, in her mistress' presence, denied that she had complained to witness of the want of food, and said that witness was a liar.—Justinia Frances, matron of Giltspur-street, said, that on prisoner's admission there were bruises on her right side, and back, and shoulders, as from a stick, and on her hip from a kick which she said her master had given her. Her hands indicated hard work. Her knuckles were swollen, and the joint of one finger, on her left hand, was nearly worn off.—Alderman Hooper said that this was the first case that had come before him under the 14th Vict., passed in consequence of Sloane's case.—Mary Ann Targett was put in the box, and said she was two years with Mr. and Mrs. Fells. She had three meals a day, sometimes four, and sometimes but two. She had three slices of bread and dripping for breakfast, one slice for supper, bread and meat for dinner, but never enough. On Wednesday last, on taking up some meat for dinner, her master said, 'Do you see that?' and then he said, 'That is all you will have,' meaning that the sight of the meat was sufficient. She got no dinner that day. She then described various beatings as having been given by Mr. and Mrs. Fells, and said that she was so hungry at times that she was glad to get bread anywhere, and on discovering the policeman's safe she took the bread out of it.—Mr. Fells not being in court, the alderman said that Mrs. Fells might now question the girl.—Mrs. Fells then questioned her as to several alleged thefts, which the girl denied, and Mrs. Fells then stated that so far from the girl being hard worked she was not called from the kitchen more than once in seven hours. She had on several occasions when the girl robbed her, given her a choice of three things, viz., to send her home, to give her a good beating, or to give her in charge; and she preferred the beating.—The case was then remanded."—*Observer*, September 1st, 1851.

After reading the above, it seems almost certain that those who were in the Guildhall on that day, if they had

looked sharply about them, might have detected Mr. Richard Swiveller among the audience — that Kit Nubbles must have been close at hand, and old Mr. Garland, and the pony at the door. Even now, I am not sure whether the following occurred in Bevis Marks, or Great Carter Lane.

“ ‘Do you see this?’ said Miss Sally, slicing off about two square-inches of cold mutton, after all this preparation, and holding it out on the point of the fork.

The small servant looked hard enough at it with her hungry eyes to see every shred of it, small as it was, and answered, ‘Yes.’

‘Then don’t you ever go and say,’ retorted Miss Sally, ‘that you hadn’t meat here. There; eat it up.’

This was soon done. ‘Now, do you want any more?’ said Miss Sally.

The hungry creature answered with a faint ‘No.’ They were evidently going through an established form.

‘You have been helped once to meat,’ said Miss Sally, summing up the facts, ‘you have had as much as you can eat, you’re asked if you want any more, and you answer ‘No.’ There; don’t you ever go and say you were allowed, mind that.’”

There was an inmate of the house where I boarded, who was in some way connected with the service of the officials at Guildhall. I never precisely understood the nature of his duties, nor does it matter. Suffice it to say that we became very well acquainted; and one day, after the first remand of the girl Targett, he mentioned the case, and the charges which were made against her employers. I was interested, and hinted my wish to be present when the girl was again brought before the court. He promised to give me notice of this, if possible, and he did so; but I was prevented by some cause from being present. Buck, to whom I mentioned the circumstance, asked to go, and was permitted. The examination was that I have already given you; but that night Buck made to me a faithful report of what occurred, which I have daguerreotyped for your amusement, and will send you.

“Marster,” said he, “I went to the court-house to-day, you know, sir, to see that gal tried.”

"Ah, yes. I intended to ask you about it," said I.

*Buck.* "Mr. B—— got me in nicely, sir, and I seed and heerd everything. They called it a trial of the gal, sir; but, ef you'll bleeve my racket, hit was more of a trial of her marster and mistress. The mother of the gal was made a *evidence* first, sir, and she swored that the gal was her chile, but was sort of a—of a—what do you call 'um, sir?—a sort of a woods-colt, sir, an that the gal come an told her how she was starved, an how they beat her with a great big flour-pin, all over her carcass, sir; an that, when she went to complain to the mistress of the gal about them doins to her darter, the gal was so skaard, she jest up an called her own mother a liar, sir, an said she never told her no sich thing.

Then come up another *evidence*,—a lady, sir, what kept the poor-house whar the gal was tuk to, an she swored that, when the gal come thar, she was all covered with wounds, sir; an the gal told her, said she, that her marster an mistress done it—that her hands was all crippled, an one on her fingers had a jint clean wored away. When I heerd this, I felt so sorry for the gal, Marster, I didn't know what to do; an so, sir, says I, out loud, 'fore I knowed what I was about, says I, 'Frost-bit,' says I. With that, sir, the beagle, he rushed *towards* me——"

*Myself.* "Beadle! What was a beadle doing there?"

*Buck.* "Leastwise a pleeceman, sir; an his *consequence* made him look so big, sir, tell I thought 'bout that beagle that we see at St. Paul's, thar. An so, as I was tellin on you, Marster, the pleeceman said, says he, 'Silence!' Jest then, sir, I was tuk with sich a admiration of the bald head of a ole gen'l'man that stood by the side of an a little before me, sir, that the officer didn't spect me, I think, an couldn't 'zackly tell whar the interruption come from. Well, sir, then they put up the gal herself as a *evidence*, an that poor crittur's tale, Marster, would a melted a heart o' stone. She said she was two years with them Fellses—her marster an mistress—that sometimes she had vittels but two times a day, that when she got some supper hit was only one slice of bread, that she got some meat only once a day,—that was at dinner,—but that she never had enough to eat; that last Wednesday,

for her dinner, her marster tuk up a piece of meat an showed it to her, an said——”

*Myself.* [Suiting the action to the word.] “Do you see this?”

*Buck.* [Surprised into indiscretion.] “The dickens, Marster! How did you know it?”

*Myself.* “You are right, Buck. The Dickens accounts for the how.”

*Buck.* “Anan, sir! Somebody that was thar told you, Marster.”

*Myself.* “Yes, some one told me who was there in spirit, Buck — there, by his genius, before it happened.”

*Buck.* “My Lord!”

*Myself.* “Only he said that it was Sally, and not Sampson, who held up the meat, and showed it to the small servant.”

*Buck.* “Well, ef hit was so, hit was onbeknowns to me. I won’t say the gal didn’t say so, ef that gen’l man’s sperit says she did. But I onderstood her to say that hit was her marster, sir, an I didn’t hear her say ef his name was Samson — hit mought a been; only I hope that her mistress wasn’t named Sally, becace that’s the name of my wife, sir, you know; an I should hate mightily for her to have the same name with that ’oman.”

*Myself.* “Go on with your story; though I suppose I can tell you what followed. Of course, when he gave her the little scrap of meat, he said, ‘There; eat it up, and don’t you ever go and say you haven’t meat here.’”

*Buck.* “No, *sir!* The sperit was *out ’bout* that circumstance, sartain. He never gin her the meat, sir, at all. He jest showed it to her, Marster, an made her mouth water for it bad, an then never gin her none.”

*Myself.* “Well, I suppose I am wrong, and the truth here again is stranger than fiction. Go on.”

*Buck.* “Let me see — whar was I? Oh! the gal said when her marster showed her the meat, sir, says she, he gin her no dinner, says she, an she was almost starved. Then she said, says she, her marster an mistress sorter tuk it by turns, an thrashed an beat her constant; an bomby she growed so monstrous hongry that she tuk bread any whar she could find it, says she; an when she

seed the pleeceman's bread, she couldn't help takin hit, sir. Marster, I couldn't stand it no longer — I was so sorry for the poor starvin child, I didn't think 'bout her sin, an I couldn't help from cryin, Marster. I couldn't do it, sir. I'm not ashamed to say, sir, I felt like my heart would break with pity for the poor thing. I got right out of that room, Marster, quick as I could. How-beever, 'fore I got out, I heerd the gal's mistress say as how what the gal said wasn't so, cepin some of the beat-ins, says she. But, Marster, she couldn't deny *them*, because thar was the wounds what that materon spoke of; an the gal's looks told the truth as to the rest, ef she didn't.

As I was turnin to go out of the room, Marster, I felt somebody pat me saftly on the shoulder, sir; an when I looked round, who should it be but the same ole gen'l'man whose bald head I stared at so when that constable was sarchin for me. He was a mighty good-natured lookin ole gen'l'man, with specs on——”

*Myself.* “I think I know him. He was a little fat man, wasn't he, with a club-foot? Wasn't his name Garland?”

*Buck.* “Not as I knows on, Marster; but I didn't heer his name, an I didn't see any club-foot, sir; though there mought a been. Did that sperit tell you so, sir?”

*Myself.* “Ah! never mind. I suppose I was mistaken. Go on, Buck.”

*Buck.* “Well, the ole gen'l'man follered me out an patted me on the shoulder agin, jest as my mammy used to do, Marster, an he said, says he, ‘My good man, you seem to be very sorry for that poor gal, an so am I,’ says he. ‘Is she anything to you — do you know her?’

‘Never sot eyes on her 'fore, Marster,’ says I, jest so. ‘I don't know nuthin 'bout her, sir. I was jest sorry for her,’ says I, ‘as I would be for any poor crittur that haint got enough to eat,’ says I, ‘an is 'bused an momicked up so badly.’

‘Ah! that was very bad an sad, says he; an the ole gen'l'man's eyes looked very watery, Marster — jest for all the world like he 'ud cry at the drap of a hat. ‘But you're a black man,’ says he, ‘an you call me, that you

never seed afore, "Marster," says he; 'from which I infer you have been a slave,' says he. 'Am I right?'

'Adzackly so, Marster; an I is yet, thank God!' says I, jest so.

The ole gen'l'man, he opened them big kind eyes of hisen mighty wide at that, an says, says he, 'What is this I hear? You're a slave? Whar is your marster?' says he.

'At No. —, in the Strand, sir,' says I. He is a gen'l'man from Georgy, sir; Dr. Jones is his name, sir,' says I. 'Praps you've heern of him,' says I. 'He come out here for his health, an to show a new plough at the Exerbishun,' says I; 'an I come along to take care of him, sir,' says I.

Then he axed me somehow so, Marster — 'How comes it,' says he, 'that you, bein you're a slave, an accustomed, I serpose, to the cruel treatment slaves receive from their marsters, have been so easily teched by this gal's wrongs?' says he.

'Fact is, Marster,' says I, 'I spose, ef I was usen to the like, I wouldn't a minded it much,' says I; 'an it's becace I never seed nor heerd the like, in all my born days, that I was so powerful sorry for the gal,' says I, jest so.

'What!' says he; 'what! do you mean to say the slaveholders don't treat their slaves with cruelty in Ameriky?' says he.

'Marster,' says I, 'ef you was to see a cripple, sir, what went upon crutches, take and break his crutches, what he depended upon to git 'long with,' says I, 'wouldn't you say he was crazy, or a natral fool one?' says I, jest so.

'Well, I think hit's likely, my man, that I should make some sich reflexhun,' says he.

'Adzackly, Marster,' says I; 'an yit you think the slaveholders is fool enough to 'buse an injure thar niggers, what they depends upon to git along with,' says I. 'Besides, Marster, I have allers heern that thar was a law in my country to perwent ill-treatment and cruelty to the slaves; though sometimes I've heern the white folks say thar wasn't much use for it, so far as the owners was consarned.\* An ef you could jest see how fast our little

\* See App. E.

niggers increase, Marster, an how many on 'um grows up, an how many gits to be powerful old, you wouldn't bleeve that any on 'um, old or young, was 'bused or bad treated much,' says I.\*

'But do they allers supply 'um with sufficient food an clothing, my man?' says he.

'Marster,' says I, 'spose them crutches what the cripple goes on was two animils; do you think,' says I, 'the owner would feed 'um well, ef he could 'ford it, so they could go 'long smartly with him? or do you think he would starve 'um, tell they was weak an sickly, like that poor gal we been seein?' says I, jest so.

'Why,' says he, laffin, 'I think hit's likely, my man, that he would keep them substute legs of hisen, ef he could, in pretty good marchin order,' says he. 'But come,' says he, 'I think I see the rift of your answer,' says he——"

*Myself.* "Drift, Buck; drift of your answer was what he said, I suppose."

*Buck.* "Well, drift or rift; whatever it was, sir, I spose he meant that I was 'bout right, sir, an so he went on to say, 'Hit is sensible,' says he, 'an sartainly seems reasonable. But hit is very much opposed to what we read an hear on the subject,' says he. 'Let us come to the point a little closer,' says he, 'an tell me ef you know how much food is given to a slave in the cotton States, as his daily supply, an how much clothing every year,' says he.

'We lives on a cotton plantation, Marster,' says I, 'when at home, an I know adzackly what the slaves git, becuse I gives out the 'lowances myself, sir, for my mistress sometimes, an the 'lowance everywhar in our neighborhood is 'bout the same,' says I. 'Our plantation people, sir,' says I, 'gits thar 'lowance onct a week, every Saturday night. They gits every week three pounds an a half of bacon,' says I, 'an one peck o' meal (what I have larnt, since I been here, you call Indian-corn meal, or flour), the run of the turnip-patch, or sometimes peas, to cook with their bacon, ef they wants to, an sometimes cabbages, or collards, or other vegetables. In roastin-ear time,' says I, ('that's

\* See App., K. Also, App., F.

when the corn is ripenin, Marster,' says I,) 'they gits as many roastin ears as they wants. The young uns have milk, an sometimes all git taters—that's sweet taters, Marster,' says I. 'Ef fresh beef is gin out, more by two pounds for one is give for the 'lowance,' says I. 'Sometimes salt fish is gin out in place of the meat, in 'bout the same perportion,' says I. 'But ginerly, bacon is the stand-by,' says I; 'though frequently merlasses is put in place of some of the meat—'bout a pint for a pound,' says I.\* 'The house-sarvants,' says I, 'has the same what the people in the gret-house has,' says I; 'but all has a plenty, Marster, so fur as I know. Thar's this day more bread an meat 'bout my cabin, whar my young uns has put it tell they git hongry, than that poor gal et in a week,' says I. 'Poor thing!' says I; 'I wish she had some on it now. As for clothes, Marster, the plantation folks ginerly gits two suits—more on 'um, ef them wars out. One suit of cotton stuff for summer, an one of mixed woolen for winter. Then they gits two cotton shirts, an sometimes one flannel shirt, one hat, two pair of shoes,—some gives one, but haves 'um cobbled an kep good,—an a blanket every other year. The women sometimes gits bed-clothin besides.' †

'How many hours in the day is the slaves required to work, my man?' says he. ‡

'No set time, adzackly, Marster,' says I. 'In some places they has tasks sot for 'um,' says I. 'The smart ones ginerly gits through thar tasks tolerable yearly; some on 'um, in summer, does it two or three hours by sun. The slow ones, or the lazy,' says I, 'is later, in course,' says I. 'But the task is sot 'cordin to the age an strength of the hand, Marster,' says I, jest so. 'When they gits through thar task, then they has time to work in thar own crap,' says I; 'which all on 'um that aint good for nuthin ginerly has ground gin to 'um for thar craps by thar boss,' says I. §

'By who, my man?' says the ole gen'l'man.

\* See App., D, §§ 5, 27, 47, 66, 83, 96.

† See App., D., for clothing furnished slaves.

‡ See App., D, §§ 15, 37, 57, 73, 86, 102

§ See App., D., §§ 23, 27, 47.



'By the marster or the manager, sir,' says I; 'an they kin make a little crap for tharselves, ef they choose,' says I. 'But in our parts, ginerly,' says I, 'we don't have no tasks. We goes to work 'bout good daylight—'bout same time everybody goes in the morning. We works till breakfast-time, then stops for breakfast for 'bout half a hour,' or sich a matter,' says I. 'Then we goes out,' says I, 'an works tell 'bout twelve. Then we comes in, an sich of us as is workin animils feeds 'um, an we eats our dinners, an rests tell 'bout two—in some places they rests only tell 'bout half-past one,' says I. 'Then we goes out an works tell 'bout dusk. Most everybody,' says I, 'lows some time on Saturday (whar they don't set tasks), for the hands who is got craps of their own to work 'um,' says I.

'Is no work required of the slaves at night?' says the ole gen'l'man.

'No, Marster,' says I; 'cepin sometimes with the hands that tends the gin. When thar's a press of work, they may have to work into the night a little in the winter time; but taint ginerly so.'

'But do marsters ginerly treat thar slaves accordin' to the very reasonable an humane system you have been describin?' says he.

'Yes, Marster—leastwise, it's a terrerble bad man that don't do it, sir; an that's the ricommendation all his nabers gives him, sartain,' says I, jest so.

'How 'bout marriage, my man?' says the ole gen'l'man; 'how 'bout the sanctity of marriage—the want of that religious tie among the sexes, an the separation of families?' says he.

'Well, Marster,' says I, 'thar's reglar marriages 'mong us slaves; an we lives together, an brings up our famblies, jest like white people an Christians. Our marsters likes to git up marriages 'mong us,' says I, 'an they don't like no loose livin an bad gwine on 'mong thar sarvants,' says I—'becase why, Marster? Becase childern don't come of that sort o' thing, Marster; an thar's mighty apt to be childern whar's thar's marriages,' says I, jest so; 'an the more little niggers our marsters has, sir,' says I, 'the more richer they gits to be, an the more they has for thar

childern who is to come arter them,' says I. 'Besides,' says I, 'when the sarvants is married, it keeps 'um steady at home, or at thar wife's house; an they keeps more fitter for work, an more healthier, an so they does more work, an saves doctors' bills, you know,' says I. 'So, ef I kin lead you into the light of hit rightly, Marster,' says I, 'you will see how our marsters' *intrust* makes 'um encourage marryng 'mong thar sarvants,' says I, jest so.\*

'Who marries 'um?' says he.

'Sometimes the preacher,' says I, 'sometimes the marster or the mistress,' says I. 'I've heerd my marster say,' says I, 'that hit wasn't done zackly 'cordin to Hoyle,' says I, jest so; 'but still, ef a lawyer *could* drive his buggy through hit, says my marster,' says I, 'hit's all right in the sight of God — hit's a religious tie, says he. An so our marsters tries to keep us together, sir,' says I, 'an teeches us to bring up our famblies decently,' says I.

'Ah! but you are liable to be separated at any time,' says the ole gen'l'man.

'Well, Marster, there's no denyin that,' says I. 'How-beever, the white people ginerly is powerful strong sot agin separatin famblies.† Still, Marster, I know sometimes, specially when they's sold for debt, famblies gits separated. But, in my soul, I don't bleeve, Marster, that they gits any more separated than 'mong the poor sufferin workin people of this country, ef as much,' says I, jest so.

Jest then, Marster, the crowd come out of the house, an me an the ole gen'l'man got parted."

It is time, Major, that I had parted from this long letter, and that I had subscribed myself,

Respectfully,

Yr. obt. servt. and cousin,

P. JONES.

To MAJ. J. JONES,

Pineville, Ga., U. S. of America.

\* See App., C., § 24.

† See App., §§ 23, 45, 64, 82, 94, 111. Also, App., K., § 2.

## LETTER XXXVII.

MURDER OF A SERVANT BY HER MASTER AT THRANDESTON—  
ASSAULT BY A MILITARY OFFICER ON HIS FEMALE SER-  
VANT—A FIRST-CLASS HAND IN A FIRST-RATE MILLINER'S.

London, April 18th, 1854.

DEAR MAJOR:—Continuing the subject of the treat-  
ment, by the English people, of their servants, I mention  
that in the year 1852 a man was tried and convicted, at  
Bury St. Edmunds, for the murder of his servant. I send  
you a succinct report of the case:

“MURDER AT THRANDESTON.

At Bury St. Edmunds, on Wednesday, John Mickleburgh, aged forty-two, was indicted for the wilful murder of Mary Baker, at Thrandeston, on the 1st of August last. The deceased, Mary Baker, was the servant of the prisoner, who is a small freeholder and occupier of land at Thrandeston. On the 31st of July last the village fair took place, and, by the consent of Mrs. Mickleburgh, Mary Baker went to the fair, where she met a lover, named William Bootman, her sister Clara French, and her sister's husband. While they were at the fair the prisoner joined them and treated them to two half-pints of wine; and, after asking Mary Baker when she was to go home, and learning that she was to go back by half-past nine, told Mrs. French to ask her to go home by nine o'clock, as he wished to see her in the Low Meadow. No notice of this was taken by Mary Baker, who went about to several places of amusement. At length Mary Baker and Bootman entered a public house and sat down in a crowded room, when the prisoner, without any warning or apparent motive, rushed into the room and stabbed Mary Baker in the right side. He was immediately seized and deprived of the weapon, while the poor girl was led up stairs, and a medical man and a police officer was called in. When the policeman came the prisoner avowed that he had stabbed the girl intentionally for the sake

of revenge, and that he had always 'done as he pleased with her,' and that if she got well and did not accede to his proposals he would shoot her. Subsequently, in the station-house, he stated that 'he hoped she would die; that he had bought the knife on purpose to stab her.' The poor girl died of the wound on the following day.—The defence set up was insanity, but this did not succeed, and the prisoner was convicted and sentenced to undergo the punishment of death." — *Observer*, March 29th, 1852.

According to this ruffian's own account, you will perceive that he had "always done as he pleased" with his servant; and when his wishes and his will are thwarted by her, he murders her.

That you may see how *gentlemen* sometimes treat their servants here, I send you the following account of the conduct of a captain in the British army to his housemaid. He was convicted and punished for the assault before a magistrate of the city. The circumstances were regarded as very disgraceful, and they serve to exemplify the folly of such people undertaking to lecture us upon the treatment of our slaves.

#### "ASSAULT BY A MILITARY OFFICER ON HIS FEMALE SERVANT.

At the Marylebone Court, on Thursday, Captain Henry Hugh Clayton, residing at No. 1, Woodfield-terrace, Harrow-road, was charged on a warrant before Mr. Long, with having assaulted Eliza Remington, about twenty-six years old, his housemaid. The complainant said that on the 24th of November last, the Captain made overtures to her of an improper nature, which she repulsed. On the afternoon of the same day, while she was cleaning the fire-grate in her bed-room, he came up, saying he was going to kiss her, and on her telling him she could not suffer him to do anything of the kind, he said . . . . 'I have been in the habit of doing it with all my servants, and why can't you and I agree.' She told him she could not think of agreeing to his scandalous and offensive proposal, when he patted her on the shoulder, and, after ringing the bell, said if she did not accede to his wishes, he should kick her down stairs. She pushed past him and went below, declaring she would quit the house the same day. Mr. Long said 'You have summoned Captain Clayton for

assaulting you—let me know what you have to say about that. The complainant replied, that in the afternoon, while in her bed-room, and in the act of packing her clothes, Captain Clayton came in and said she should not go till the next day. He then patted her on the shoulder and used improper language, and, as she did not like his talk, she managed to get away from him and ran down stairs, after experiencing some difficulty in passing him, and, in the afternoon, while she was in her bed-room in the act of preparing to get her things together, he knocked at the door, which she opened, when he flew at her drawers, and said she should not quit till the next day. She said she had made up her mind to go instantly, when he rang the bell, and she rushed down stairs into the kitchen. The Captain told the cook that she had corrupted her, and he then thrashed her with a cane with such violence that the marks were upon her person for several days. He had repeatedly made her improper solicitations, and she had on every occasion repulsed him.

Mr. Long (to defendant): What answer have you to this?

Defendant: She made some improper and insolent remark as a servant, and I gave her a slight tap with a cane.

Mr. Long: What do you say respecting the indecent overtures made by you to her?

Defendant said the matter had happened so long ago that he really could not recollect anything about it. All he did know was, that the assault with the cane was very slight, and that the complainant, before he assaulted her, had made use of improper and impertinent words.

Mr. Long: The assault has been proved, and, as you do not deny it, for that I shall fine you 50s. and costs.

Captain Clayton (pulling out a well filled purse): Did you say £50?

Mr. Fell (the chief clerk): The penalty is not £50, but 50s.

Captain Clayton: Oh, very well.

The penalty and costs were then paid." — *Observer, Jan. 31st, 1853.*

In what I have furnished, Major, you have illustrations of the manner in which servants are sometimes treated by their employers in this country, so far as concerns wrongs to their persons, and injuries from positive violence. But this is the very lightest form in which inhumanity to servants and laborers manifests itself. More of sorrow and suffering, and many more deaths, are

caused by the slow and incessant wear and tear of the system of labor adopted among this people. That system exhibits its revolting features in bolder outline at those places where women only are employed. I can readily furnish you with examples of the unnatural strain which is thus put upon all the laboring classes, male and female, in this country. It is more convenient for me just now to refer to the labor of women; and I do so by calling your attention to the following extract:

“A FIRST CLASS HAND, IN A ‘FIRST RATE MILLINER’S.’

‘The short but simple annals of the poor.’—GRAY.

I have been engaged in this business for fourteen years, at different ‘first class houses,’ and, as my health is now suffering from the ‘late hour system,’ I have been prevailed upon by this medium to give that information which experience has taught me, in the hope that some enterprising and humane individuals will exert themselves to break the chains of that slavery under which so many thousands of their countrywomen are bound.

I will now speak of a recent engagement of mine, and which in the ‘one’ case will illustrate the majority of the ‘West-end houses.’ I held the position of what is called ‘first hand,’ and had twelve young people under me. The season commenced about the middle of March. We breakfasted at six, A. M., which was not allowed to occupy more than a quarter of an hour. The hard work of the day begun immediately. At eleven o’clock a small piece of dry bread was brought to each as luncheon. At that hour the young people would often ask my permission to send for a glass of beer, but this was strictly prohibited by the principals, as they insisted that it caused a drowsiness, and so retarded the work. At one o’clock the dinner bell rang, which repast consisted of a hot joint twice in the week, and cold meat the remaining five days, no pudding, and a glass of toast and water to drink. To this meal twenty minutes were given. Work again till the five o’clock summons for tea, which occupied fifteen minutes. Again to work till called to supper at nine, which also occupied fifteen minutes, which consisted of bread, dry cheese, and a glass of beer. All again returned to stitch, stitch, till one, two, or three in the morning, according to the business, while Saturday night was being anticipated all the week, because then no

one would work after twelve. With this one night's exception, all the rest we had for three weeks, from the end of May, to the middle of June, was from three till six, while two nights during that time we never lay down. I leave your readers to imagine the spectral countenances of us all. I shudder myself when I recall the picture.

At midnight I very frequently let all put down their work to doze for ten minutes, while, with my watch on the table, I kept guard; and, about one, each one received a cup of strong tea—as the principals said—‘in case we should feel sleepy, to arouse all to work.’ In what state of health could July, the termination of the season, be expected to find us poor ‘English slaves?’ The sequel is easily told. Each one, instead of going to enjoy a little recreation, went home to lie upon a sick bed. For myself, I was attacked with serious illness, which laid me up for three months, and has greatly impaired my constitution.

Now, for this cruel inhuman treatment of womankind, who in dress-making houses toil harder than any laborer in the brick-field, there is one very simple remedy—employing a proper number of hands to do the work. There are always plenty seeking employment, but it is from the sordid love of gain that those already engaged may work themselves into their coffins, in order that their employer's cash-boxes may be the more speedily filled. With your permission, I will here give a few figures.

I have said that in mine, ‘the dressmaking workroom,’ there were twelve besides myself. There were also seven in the ‘millinery room,’ and one in the show rooms. Out of these twenty-one young persons the following received salaries: First-hand dressmaker, £40; first-hand milliner, £40; second-hand dressmaker, £14; second-hand milliner, £24; saleswoman, £20; while all the rest had paid to their employers good premiums to learn the business. Now, every lady who patronizes either Bond street or its immediate neighborhood, will at once see that the prices they pay for their goods will amply compensate the person whom they employ to remunerate a sufficient number of people to do their work. Would that such ladies would at once come boldly forward and say they will bestow their patronage on none who permit working more than twelve hours a day, and even that is longer than any one class of men work. The ‘Association’ in Clifford street has done all it could to curtail the hours of labor, but even the

houses which it recommends deem from 7 A. M. to 10 P. M. 'easy hours.'

I have lately made an application to one of these for an engagement, and upon my stating that my health would no longer permit my sitting 'long hours,' I was answered, 'Oh, mine are very easy, from 7 in the morning till 10 at night.' I knew, however, that my altered health will not admit of even these 'easy hours;' so I declined it. Perhaps many will say that the system I have spoken of is now rarely adopted. This I positively contradict, as I can prove that it is the general system in 'West-end houses;' while the Drawing-rooms, State Balls, and fashionable *déjeuners* and concerts are pending, while perhaps one or two large *trousseaux* are in hand at the same time." — *Observer, March 28th, 1853.*

Look at this statement, Major, and compare the condition of these laboring women, as there set forth, with that of the slaves among us,—who are the hardest driven,—and you will find the contrast immensely in favor of the latter. These poor women, it seems, work from six in the morning until past midnight—a continuance of labor for more than eighteen hours, with intervals for meals altogether amounting to but little more than one hour. Twelve or thirteen hours, at most, in summer time, and ten or eleven hours in winter, constitute, as you know, the daily labor period for our slaves, with intervals for meals and rest, amounting to about two hours.\* In addition to this, our slaves have several advantages over these English laborers. First, in the quantity of healthy food supplied, with the time to eat and digest it. Secondly, in a period for natural rest and repose at night. Thirdly, in a freedom from cares and anxieties, and from the serious illness which may be consequent thereon, and the physician's bills which may result from such sickness. Fourthly, there is the advantage of a sturdy constitution, developed by such treatment, instead of the feebleness and proneness to disease which result to these poor Englishwomen from being overtaken and underfed. And lastly, there is the certainty of a home, and a comfortable support on which to fall back, should feebleness of constitution, from disease or old age, permanently ensue.

\* See App., D.



A very sensible article on this subject, in the "London Times," appeared shortly after the date of the above extract, a portion of which I enclose to you, as it aids us somewhat in the effort to ascertain who the slave is, and what is the slave's condition in this country:

"ENGLISH SEAMSTRESS SLAVERY.

What is slavery? 'A slave,' says Dr. Noah Webster in his dictionary published at New York, 'is a person wholly subject to the will of another; one who has no will of his own, but whose person and services are wholly under the will of another.' The learned lexicographer — and surely at New York men should be acquainted with the right of the subject — proceeds to inform us that in the early ages of the world prisoners of war were considered and treated as slaves. 'The slaves of modern times,' he adds, 'are generally purchased like horses or oxen.' Our own Dr. Johnson defines a slave as being one 'mancipated to a master, not a freeman, a dependant, one who has lost the power of resistance.' Mr. Charles Richardson, on the other hand, considers a slave as a person 'who is reduced to captivity, to servitude, to bondage; who is bound or compelled to serve, labor, or toil for another.' There is always some little trouble about a definition, and probably it requires the cobbling and filling of more than one generation to produce anything like a perfect one. There are, however, certain conditions of life which any lexicographer would endeavor to include in his drag-net, if he were attempting to give a definition of slavery. We are all agreed about the Uncle Toms and colored population of the Southern States of the American Union. They are slaves not only in name but in fact; kindly treated, we believe, in the majority of instances, but still essentially slaves. When we endeavor to go a little further, we find ourselves considerably embarrassed. A man is the slave of his own bad passions, of his lust after gain or power. But this will scarcely do; for by enlarging the definition too much, the essence and reality of the thing to be defined is altogether lost.

It may, perhaps, be better to begin at the other end, and ascend from particulars to generals. Granting that the negro gangs who are worked on the cotton grounds of the Southern States of North America, or in the sugar plantations of Brazil, are slaves, in what way should we speak of persons who are circumstanced in the manner we are about to relate? Let us

consider them as inhabitants of a distant region—say of New Orleans—no matter about the color of their skins, and then ask ourselves what should be our opinion of a nation in which such things are tolerated. They are of a sex and age the least qualified to struggle with the hardships of their lot— young women, for the most part, between sixteen and thirty years of age. As we would not deal in exaggerations, we would premise that we take them at their busy season, just as writers upon American slavery are careful to select the season of cotton-picking and sugar-crushing as illustrations of their theories. The young female slaves, then, of whom we speak, are worked in gangs, in ill-ventilated rooms, or rooms that are not ventilated at all; for it is found by experience, that if air be admitted it brings with it ‘blacks’ of another kind, which damage the work upon which the seamstresses are employed.

Their occupation is to sew from morning to night and night till morning—stitch, stitch, stitch—without pause, without speech, without a smile, without a sigh. In the gray of the morning they must be at work—say at 6 o’clock—having a quarter of an hour allowed them for breaking their fast. The food served out to them is scanty and miserable enough, but still, in all probability, more than their fevered system can digest. We do not, however, wish to make out a case of starvation, &c.

From 6 o’clock till 11 it is stitch, stitch. At 11 a small piece of dry bread is served to each seamstress, but still she must stitch on. At 1 o’clock, twenty minutes are allowed for dinner—a slice of meat and a potato, with a glass of toast-and-water to each workwoman. Then again to work—stitch, stitch—until 5 o’clock, when fifteen minutes are again allowed for tea. The needles are then set in motion once more—stitch, stitch—until 9 o’clock, when fifteen minutes are allowed for supper, a piece of dry bread and cheese and a glass of beer. From 9 o’clock at night, until 1, 2, and 3 o’clock in the morning, stitch, stitch; the only break in this long period being a minute or two—just time enough to swallow a cup of strong tea, which is supplied lest the young people should ‘feel sleepy.’ At 3 o’clock A. M., to bed; at 6 o’clock A. M., out of it again to resume the duties of the following day. There must be a good deal of monotony in the occupation.

But when we have said that for certain months in the year these unfortunate young persons are worked in the manner we describe, we have not said all. Even during the few hours

allotted to sleep—should we not rather say to a feverish cessation from toil—their miseries continue. They are cooped up in sleeping pens, ten in a room which would perhaps be sufficient for the accommodation of two persons. The alternation is from the treadmill—and what a treadmill!—to the Black Hole of Calcutta. Not a word of remonstrance is allowed, or is possible. The seamstresses may leave the milliner, no doubt, but what awaits them on the other side of the door? Starvation, if they be honest, if not, in all probability, prostitution and its consequences, &c.

Surely this is a terrible state of things, and one which claims the anxious consideration of the ladies of England who have pronounced themselves so loudly against the horrors of negro slavery in the United States. Had this system of oppression against persons of their own sex been really exercised in New Orleans, it would have elicited from them many expressions of sympathy for the sufferers, and of abhorrence for the cruel taskmasters who could so cruelly over-work wretched creatures so unfitted to the toil. It is idle to use any further mystification in the matter. The scenes of misery we have described exist at our own doors, and in the most fashionable quarters of luxurious London.”

[ *The Times*, May 19th, 1853.

After what you have seen of the enterprise, Major, which animates these humane ladies of Stafford House, in all honesty and simplicity, you are possibly ready to conclude that they could not for a moment resist the appeal of the seamstress-slave whose communication you have above, nor yet the invitation of the “Thunderer,” who had brought the matter to their “anxious consideration;” but that they at once, and in a body, rushed to the rescue, and broke “the chains of that slavery under which so many thousands of their countrywomen are bound.” I shall call you verdant, if such be your inference. Look at the above exposé for a moment, and you will see that these ladies are of those who are concerned in rivetting these very chains—that they are, in part, responsible for this terrible system; being (as they are) among the patrons of these “West End houses” in “Bond street and its immediate neighborhood.”

Ah, my friend, human nature is very frail; and it is humiliating to behold thus exposed the weakness and imperfections of our fellow-mortals. My gallantry shrinks from the application of such terms to ladies, and to ladies who are deemed among the excellent of the earth; for these English ladies are surely eminent in virtues, in good breeding, and in refined tastes. I would not be considered coarse, or unmindful of what is due to these estimable ladies, who were, perhaps, influenced by the purest motives in what they have done and said with reference to slavery. But what then? If I find them stepping out of their sphere with so much energy to intermeddle with a political institution which they do not understand, and endeavoring to throw an apple of discord among my countrywomen upon the plea of charity, and yet, at the same time, conveniently overlooking true and real objects of charity at home, and selfishly and directly aiding to encourage a system which is productive of greater physical distress than our slaves ever know, what can I say but call things by their right names? What can I do but denounce the ignorance and conceit of those who are used as instruments in promoting such a humbug?

That I may not be deemed tedious, I bring this subject and this letter to a close here, with the assurance that I remain, dear Major,

Respectfully,

Yr. friend and cousin,

P. JONES.

To MAJ. J. JONES,  
Pineville, Ga., U. S. of America.

## LETTER XXXVIII.

CRUEL TREATMENT OF LUNATICS, ETC., AND OF PRISONERS, BY THE BRITISH PEOPLE — DEATH AT PECKHAM LUNATIC ASYLUM — A WITNESS AGAINST BETHLEHEM LUNATIC HOSPITAL — DREADFUL ABUSES IN THAT HOSPITAL, AND BRUTAL TREATMENT OF LUNATICS THERE — SIMILAR CONDUCT AT DUNSTON ASYLUM — THE BIRMINGHAM JAIL DISCLOSURES — ALLEGED ILL-TREATMENT OF THE POOR IN A WORKHOUSE.

London, April 22d, 1854.

DEAR MAJOR:—I have said that the savage nature of Englishmen manifests itself also in their treatment of lunatics and prisoners, and other persons in a helpless and unprotected condition. I have said so, because this conclusion has been forced upon me by circumstances which have been brought to my attention during the last several years. A few reported facts will bring you to the same conclusion, I have not a doubt. Heart-rending facts some of these are; but after reading what you have of the manner in which helpless women and children, and even servants, are treated in this country, your nerves will undergo less of a trial by reason of what I shall now submit to you.

I should premise, that the treatment of lunatics and insane persons, by keepers, assistants, etc., in this country, has of late attracted the attention of the press, and of Parliament, because of the outcry which has been raised on account of the enormous evil; and something has been or will be done, probably, in some places, to ameliorate the condition of these unfortunates. But all this only proves that the fierce and brutal nature of the people, from among whom these keepers and assistants come, has made it necessary that there should be this special intervention of power for the protection of their victims. No such intervention is needed in our country.

The following extract will give you an idea of the sort of violence to which these persons seem to be subjected in this country :

“THE DEATH AT PECKHAM LUNATIC ASYLUM.

The inquest on the body of Moses James Barnes, late a pauper lunatic, at Dr. Armstrong's (or Peckham House Lunatic Asylum) was on Thursday resumed and concluded. The inquiry was for the purpose of ascertaining the manner in which the wounds had been inflicted. Mr. Under-sheriff Law, who is also solicitor to the Commissioners of Lunacy, attended, as on the former occasion, to watch the proceedings, as did also Mr. Bennett, the assistant clerk to the board of guardians of Clerkenwell, to which parish the deceased legally belonged. According to the evidence adduced, the deceased ‘seemed to be going off—getting very thin, as if he was in a decline ;’ but his death at the time when it did occur was caused by violence. His arm was found to be broken and bruised, and there were other injuries. The attendant stated that he did not know how they occurred. He was told that the lunatic said it was he (the attendant) who had done these injuries to him. The attendant's reply was, ‘It is quite false.’ It was proposed to examine a patient, Donnelly, who was rational in common conversation, but labored under certain fancies and delusions, and was a decided lunatic. It was stated that his account agreed with that of other patients ; but the coroner being told that Donnelly could not be considered a responsible agent if he violated the law, would not allow his evidence to be received. The medical evidence attributed the death to violence most distinctly ; and the jury returned a verdict of manslaughter against some person or persons unknown.” — *Observer*, Jan. 23, 1851.

It is true that it was not rendered certain by these proceedings that this unhappy man received the injuries by which he died from his “attendant ;” but that he came to his death by violence at the hands of *some one having charge of him*, seems to be evident from the verdict.

About this time, public attention was repeatedly called to the treatment of lunatics in Bethlehem Hospital, and other places, and I met with the following among other statements :

“ANOTHER WITNESS AGAINST BETHLEHEM.

‘On the 20th of September last,’ writes Serjeant Henry Stewart, late color-serjeant 50th Infantry, ‘I went as an attendant to Bethlehem Hospital. The patients that I attended were all located in the basement. I continued in that service only till the 8th of October, when I left in disgust for other employment. I was there, therefore, only eighteen days, but in that short space of time I witnessed acts so inhuman, and cruelty so great, that I conceive it my duty to lay an account of what I saw before the public.

‘I believe it was on the day after I entered the hospital that one of the patients, James Brown, a jeweller, who was in the dining-room, had taken a piece of bread belonging to another patient. He was in the act of eating it, when an attendant seized him by the throat, and squeezed it so tightly as to strangle him, forcing him to disgorge the bread he was in the act of swallowing. Keeping hold of him by the throat, he dragged the patient into the passage, and threw him down violently on the ground, and there left him.

‘Another patient, named Barling, formerly an Independent minister at Upway, Dorsetshire, was in the dining-room with others who were at dinner. Barling stood up and said he could not get his dinner comfortably there. The same attendant as last mentioned instantly seized him, threw him down, dragged him along the passage to the airing ground, the poor man resisting all the time, and at the end of the passage threw him down on the mat, opened the door, and then threw him outside on the pavement, going out with him. I saw Barling shortly afterwards. He could not walk then, but could only limp, leaning on some one else.

The next case calling for notice relates to a patient named Bechnell, formerly an omnibus proprietor. The patients who were in the west airing-ground were ordered in to dinner. Madison refused to go, and then Bechnell refused also. I took charge of Madison, and was taking him from the yard, when I turned round and saw another attendant in the act of striking Bechnell on the side of the head. Bechnell fell with his head on the floor. He fell as if lifeless. I went on towards the dining-room, and turned round again, when I saw him sitting up, and the keeper standing over and apparently assisting him.

I then proceeded into the dining-room, and immediately afterwards Bechnell was brought in by the keeper, who said he had fallen down in a fit and cut his head. Bechnell was then taken to the doctor and had his head dressed. The doctor did not ask me how it happened that Bechnell's head had been broken.

'The above cases occurred between the 20th and 27th September, as nearly as I can recollect.

. . . . .  
 'The concluding case I have to mention refers to Mr. Barling, the independent minister, a victim on another occasion already stated. While I and another attendant were engaged with other patients in the basement, Barling got into the bath-room. While going into the bath-room, my companion saw Barling with a little piece of soap in his hand, which he had purloined. Barling crouched down, and apparently expecting to be struck, threw his hands over his head to save himself. The keeper struck him with his fist on the back of the left jaw, the force of the blow being such as to break off one of the patient's front teeth, which I have now in my possession. Having given him this blow, he followed it up by a kick, and then left him.

Signed, HENRY STEWART,  
 late Color-serjeant of 50th Regiment.'

*Observer, Nov. 17th, 1851.*

It was not far from this time, too, I believe, that a commission was appointed by Parliament for the purpose of investigating such charges against this hospital; and if I had time and room to furnish you with the evidence which was taken before that Committee, you would bow your head in sorrow for the suffering which was thus brought to light, and in shame for those who so long and systematically inflicted it. I can afford room only for a few of the facts which were brought out at one of the sittings of the Commission, and which are reported by the "Observer;" but they will be sufficient to show you how such things are managed in this country.

#### "DREADFUL ABUSES IN BETHLEHEM HOSPITAL.

We this week resume our extracts from the evidence laid before the Commissioners of Lunacy, relative to the discipline, management, and treatment of patients in the Bethlehem Hospital. We refer our readers particularly to the evidence of the



surgeon who attended Miss Hyson, and which fully bears out the comments we felt it our duty to make in the *Observer* of Sunday last. Every step that has been made in the progress of the investigation has only still further exposed the mismanagement and reckless disregard of the health and feelings of the unhappy victims of this fearful system, which has grown up and gone on so long unchecked in the very heart of the metropolis :

*Mr. Taylor's explanation.*—On the 17th of July, 1851, Mr. Charles Taylor, surgeon, of 4 Bethell place, Camberwell, was called before the commissioners and examined. He stated that he had been in the habit of attending Miss Hannah Hyson for some time previously to her admission into Bethlehem. He had been in close attendance upon her for three weeks before that time. She was naturally thin, but was not greatly emaciated ; she had the average amount of health and strength for an invalid.

She went into Bethlehem on the 4th of April, and he saw her again after she had come out on the 18th. She struck him as being very much altered in appearance, and very emaciated ; she was very much thinner than when she went in, and 'her bones were almost projecting through her skin.' Her mind was much less wandering ; but her countenance was very anxious and dejected, and she looked miserable altogether. She had no paralysis, but squinted a little, which was not the case before she went in. She was laboring under diarrhœa. He did not examine her person, and could not say whether there were any wounds. He saw her face, but forgets whether he noticed the marks that evening or not. Believes it was that evening or the next morning her mother said, 'Oh ! Mr. Taylor, my girl has been terribly ill-treated, and I wish you to look at her,' and he then particularly examined her body all over, and had a written account of it somewhere. There was, to the best of his memory, 'a place' or mark on the upper lip, and one on her cheek also. The witness then, in answer to a variety of questions, detailed the various marks and wounds upon the patient's body, on the ankles, knees, hips, elbows, &c. She died on the morning of the 22d, four days after leaving the hospital, and 'we' examined the body. By 'we' he meant Dr. Wood, the resident apothecary of the hospital, his partner Mr. Crisp, and himself. The immediate cause of her sinking was diarrhœa and want of food. She did not refuse her food after

she came out. Witness said to her, 'Hannah, now you must take what I tell you;' she said she would, and she did.

"CASE OF MISS MARY ISABELLA WHITTINGHAM.

Mrs. Elizabeth Whittingham, of Albert terrace, Ball's Pond, Islington, deposed that she had a daughter named Mary Isabella, a patient in Bethlehem Hospital. Her health at the time was delicate—she had had inflammation of the throat and cough, and had fallen away in flesh. She had no marks or bruises on her body when she went in. She was violent and high, but not to do any mischief. She went into the hospital on the 9th of January, and it was two months before she could see her. On the first occasion it was before the proper time, and they would not allow her to see her daughter. Some of her friends also went, but were refused. Afterwards, at the proper time, when she went, the nurse said she could not see her. Witness said, 'Cannot see her! I must see her; I am her mother.' The nurse said, 'I cannot help that—you cannot see her.' About a fortnight after that she went again and saw her. She appeared to be in great distress, and cried bitterly. Witness entreated her not to do so, and she said, 'I cannot help it; I cry all night.' She said, 'Look at my fingers' (one of them was very much swollen); and when witness inquired the cause, she said it was one of the nurses, and she also showed her bruises all down the side; but witness had not the opportunity of seeing any more. When asked why she did not complain to Dr. Wood, the poor creature said it is of no use complaining to Dr. Wood. While they were talking, Dr. Wood happened to come up, and the mother showed the bruised hand and the marks on her side, and he showed the swelled hand to one of the nurses, and asked, 'How is this?' The nurse said, 'Oh, that is an old affair.' The joint of the finger was very much swollen. The name of the nurse was Elizabeth. Her daughter told her that it was not that nurse who had given her the bruises, but that Elizabeth used to beat her with the keys. The bruises were not caused by her tumbling about, but she at one time had the misfortune to fall and hurt her hip, and the least push or blow given her by the nurses would throw her down. Her daughter slept for three months in the basement story—she said she never slept on anything but the bare straw, and no night clothes whatever. Witness had no opportunity of examining her bed and bedding, as she was not admitted into the place where her

daughter slept. The patient was dressed for the occasion, and brought up to the gallery — her hair was very bad, and nearly all cut away, and they took her brushes and combs from her. No reason was given for placing her in the basement story. Her daughter was subject to delusions. In about a month the mother saw her again, and she then appeared much the same, and wanted very much to come home. Her mind then appeared to be better. Dr. Wood said he thought she was going on pretty well. Every time the poor girl saw her mother she complained of ill-treatment, and the mother and friends unfortunately thought it was one of her delusions. On the second visit she complained that, being awake all night, she overslept herself, and the nurse came and dragged her by the hair of her head to make her get up, and shook her so violently that it brought on a violent fit of coughing. On another occasion her face appeared very much swollen with constantly crying. The patient was discharged cured on the 7th of June. Before she left, she said she would certainly make a complaint when she went before the committee, but Mr. Hunter begged she would not, as Elizabeth, the nurse, had a mother to keep, and the poor girl, being a feeling young person, agreed not to make the complaint. The matron stood beside the patient when she went before the committee, so that she could not say anything. She had since gone to her relatives in Somersetshire, in the hope that change of air might further benefit her. Among other things which she told her mother after she left the hospital was that on one occasion she was going to take a bath—whether she did not do it properly or not could not be ascertained, but no less than three of the nurses forced her in again, and ill treated her very much, and she begged never to be put in a bath again. She also complained of their calling her most shocking names, and of very bad language being used towards her.

“MEDICAL EVIDENCE WITH REGARD TO MISS MORLEY.

Mr. John Ogle Else, surgeon, of Albany road, Camberwell, was called in to see Miss Anne Morley, the patient whose case was referred to last week with the initials of A. M., under the head of ‘*Peine forte et dure.*’ He was called in on the 28th of December, 1850, at her father’s residence, Jessamine Cottage, Park street, Camberwell. He had previously, on the 6th of October, signed a certificate for her admission into Bethle-

hem. She was then in a very impaired state of bodily health, and appeared to be suffering from a description of low fever. He did not apprehend but that she might be restored both mentally and bodily, but on the second occasion, after she came out, he did not think that she would live twenty-four hours. She complained of having sores on her side, but he did not examine her. Her health was so precarious that he endeavored to dissuade her family from sending her to Northamptonshire, believing that she would not survive the journey.

P. R. Nesbit, M. D., deposed to having received Miss Morley into his asylum at Northampton, on the 29th of December. She was then in an extremely feeble condition. She was bed-ridden, and had various sores all over her body . . . . Dr. Nesbitt, in his letter to the commissioners, said the sores and abrasions were evidently the consequences of neglect — that the patient uniformly complained of the treatment to which she was subjected in Bethlehem Hospital — that she had nothing but straw to lie on, and there was no attempt to interpose any kind of protection between her body and the straw — that it hurt her much, and she had no clothes even to cover her. She described her whole treatment to be harsh and coarse, and the recollection of it to inspire her with horror — that the nurses were in the habit of giving her nicknames derived either from the color of her skin or from her habits, and that they treated her like a brute. He adds that the patient is remarkable for truthfulness. The whole of the evidence brought forward in corroboration of the statements made by the patients themselves is remarkably coherent and consistent, and establishes a most revolting system of inhumanity and cruelty. The matter is little mended when we take the evidence on the other side brought forward in defence of the institution.

The editor from whose paper the above extracts are taken, comments as follows :

“CASE OF THE POOR LUNATICS IN BETHLEHEM HOSPITAL.

The publication of the evidence taken before the Commissioners of inquiry in the case of Bethlehem Hospital continues to attract the most profound and painful attention on the part of the public. A complete abstract of this evidence will be found in another part of the Observer. In the meanwhile,

however, the attention of the reader may with propriety be pointed to the important facts in that publication.

Miss Ann Morley—the patient whose case was alluded to last week in this journal as A. M.—had, it would seem, a narrow escape with her life from the ‘tender mercies’ dispensed in the ‘incurable’ ward of this establishment. She went in ill, no doubt; but not so ill as to cause her previous medical attendant to despair of her restoration to health, bodily and mental; when she left, however, the same medical man, according to his own solemn statement, did not expect she would live twenty-four hours, such was her reduced condition.

It will scarcely add to the public horror at the system so long and so cruelly pursued in Bethlehem Hospital, to state that the wretched patients—female patients more especially—were beaten—beaten, too, with the keys of their ward, by the nurse-tenders.

Miss Isabelia Whittingham, another patient, who has also luckily escaped with her life, had one side covered with bruises, and was moreover nearly scalped by the nurse-tenders dragging her out by the hair of her head. Of course, when such brutality was practised, decency of deportment would not be observed, and therefore it will not surprise the public that filthy names and bad language were constantly in the mouth of the subordinate authorities, to whose ‘tender mercies’ the poor patients in the ‘incurable,’ or more properly speaking, ‘condemned’ ward, were consigned.”—*Observer, Oct. 11th, 1852.*

But the exposures made by this proceeding, and the report of the Committee, could not change the nature of Englishmen. I continued, therefore, to meet with similar complaints. Take, for example, the following extract, which formed part of an article in which the editor, after detailing a case of cruelty of another description, goes on to say,

“The other case we find reported in the Durham Advertiser. It occurred at Quarter Sessions, and, as tending to show that at other lunatic asylums besides the Bethlehem, the practice of gross cruelty towards insane persons still exists, should not be lost sight of by those who do not think that diseases of the mind are to be cured by sufferings inflicted on the body. The Commissioners, we notice with pleasure, are on the alert, and it was in consequence of a communication from them that the

matter became the subject of inquiry. As the accusation runs, the proprietor of the Dunston Asylum has horsewhipped one of his patients, and (on the ground that he used them to bite him with) has caused the extraction of some of his teeth. The horsewhipping does not appear to be denied, the tooth-drawing responsibility seems possibly to lie with the dentist, and not with the accused. Here, therefore, the matter lies; a report is sent to the Commissioners; the license of Mr. Wilkinson, against whom this misconduct is charged, is suspended; and the public waits for the result. We trust that it will be satisfactory, and that if the vindication of the accused be not sufficient, his punishment will be certain." — *The Leader*, April 16th, 1853.

Again I found Sir B. Hall calling the attention of Parliament to the treatment of female lunatics at Bethlehem, and to an alleged fact, which, if true, is excessively disgraceful and painful.

#### “BETHLEHEM HOSPITAL.

Sir B. Hall said it was stated that female lunatics in this hospital were disgracefully treated; that young girls were made to stand quite naked whilst they were washed with a mop, and then sent shivering to their cells, in the month of March. This institution possessed £20,000 a-year, and was chiefly under the management of the Corporation of London. The corporation had met yesterday, and after despatching the Jew question, had proceeded to Bethlehem [laughter]. Mr. Gilpin moved to make stringent inquiries into the treatment of the patients, but the motion was withdrawn. He wished to know what had been done to prevent the recurrence of such abuses as those described by the Lunacy Commissioners?

Mr. Fitzroy was not aware that the report alluded to would be laid upon the table; but a bill now in the Lords, introduced by Lord St. Leonard's, and which he believed would be passed, would place Bethlehem Hospital on the same footing as other similar establishments [hear].” — *Observer*, March, 1853.

I must pass on to other matter, and bring to your attention the inhumanity with which the poor in workhouses, and prisoners in the jails, are treated in this country. I select first from among others the following extract:

“ALLEGED ILL-TREATMENT OF THE POOR IN LEWISHAM  
WORKHOUSE.

On Thursday evening, a public meeting of the inhabitants of Lewisham and the neighborhood was held at the Bull Inn, to take into consideration allegations which have been freely circulated, of great inhumanity to the poor on the part of the officials of Lewisham workhouse. Mr. Brown, a former guardian of the poor in the Lewisham Union, having been called to the chair, expressed the deep regret he felt that it should be necessary to call such a meeting, but the circumstances which had transpired rendered it impossible for the rate-payers to be silent any longer. When he held the office of a guardian, he found great reason to complain of the master's accounts, in which he detected great discrepancies. He sought hard to obtain an official inquiry into the matter, but the master being allowed to amend his accounts, all further discussion was stifled.

Mr. Day said his attention was directed in August last to the case of a man named Cooke, then an inmate of the Lewisham Union. The details of the case were of so harrowing a character that he sought to have a conversation with him, but an application he made to the master for that purpose was peremptorily refused. He then applied to the chairman of the Board of Guardians, but received no answer. He had understood that Cooke had been confined to the house for nine consecutive months, without being allowed to cross the threshold of the door.

Cooke, the pauper alluded to, was introduced. He appeared to be in an infirm state of health, was suffering from the loss of one of his eyes, and was about 25 or 27 years of age. He said he had held a subordinate situation in connexion with the Shooter's-hill district Post office, but his health having failed him, he was compelled to seek admission into the Lewisham Workhouse. He had received much ill-treatment from the master, without having been able to obtain any protection from the Board of Guardians. During the time he was an inmate of the house, which extended over a considerable time, from illness, he had witnessed cruelties of the most revolting character. On one occasion, a pauper named Ferris, a man between 80 and 85 years of age, had a trifling dispute with the master, the old man having asked for a short leave of absence from the house. The master struck him a violent blow with his fist, and

then with another blow struck him down in the yard. Ferris was unable to assist himself, and eventually a man was sent to remove him from the yard. As the old man was being removed, the master said, 'You are a d—d old rascal, and I wish I had served you worse.' Ferris was taken to the infirmary, and a man was appointed to watch him night and day, because he was unable, without help, to get in and out of bed. On another occasion the master knocked a poor old woman, 70 years of age, down half a flight of stairs. A poor boy named Day was admitted into the house, having received severe injuries on his legs from the kick of a horse. The boy's thighs having been injured, the hospital surgeons had made two great incisions, and the consequence was he was unable to move about without a crutch. The master ordered him to go to work, and the boy, having expressed his inability to do so, the master knocked the crutch from under his arm, and then struck him over the head with it, immediately afterwards striking him in the face with his fist. The following morning the master called him (Cooke) into the office, and requested him to have nothing to do with the boy, but Cooke replied that the assault was of such a brutal character that he should state it to the guardians. For this he was taken before the guardians, and turned out of the house, although in a state of serious illness. Leaving the house he fell senseless on the road, and was conveyed by a police-officer to the residence of a neighboring surgeon, and thence back to the Union-house. The master refused to admit him, and he was drawn about in a cart for three or four hours, unable to obtain any assistance. He was again taken to the workhouse, at the door of which he was met by the master, who told the driver to back him into the ditch and leave him there, and he would take the consequences. He was in the workhouse ten weeks at that time. No one was allowed to speak to him. Water was given to him once only for the purpose of washing himself, and the bandages he placed round his legs, which were sore, he had to wash in his own urine. (Great sensation.) He was not allowed to go to any place of worship, although he appealed to the Board of Guardians for permission. Cooke was closely questioned as to the accuracy of his statements, but his testimony was unshaken.

Many cases of a character similar to those already detailed were given by paupers in person, and by gentlemen who had become acquainted with them. It was unanimously agreed



that the circumstances which had been laid before the meeting should be represented to the Poor-law Board, and a sub-committee for that purpose was appointed. It was also agreed that, if necessary, a petition should be presented to Parliament. A vote of thanks to the chairman closed the proceedings, which did not terminate until a very late hour at night."—*Weekly Dispatch, Feb. 6th, 1853.*

During the past year considerable excitement was created by reports of shocking cruelty practised on prisoners in the jail at Birmingham. You will find the subject alluded to in the following extract:

"CHARGES OF CRUELTY AGAINST THE GOVERNOR OF BIRMINGHAM JAIL.

In consequence of rumors that cruelties had been practised in the borough jail of Birmingham, Lord Palmerston ordered an inquiry by Mr. Perry, the prison inspector. About three months ago one Andrews, a youth, hung himself in his cell, making a third case of suicide, besides several attempts at suicide, made since Lieutenant Austen, R. N. (the present governor), succeeded Captain Maconochie two years ago."—*Observer, July 4th, 1853.*

In pursuance of the order thus given by the Home Secretary, a report was made in May last, by the inspector, Mr. Perry, which disclosed a system of shocking cruelty and oppression practised in this jail. To this, the visiting justices replied, denying most, or all, of the charges; and these proceedings, it seems, lead to the appointment of a commission for the purpose of investigating the subject. That inquiry developed facts which serve to authorize all that I have said in relation to this matter. I cannot afford room for the report made by this commission, but will give you the substance of it condensed into an editorial article of the *Observer*.

"THE BIRMINGHAM JAIL DISCLOSURES.

The inquiry into the illegal and cruel proceedings that have taken place from time to time within the last three years, in

Birmingham jail, has now terminated ; and a few remarks upon the subject may not, therefore, be inappropriate. The evidence adduced before the commissioners showed in the clearest manner a continuous system of wanton and unlawful restrictions—of barbarous punishments. It showed penal labor outrageously disproportioned to the bodily powers of those on whom it was imposed—and it showed prison allowances reduced, for the most trivial offences, below the *minimum* required for the maintenance of health and strength—which, with at least the acquiescence of the visiting justices, has been allowed to aggravate the sentences judicially pronounced on convicted offenders.

The governor of the prison, who was practically placed upon his defence in the course of the inquiry, confined his answers in substance to the bare allegation that he was no worse than others—that he had only followed in the wake of his immediate predecessor. But he made several admissions of a nature calculated to vitiate his defence—among others that he had, twelve months after his predecessor's departure, inserted in the book which, according to the regulations, ought to form a daily journal of all punishments inflicted in the prison, entries of punishments alleged to have been inflicted by that officer, which, as far as he knew, might or might not be facts. This tampering with the records of the prison, however, bad as it was, is not the worst feature of the case against him, as based upon his own admission. For instance, he was in the habit of sentencing prisoners to bread and water for prison offences, without first hearing what they had to say in their own defence—a notorious violation both of English law and of natural equity. It was his practice to prevent prisoners committed for trial from corresponding with their friends—which is also wholly illegal. Prisoners convicted for the second time he habitually detained until the evening of the day on which their sentences expired, instead of discharging them, as the law requires, at the earliest possible hour in the morning. He punished the prisoners for speaking to one another in the yard, which he had no right whatever to do. And lastly, he systematically abstained from recording the punishments which he inflicted. The latter practice no doubt was demanded by the nature of the punishment inflicted by him on the prisoner ; for, contrary to law, as well as to morals, he 'weighted' the crank on which they worked to the extent of no less than ten thousand ! revolutions in a single day ; and not alone this, but he

compelled his victims to carry on their work long after dark, leaving them to guess when they had accomplished their task; though, while thus employed, they were each, in the opinion of an engineer who was examined, doing more than twice the work which ought to have been exacted from an able-bodied man, while they received no food (a one pound loaf of bread and water) until ten o'clock at night, 'having then been without sustenance the whole day.' Very often, too, after long deprivation of food, they were compelled to suffer the punishment of the strait-jacket, with the attendant collar and straps.

The result of this system of torture, for such it was and nothing else, was a chronic tendency to suicide on the part of the prisoners; a state of mind perfectly comprehensible in the presence of death by lingering torture — torture inflicted, too, not in the open light of day, by responsible administrators of the law, but in the darkness and secrecy of the crank cell.

But though the governor was decidedly the gravest offender in this terrible case of cruelty and oppression towards the prisoners, he was not alone to blame; for magistrates and officers of every grade connected with the prison were equally cruel, or when not actually so, were most culpably indifferent to the sufferings inflicted on those whom it was their duty to protect as well as to keep in safe custody." — *Observer, September 19th, 1853.*

Believe me, dear Major,

Yr. obdt. servt. and cousin,

To MAJOR J. JONES,

P. JONES.

Pineville, Georgia, U. S. of America.

## LETTER XXXIX.

WHAT IS THE SOCIAL HAPPINESS OF THE BRITISH PEOPLE?—  
THE PAUPERS AND THE BEGGARS HELP TO FURNISH AN  
ANSWER.

London, April 28th, 1854.

DEAR MAJOR:—Up to this point of our correspondence, I have been furnishing you with facts, for the immediate purpose of enabling you to understand something of the morals of the British people, as a nation. With what has been thus submitted, there has been necessarily associated much that may help you to form a very fair judgment at the same time, as to the happiness of the same people. But as I am anxious that in both these respects, you shall be able to make something of a just comparison, between them,—possessed as they are, of free institutions, and the highest degree of civilization which has been developed under the influence of such institutions,—and between the people of our slave-holding states, I propose now to bring to your attention some other facts, with which I have been made acquainted, the effect of which will be to aid you in forming an opinion as to the comparative advantages of the two people, with regard to those elements which constitute the greatest amount of happiness for a nation. Associated with these facts, there will, of course, again be, more or less of those circumstances which reflect light upon the moral character and conduct of the same people.

You must excuse me, Major, if I try your patience somewhat further, by a few preliminary remarks. I should like for us to agree, as to what constitutes the true evidence of happiness among a people. It seems to me, that a correct general proposition of this sort, should be

phrased somehow in this way! That people may be said to be the happiest, who, taken as a whole, possess the largest share of average health, of material comforts, and of moral and mental enjoyment. You will have no difficulty in agreeing to this, I suppose.

Now, correctly to compare one people with another, in the respect of social blessings, we must first ascertain, or approximate to a knowledge of the extent to which these several elements of social happiness are enjoyed by that people. That is what I propose to do for your benefit, in what I am writing, or have written to you; with one exception, and that is as to the health of this people. I have no correct data, and I know not how such can be procured, by which we might arrive at entirely accurate information on this subject.\*

Certainly, so far as the higher classes in this country are concerned, there are some statistics which seem to indicate that they have the advantage over us (that is to say, over our white population) in this respect. But it would not be fair to take such examples from the higher classes only. If we look to these classes alone, the comparison would be favorable as to the other elements of happiness stated; indeed it would be strikingly to their advantage, as regards some of them. It cannot be denied, for example, as I have had occasion already to remark, that there is no class of persons upon earth, (in my opinion,) possessing material comforts to an extent that can compare with the nobility and gentry of this country, or with the wealthy middle classes of society; as there are none to vie with them in splendid hospitality, and in the graces and amenities of private life.

It should be added, that health and duration of life depend as well upon the influence of climate, as upon the character and habits of a people, and therefore they should be properly omitted from the elements of a comparison, such as I am inviting you to make.†

Concede then to the upper ranks of society here, the possession and enjoyment of material comforts (and in this term — without pausing to consider the critical accuracy

\* See App., F.

† See App., C. § 25.

of the definition — I include those things which serve to gratify the tastes, as well as those which minister to the appetites and necessities of man) in so high and remarkable a degree; still you will find upon a general survey of all classes, that there is in other directions, an absence of these material elements of man's enjoyment, to an extent which is shocking to the sympathies of one from our country, and to an extent which should make him very grateful that "his lines are fallen in pleasant places," and in another land. You will find too, that such a survey of all ranks and all classes in this country authorizes the conclusion, that so far as the elements of mental and moral enjoyment are concerned, as compared with our people, even with our slaves, the inhabitants of these British islands are a miserable people.

Let us see, then, what is to be ascertained as to a general diffusion of those elements which minister to the comfort and necessities of human life in this country. I call your attention first to some general statements under this head.

I find by the "Statistical Companion" (English authority which I have already quoted), that the population of England and Wales in 1851, was 17,922,768; that the number of paupers receiving relief on the 1st day of January, 1849, was 940,851; on the 1st day of January, 1852, was 792,026; that the number of adult able bodied paupers in 1849, was 201,644; in 1852, was 130,163. I find, also, by the same authority, that the amount expended for relief of the poor in England and Wales, during the year ending at Lady-day, 1850, was £5,395,022, or upwards of twenty-six millions of dollars; and during the year ending at Lady-day, 1851, the expenditure was £4,952,704, or upwards of twenty-two millions of dollars.

To relieve this plethora of pauperism somewhat, it has been the habit here, sometimes to ship certain of the children in the workhouses, to the colonies. This practice was found to be so cruelly abused, that Parliament deemed it expedient to interfere and endeavor to regulate it, consistently with humanity. It would seem, however, from exposures, which were made in the newspapers, some year or two since (and I refer more especially to the Observer

of February 3d, 1851), that notwithstanding these precautions, the practice is still occasionally continued, even in violation of the statute law. These transactions, it is true, were carried to the account of good motives; but what would these crusaders in the African waters think of such a plea in the mouth of the captured slave-trader?

According to the Observer of March 21st, 1853, the number of children still remaining

“In the workhouses of the several unions and parishes in England and Wales, on the 25th of March, 1851, and 1852, were:—25th of March, 1851, 27,032 boys, and 22,420 girls, making 49,452. On the 25th of March last, 46,600 boys and girls, of whom 5297 were capable of entering upon service.”\*

Notwithstanding the immense outlay for the relief of the poor in this country, the extent of suffering and destitution is perfectly wonderful. Some years since we were told, that, “In London, one-tenth of the population are paupers, and 20,000 rise every morning, without knowing where they are to sleep at night. The paupers, criminals, and vagrants alone in it, and its vicinity, are 180,000.” (*Alison's Principles of population.*)

You will find from other and more recent data, that these figures, and especially the number of those, who, in the morning, know not where they are to sleep at night, must be considerably enlarged.

We are told again, that

“In Liverpool there are 7800 inhabited cellars, occupied by 39,000 persons. The great proportion of these cellars are dark, damp, confined, ill-ventilated, and dirty.”—*Mr. Slaney's Report to the House of Commons.*

“Dr. Robertson, an eminent surgeon of Manchester, who has had a great deal of experience among the laboring classes, sums up thus the accumulated evils incident to their condition:

‘Too early employment—too long employment—too much fatigue—no time for relaxation—no time for mental improvement—no time for the care of health—exhaustion—intemperance—indifferent food—sickness—premature decay—a large mortality.’

\* See Appendix G., as to pauperism in Georgia.

The same gentleman, in speaking of the laboring poor of the agricultural districts, says that, in his opinion, their state is not more favorable to the preservation of perfect life of body than that of the manufacturing poor. He remarks :

‘What I say concerning these poor people, is the result of much observation of them, and I consider it a duty to lift the veil from a subject surrounded by many respectable prejudices. . . . Their extreme poverty, and their constant labor so influence them, that the majority—I am sure I speak within bounds—have never the enjoyment of health after forty years of age. This is the result of bad food—insufficient clothing—wearing toil—and the absence of all hope of anything better in this world.’

The peasant’s house is not the abode of joy or even comfort. No ‘children run to lisp their sire’s return,’ or ‘climb his knees, the envied kiss to share.’ The children are felt to be a burthen, ill-fed, ill-clothed, and lying on beds worse than the lower animals ; they are ragged, or clothed by charity ; untaught, or taught by charity ; if sick, cured by charity ; if not starved, fed by proud charity,” &c.

The London Times of December 1st, 1852, referring to destitution in the metropolis, says, that

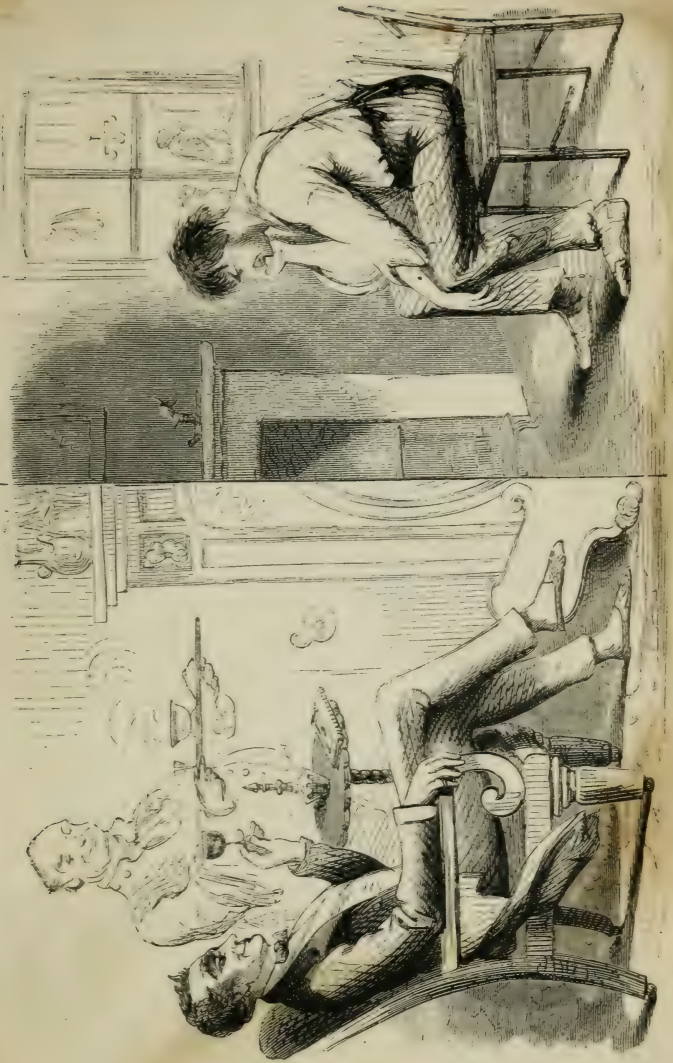
“One most mournful and terrific contrast ever meets the eyes—the extreme of destitution and despair face to face with the extreme of luxury and physical enjoyment, and, unless timely remedies be applied, this disorder and wrong will result very calamitously to the entire social system.”

The same paper in the month of March following, furnishes the following information :

“Does it not appear at first sight a strange result of the statistics of society, that upon an average one person out of twenty of the inhabitants of this luxurious metropolis is every day destitute of food and employment, and every night without a place for shelter or repose.

It may be that we are blessed with greater means than our neighbors ; but, if we judge by results, the conclusion is inevitable, that there is no charity like English charity—there is no country in the world where such strenuous efforts have been







made to relieve the destitution and minister to the wants of the suffering classes. Notwithstanding all these efforts, it is a lamentable fact that in this town of London alone, the centre and core of British civilization, 100,000 persons are every day without food, save it be the precarious produce of a passing job or a crime. Since England was England the general prosperity of the country has never reached so high a point as at the present moment. We mark with complacency the gradual rise of this swelling tide of wealth and luxury; we take no notice of the receding wave. Many schemes have been devised by politic or humane persons to remedy this acknowledged evil. The statesman erects his poor-law unions, and the philanthropist his house of refuge; but still the destitution continues. It is stated in the Registrar-General's annual report for 1849, 'that nearly one human being died weekly in this wealthy metropolis from actual starvation.' In the corresponding report for 1851, we find that twenty-eight adults died from starvation, and 252 infants from want of breast-milk or want of food. In the month of December, 1851, five adults died from starvation, and twenty-nine infants from inanition. But the respectable rate-payer will say, 'Such things need not be. No man, woman, or child in England — certainly no person within the limits of the metropolis — need perish for want of food. A starving person has but to apply as a casual pauper at the door of any work-house, or enter a police court or station-house, and, the dire necessities of nature would be on the instant supplied. In so vast a population, instances must of course occur of persons who will carefully hide their shame and their wants from every eye until they sink down exhausted in some lone spot to die. There are upwards of 80,000 persons who profess to look after the interests of the poor in London alone. To guard against any possibility of these exceptional cases one-half of the population should be converted into *ex officio* guardians of the other half.'

Commenting on the article, a part of which is given above, another London journal holds the following language:

"The efforts of the committee of management of the Leicester-square Soup Kitchen have been so important to the poor of this metropolis as to elicit the extraordinary expression of satisfaction (which will be found subjoined) from the

leading morning journal of this country. This in itself is a test of the value of the services of this society; but a better test is furnished in the returns of the amount of relief furnished to the necessitous; a better still by the statements of the houseless and hungry victims of an unsound social system whom they have relieved."— *Observer, March 29th, 1852.*

You perceive that by the contemplation of so much distress and destitution, an admission is, as it were wrung from this English journal, that these sufferers are "the victims of an unsound social system." But you will be satisfied of this by other and abundant facts.

These must be reserved for subsequent letters. For the present, I must close, with the assurance, that I am, as ever,

Respectfully,

Yr. friend and cousin,

P. JONES.

To MAJ. J. JONES,

Pineville, Ga., U. S. of America.

## LETTER XL.

THE INQUIRY INTO THE HAPPINESS OF THE BRITISH PEOPLE, AS A NATION, CONTINUED — STEALING CAUSED BY DISTRESS — INCREASE OF VAGRANCY IN THE METROPOLIS — STREET BEGGING — THE LEICESTER SQUARE SOUP-KITCHEN AND HOSPICE — THE VERY POOR OF THE METROPOLIS — DEATHS FROM STARVATION — THE HUNGRY CHILDREN IN THE RAGGED SCHOOLS — PAUPERISM AND VAGRANCY — MORE OF THE LEICESTER SQUARE SOUP-KITCHEN — CHILDREN DYING FOR WANT OF BREAST-MILK — ANOTHER DEATH FROM STARVATION — THE COMMON LODGING HOUSES IN ST. GILES — ATTEMPT OF TWO MAIDEN LADIES TO COMMIT SUICIDE BY STARVATION, ON ACCOUNT OF THEIR DESTITUTION.

London, May 1st, 1854.

DEAR MAJOR:—I am now about to send you some statements and instances in illustration of the suffering and destitution which prevails in this kingdom.

The following is a case of stealing caused by distress. It will try your sensibilities :

“ STEALING CAUSED BY DISTRESS.

At the Mansion House, on Thursday, Sarah Boring, a person whose face indicated bodily and mental suffering, was charged before the Lord Mayor with stealing a shilling. It appeared that the prisoner was seen by a policeman to go to one of the shops in Cannon-street, and present a petition for relief. The tradespeople in that neighborhood being overwhelmed with applications from pretended as well as real objects, she was refused. She, however, went back to the shop, after a little hesitation, and took up a shilling lying on the counter, which, being missed before she left the shop, she was taxed with theft, which she owned, and said it was through distress. The shopkeeper, being a humane man, did not appear. The prisoner, with tears gushing from her eyes, said she was starving, and so was her husband and children, and

the policeman said he had been to her lodging in Bermondsey, and found it a place of wretched poverty; there was an old bedstead and a little straw on it, but no clothes whatever, and on the straw the husband lay with disease of the hip, and two children at the foot, and not a morsel of food in the room. The Lord Mayor directed that immediate relief should be given her and her family, and told her to 'go and sin no more.'"  
 —*Observer, February 24th, 1851*

I do not wonder that the Lord Mayor was softened by the touching eloquence of such a scene of suffering and "wretched poverty," that he was overcome by the picture of that room with its "old bedstead, and a little straw on it, but no clothes whatever;" and on the straw the diseased husband, with his "two children at the foot, and not a morsel of food in the room;" whilst the feeble tottering mother makes a desperate effort to relieve the sufferers, by ravishing from society what she could not otherwise procure. Ah! my friend, we who in our comfortable homes know not what such sufferings are, should be very grateful to the Giver of all good gifts, that in those homes even our "hired servants have bread enough and to spare;" and even they are lead not into such temptations, as this poor woman encountered.

From the same paper, I clipped the following:

#### "INCREASE OF VAGRANCY IN THE METROPOLIS.

At an inquest held on Wednesday by Mr. Wakley, M. P., on the body of a prisoner in the House of Correction, a statement was made by Mr. Wakefield, the house surgeon, which at a subsequent period may demand the careful consideration of the Government. Of late, he says, vagrancy has frightfully increased in the metropolis, and the magistrates frequently send persons in a dying condition to the prison, where, with the aid of better diet, they soon recover. Two were lately admitted, mere skeletons, one of whom had increased fifteen pounds, and the other twenty pounds, on the day of discharge. So much do the poor prefer the prison to the workhouse, that they commit certain crimes in order to obtain the privilege of incarceration, some as many as fifty or sixty times. To prevent the house from being crowded by them, the visiting magistrates limited those that were sent for fourteen days to

bread and gruel, and gave only bread and water to those committed for seven days. But yet the vagrants outwitted the magistrates by committing crimes which procured them three months and full prison diet. On leaving the prison, they would say to the turnkey that they had 'capital diet, and they were prepared for a fresh start.' There were 1225 prisoners in the house. Deceased had said that he was in the habit of walking twelve miles a day to beg. The coroner expressed his approval of the admirable arrangements of the prison, in which the jury fully acquiesced, and returned a verdict of Natural Death."

It is very sad to think of these poor wretched skeletons, as committing crimes, in order to obtain "the privilege of incarceration," and with it food; and in a short time carrying away with them fifteen or twenty pounds of flesh produced by the prison diet, as a support for the ensuing period of freedom and destitution.

About this time, a vigorous effort was made in London to suppress street begging, and at the same time extend relief to a large portion of the deserving poor. With this object in view, a society was formed, which was called the "Leicester Square Soup Kitchen and Hospice." To this benevolent association large contributions were made, and for several years the experiment was fairly tried. It has been abandoned, for want of funds, I believe; but it certainly relieved an immense deal of suffering whilst it existed. The reports of persons connected with it, from time to time made, brought to light a mass of facts, serving to exhibit and expose the character and extent of the suffering and destitution among the lower classes of this country. I will furnish you with a few extracts from some of these reports.

"SUPPRESSION OF STREET BEGGING—ST. JAMES'S PARISH.

*To the Chairman and Committee of the Leicester Square Soup-Kitchen.*

Gentlemen: In forwarding my report for the month of February, I have much satisfaction in drawing your attention to the annexed table, showing the gradual diminution of

beggars detected asking alms in St. James's parish, all of whom were strangers, and ignorant of the measures adopted for their suppression.

The licensed victuallers esteem this arrangement as a great boon to themselves, as well as their bar and parlor customers; their attention to business being incessantly interrupted from dusk to closing time, in ordering out stalwart men beggars asking for money to pay a night's lodging; and women, boys and girls, pretending to vend lucifer matches, combs, prints, ballads, &c.

The success attending this evening duty the past two nights, has proved most satisfactory, and will, hereafter, do much towards removing from the streets a set of desperate prowlers, who, under the cloak of night meet you at every turn, and, by unceasing importunities to your remonstrances, as they walk side by side, create considerable alarm in the timid, or especially unprotected females.

There can be no doubt that several thousands of vagrants will be drawn from the country to the metropolis this summer; it therefore behoves parochial authorities—now that it is proved mendicity can be easily suppressed—to adopt stringent measures for checking the inroads of provincial mendicants, and for putting down the present existing intolerable nuisance in our streets.

Beggars detected, total English, 63; total Irish, 207; gross total, 270. J. ETTERS HANK, *Supervisor*.

*Monthly Report of the Leicester Square Soup Kitchen and Asylum, for February, 1851.*

I beg respectfully to forward my report of this institution for the month of February, 1851. The table of the number of recipients at the kitchen shows an increase of nearly 4000 persons over that of the month of January last:—

*Table of Numbers Relieved.*—Relieved in Soup Kitchen, men, 9317; women, 1605; total, 10,022.—Families and sick resident poor, men, 2466; women, 3086; children, 12,132; total families, 17,684.—Total number relieved, 28,606.

*The Refuge.*—280 women and 488 men have been provided with beds, supper, and breakfast. From the large numbers



of deserving applicants applying all hours of the day, a further number of 356 poor men and women have partaken of a morning and evening meal of bread and coffee.

*Want of Breast-Milk.* — I am happy to state that all the poor female sufferers applying for relief with infants in arms, are now free from this complaint. By dint of care, and good nourishing soup and bread, they recovered their milk, and their babies have been restored to health, and saved from an untimely grave. They were very grateful for the protection and relief afforded them in the hour of trial.

John Browning, aged 78; James Kearney, 65; John Long, 10 weeks; and Wm. Barton, 74 — died during the month in this metropolis from starvation.

R. CRATE, *Superintendent.*

Ham-Yard, Great Windmill street, Feb. 28, 1851."

[*Observer*, March 17th, 1851.

The following observations are from the editor of the paper from which the above extracts are taken, and are of the same date:

“THE VERY POOR OF THE METROPOLIS.

It is a terrible and heart-rending fact, that numbers of persons annually die in the streets of London of hunger and destitution. However anxious the public may be to shut their eyes to this appalling reality, it cannot be qualified, much less refuted. The fact stares us in the face in all its hideous deformity; fain would we shun the reflection, but it is impossible. Great privations are endured, especially in the winter months, in many foreign countries where the severity of the weather is most acutely felt. In the north of France, in Belgium, in Holland, and in many parts of Germany, the sufferings of the humbler classes are very great; but the cases are of extremely rare occurrence in which deaths from sheer starvation are reported to the authorities in the principal cities of those countries. In London, however, the wealth and material greatness of which exceed that of any other city in Christendom, deaths from actual want of food are of daily occurrence. Strangers to our laws and social regulations may be inclined to question this fact. They may say that such cannot be the case in a country where the Government raises an enormous sum per

annum in the shape of poor-rates, and where a simultaneous collection of private bounty unparalleled in amount to that received for similar purposes in any other city in the world, is constantly going on. The truth of these statements cannot be denied, and hence the marvel that there should be in the metropolis so many of the very poor. The solution of the difficulty is, however, instant and intelligible. Enormous as is our national establishment for the relief of the poor, and numerous as are our private charities, they are unable to meet the pressing exigencies of those who die in the streets from want of food. There are hospitals in all quarters of the city where those laboring under every description of human infirmity may repair. The existence of present and palpable disease is the only qualification required for admission to those magnificent institutions. There are other establishments supported by the bounty of the affluent, or by the assistance of the prudent, in the hour of prosperity, which are the receptacles of those who have 'toiled all day, and nothing spun,' and where they may pass the declining years of their lives. But there is no adequate asylum for the wretched wayfarer, whose hard lot it is to wander hungry through the great thoroughfares of the town, and whose necessity ought to be sufficient to entitle him to immediate relief.

. . . . .

In many cases strong men, or men who were strong when they commenced their journey, have trudged on foot perhaps fifty or 100 miles, in the expectation of finding some description of employment on their arrival. Their hopes, however, are frustrated; no employment awaits them; and as their slender resources are consumed in a few days, they are forced to become outcasts in the streets with no alternative except starvation or crime. They have no claim upon the Metropolitan Union House, except as casual poor. The utmost relief they can hope for is a morsel of bread and a roof to cover them for the night, and for one night only. Many of those workmen never return to their native place. To use an expression familiar to political economists, they are 'consumed' in the metropolis — that is, some find employment, but many, alas, the greater portion, are struck down by disease and famine, and ultimately become the subject for coroners' inquests, when the stereotyped verdict of 'died from want and destitution' is returned.

Within the last few days the public journals have recorded no less than three deaths resulting from want of actual food.

One of these wretched beings died on the pavement in the open street, desolate and alone, whilst thousands of his fellow-creatures were swarming around him! Here is the official record:—‘John Browning, aged 78, a laboring man from Frome, in Somersetshire, fell exhausted, from inanition, in Mornington Crescent, on Sunday, February 9, 1851, and died a few hours afterwards. The verdict of the jury was, ‘Died from want and destitution.’ A policeman, giving evidence, stated, that a short time previous to the deceased’s falling, he had ordered him, whilst lying shivering on the pavement on another part of his beat, to get up and move off, as he thought he was *shamming*. The other instances to which we have alluded are thus chronicled:—‘At an inquest held on Thursday (Feb. 20), on James Kearney, painter, aged 65, at the Goat, Tash street, Gray’s Inn-lane, it was stated that the body lay in a wretched hovel, denuded of furniture, which had been sold to buy food; and the surgeon, at the *post mortem* examination, deposed that he had not found the *least particle of solid food* in the stomach.’ At an inquest held the same day, on John Long, at the Three Compasses, Cowcross street, West Smithfield, the body presented an appalling appearance—was a ‘mere skeleton.’ Dr. Walker performed a *post mortem* examination, and, in accordance with his opinion, the jury returned a verdict—‘That the deceased died from *want of food and nourishment*.’

These are terrible realities, that must not be permitted to continue in a Christian land. For the sake of our common nature it must be presumed that the affluent are in ignorance of the existence of such appalling distress in the midst of unprecedented plenty, prosperity, and grandeur.”

Oh, of course, my dear sir, they are ignorant “of the existence of such appalling distress.” How should it be otherwise? They are not in ignorance, it is true, “of that system of negro slavery which prevails, with its frightful results,” (according to the ladies of Stafford House) “in many of the vast regions of the Western world.” But poor old John Browning lay shivering, “shamming,” and dying, in his hunger agony *away off there*, upon the cold pavement of Mornington Crescent, hard by the Regent’s Park (where he was not even allowed a spot on which to die in peace), and how should these “affluent” English men or women be expected to know

any thing about it? Ah! if it had only been his good fortune to have been called Uncle Tom, or Quimbo, and to have been "shamming" it a little, *close at hand here*, in a negro-cabin, or cornfield, "in some of those vast regions of the Western world," why then, to be sure, there would have been some chance for those who live here "in the midst" (as this editor says) of such "unprecedented plenty, prosperity, and grandeur," to have known something of such distress, and to have made a flourish about it.

But this editor adds something more in the shape of really valuable information.

"The total number of persons relieved at the soup-kitchen in January, 1851, was 24,642, of whom 11,189 were famishing children. But it must not be supposed that this relief is confined to the necessitous, who are unable to work in consequence of infirmity or old age, and who are struggling to keep out of the workhouse. A great portion of the relief is given to laborers and skilled workmen for whom there is no employment, and who would have been in all probability driven to the commission of crime had not this timely assistance been afforded to them. In the month of January last the institution relieved 3870 laborers, 960 excavators, 548 carpenters, 784 bricklayers, 392 plasterers, 41 butchers, 37 bakers, 185 clerks, 167 waiters, 39 watercress-sellers, 115 costermongers, 26 bookbinders, 11 map colorers, 21 wheelwrights, 13 blacksmiths, 369 shopmen, 8 harness-makers, 507 painters, 432 glaziers, 557 servants, 621 female servants, 127 sailors, and 107 distressed foreigners. To descant upon the usefulness of such an institution would, therefore, be idle. There is, however, another class of persons to whose wants this admirable institution has directed its attention. It is well known that hundreds of infants annually die in the metropolis in consequence of the want of their natural food. It is impossible that the wretched mother, whose form is wasted by famine and exhausted by inanition, can replenish the fountain from which her infant ought to draw its life stream. Within the last twelve months 180 infants are reported to have died from 'want of breast milk.' This calculation, however, gives no idea of the number who actually died from causes more or less attributable to a deficient supply of their natural food. In order to remedy as far as possible the ravages of this deplorable disease, the institution has notified the public that medical

advice and nourishment will be afforded to all poor women applying under such circumstances. The result has been in the highest degree satisfactory and gratifying, the poor women rapidly regaining their strength under the kindly and judicious treatment which has been afforded them." — *Observer*, *March 17th*, 1851.

*The Times*, of October 13th, 1851, contains an advertisement from the committee of the Field Lane Ragged School Nightly Refuge, making the following appalling disclosure: — "The nightly cry of the wretched inmates is 'Bread! bread! we cannot sleep for hunger. Do give us our morning's allowance now.'"

Below you have another extract from a report made by the officers of the Leicester Square Soup Kitchen.

"LEICESTER SQUARE SOUP-KITCHEN — OCTOBER REPORT.

*To the Chairman and Committee of the Leicester square Soup-kitchen and Hospice.*

Gentlemen: I beg to present the report for October of our operations: 4301 poor persons have had a good substantial meal in the kitchen; 5711 have taken the food given them home to their families; 332 men and 134 women have been sheltered at the Refuge, and provided with a supper and breakfast; 7181 men and women have reaped the advantage of the lavatories and cabinets; and 285 men and 374 women have obtained good situations by means of the Free Registry.

The sudden cold weather has been a trial to the poor, particularly to old people, and when they can't get bread to eat, they say it pinches them up terribly. I have had lately some very distressing cases, much more than usual, among aged and infirm poor persons. I felt it my duty to keep a particular account of them, which can be seen when required. The struggle they make to keep out of a workhouse would scarcely be believed. Our relief is looked upon by them as providential. During the last ten days the applicants for relief have been very numerous. I have been obliged to refuse a great many, who begged very hard for a basin of soup and a morsel of bread. It is painful to refuse, but I can't relieve more persons than the food in the kitchen gives me the power of doing.

I beg respectfully to appeal to you, gentlemen, to allow me to give orders for more meat and bread, at least as long as the bitter cold weather lasts.

I feel it my duty to observe that in the papers of this day, the Registrar-General in his weekly account of the people who die in London, states, one died from destitution, and five children at the breast from want of food.

Your respectful servant,

ROBERT CRATE, Superintendent."

[*Observer, November 10th, 1851.*]

On the 22d of December in the same year, this journal published a report which contained the following language

"The resident poor appear to suffer much from the inclemency of the weather, particularly where the father or mother is sick whilst out of work. Their submissive looks, pallid faces, and shivering limbs, too plainly indicate the extent of their inward want and absence of proper warm clothing. To the pangs of an empty stomach may be added the wretchedness of an empty fire-grate and the miseries of a little family at home crying for bread. I think our Kitchen has been justly termed the 'barometer of poverty,' as any one who visits our crowded doors at 3 o'clock will soon discover the index of want prevailing upon the working-classes. The mutton broth has been of great service to poor women with infants at their breasts. Both mother and child rapidly gain health and strength with this food. It is very painful to know that, from the want of it, sickness, misery, and death, abound in the dwellings of hundreds of the poor of this metropolis. The Registrar-General records, in his last week's report, the death of eight children from 'want of breast-milk' and 'inanition,' which, I presume, means downright starvation."\*

Again we find the following at another date:

\* For different condition of slave mothers and children, see App., D., §§ 10, 32, 52, 68, 85, 98.

“LEICESTER SQUARE SOUP-KITCHEN AND HOSPICE. — REPORT  
OF OPERATIONS FOR FEBRUARY, 1852.

*To the Chairman and Committee of the Leicester Square  
Soup-kitchen.*

Gentlemen: I regret to be compelled to state that a very large number of poor families are still without employment.

Those who have to depart from our kitchen since one copper has not been in use from want of funds, amount on the average to 343 poor families daily, who certainly chiefly depended on this supply for their support. Many have walked miles to obtain a ticket of relief, and it is truly painful to see these poor creatures obliged to return home with their pitchers and aprons empty, to a host of ‘expectant little ones,’ who are awaiting the meal of bread and soup.

The infant mortality, from want of food, continues on the increase. The Registrar-General’s last weekly report represents eight to have died from ‘starvation.’ Deaths among adults from the same cause are also unusually great.

ROBERT CRATE, Superintendent.

JOHN SMART, Assistant-Secretary.”

[*Observer*, March 8th, 1852.

This was a very interesting charity, certainly, and unless it was developing an evil influence in some direction, which is not evident to the casual observer, it is greatly to be regretted that it should ever have been abandoned, and should not have been placed upon a permanent basis. In the following article you have another example of those deaths from destitution, so frequent in England:

“ANOTHER DEATH FROM STARVATION.

Late on Friday evening an inquest was held by Mr. Baker, at the Black Horse public house, Kingsland, on the body of Eliza Greenway, aged 24, who died in the infirmary of Shoreditch Workhouse under very distressing circumstances. Several witnesses showed that the deceased was discovered a few yards from the Eagle Tavern (Grecian Saloon), City road, which is situated just by the boundary marks of the parishes of St. Luke and St. Leonard, Shoreditch. She was taken to the work-

house of the former parish by a police-constable, where they refused to take her in. This would not have occurred at the Refuge of the Leicester Square Soup-kitchen. The officers then conveyed her to the workhouse of Shoreditch, where she was admitted directly, seen by the surgeon, and placed in bed. She then became sensible, and stated that she lived in Long lane, Smithfield. She had received continued ill-treatment, which induced her to run away from the house and wander the public streets in a state of starvation until relieved by the police officer. The unfortunate creature, after having become the victim of the most heartless villany, closed, on Wednesday last, her wretched career of disgrace, penury, and destitution." —*Observer, December 15th, 1851.*

From the next extract you will learn something of the manner in which the poor of the metropolis are sometimes lodged; and with its aid you will have presented for your contemplation another aspect of the subject which we are considering.

#### “THE COMMON LODGING-HOUSES IN ST. GILES’S.

Daniel Collins, John Leary, John Sullivan, Daniel Kirby, Michael Sullivan, and Johanna Barry, appeared upon an adjourned summons charging them with taking in lodgers at 21 Church lane, St. Giles’s, the house not being approved for that purpose by the officer appointed by the local authority, in pursuance of the provisions of the Common Lodging-Houses Act passed last session.

Inspector Reeves said, that on visiting the house, in the first room he found a man, his wife, and three children, a boy thirteen years old, and a girl aged fifteen years, and a man, his wife, and three girls. There was only one bedstead in the room, and no division of the sexes. The room ought to have contained only nine persons. The next two rooms were occupied each by a family. In the fourth room, kept by Kirby, there were a man, his wife, and three children, two females, and another family of four. The occupier of the next room complied with the regulations, but in that occupied by Michael Sullivan there were four families, in all twelve people. The other rooms were equally overcrowded, notwithstanding the warning which the keepers had received, and the whole house was in a most filthy and pestilential condition.



William Parker, landlord of the Robin Hood, who let the rooms to the defendants, said that he paid £25 a year rent for the house to Mr. Thomas Grant, of Barnet, the owner of the house. He received about 23s. a week from the defendants, in sums varying from 2s. to 4s. a week. There was only one water-closet for the use of all the lodgers, and there was no water laid on, because the Commissioners of Sewers had undertaken to lay it on, and had not done so.

Mr. Reeves said the commissioners consented to supply water out of compassion, to relieve the necessities of the lodgers.

Mr. Henry said the defendants could be got rid of at once, and as the law was stringent upon the subject, such an abominable system should be speedily removed.

Parker stated that the expense of water was included in the rent, and it could be obtained at the back of his public house, though without passing through it. He had twenty-five tenants in another house, who had the privilege of obtaining water from his place.

Mr. Henry said it was clear that Parker was responsible for the house being in such a condition, principally on account of the exorbitant rent he received from the defendants. He should not impose any fine on the present occasion, but he should call upon the witness, as well as the defendants, to sign a written agreement, undertaking in the first place, to have the house registered, and in the next, to act up to the regulations with regard to the number of lodgers in each room. The object of the recent act was to protect the poorer classes from imposition. He recommended Parker to be more cautious in future, or he might find the license of his public house in jeopardy.

An agreement having been drawn up and signed, the summonses were adjourned for a month."\* — *Observer*, May 3d, 1852.

The next two extracts present you with one of the most touching and affecting cases with which you have ever met; and one which serves, in an eminent degree, to illustrate the character and extent of the suffering, both physical and mental, to which a large proportion of the people of this kingdom are subject.

\* See App., D., as to the provision which is made for the lodgings of slaves.

## "ATTEMPT OF TWO MAIDEN LADIES TO COMMIT SUICIDE.

A most extraordinary and painful case, in which a fatal termination was averted by the prompt humanity of the parties concerned, has taken place in Marylebone. It appears that about a month since two ladies of respectable appearance and highly superior manners, named Harriet and Julia Sharpley, engaged a back attic at Mrs. Turner's, 41 Adam street, Edgeware road. They paid the rent regularly, and went out together every day for the first fortnight, and their appearance, though melancholy, denoted that they had seen better days. A fortnight since last Wednesday they had ceased to leave their room, which was kept locked. The woman in the adjoining room expressed her conviction that they had no food, as she never heard the sound of a plate, knife, or fork. On Wednesday, the 8th instant, Mrs. Turner, the landlady, in order to learn the cause of their non-appearance, knocked at the room, and one of the ladies replied that she would open the door in the evening. In the evening she was admitted, and they appeared in a most emaciated state, but would not admit that they wanted food. She brought them some tea, and some bread and butter. They thanked her for her kindness, but declined taking it. She, however, insisted on leaving it. Feeling her position delicate, she did not disturb them until Wednesday last, when a lodger in the next room told her that she heard moans in the back attic. On this she informed the parochial authorities, and Mr. Collett, an out-door inspector of the poor, proceeded to the place, and found the two sisters lying on the bed dressed, and locked in each other's arms. They were both sensible, but so weak, that they could not stand, and one of them fainted in Mr. Collett's arms, as he attempted to raise her. He at once administered brandy and wine mixed with water, and stimulants and nourishment were administered by force, as they were either unwilling or too weak to take them. They rallied a little; and on Thursday were removed to the workhouse in a cab. They expressed the utmost horror at going to the 'Union,' and one of them was so affected during the removal, that it was thought she would have died. They were, however, placed there under medical care, both seeming heart-broken at their position. It appears that the unfortunate ladies, the eldest of whom is 41 years of age, and the youngest 39, have an aged father and mother,

reduced from affluence to live with some relative in a small cottage at Sinefield, near Slough. Their father formerly kept a large school in the vicinity of Windsor. His unfortunate daughters were educated as governesses, but being unable to obtain employment, and their parents being unable to support them, they came to London to seek needlework, by which means they hoped to maintain themselves. They were unsuccessful, and their slender means becoming exhausted, they resolved, rather than be a burden to their parents, or to bring disgrace on their family by applying for relief, to starve together. They still remain in the Marylebone Infirmary, and object to take food. The condition of their apartment was perfectly cleanly, and it has been ascertained that the only drink they had for more than a fortnight was the drippings of the pipe from the roof of the house."—*Observer, September 20th, 1852.*

As you are probably interested in the fate of these unfortunate ladies, I will add here that, some months subsequently, at a meeting of the Directors and Guardians of the Poor, a letter from these ladies was read, which you will find referred to below :

"THE LATE ATTEMPTED VOLUNTARY STARVATION AT  
MARYLEBONE.

On Saturday, at the weekly meeting of the Directors and Guardians of the Poor of St. Marylebone, held in the board room of the workhouse, Newroad, Mr. Jacob Bell in the chair, a letter was read from the Misses Sharpley, the two maiden ladies whose case, it will be remembered, excited, some few months back, a great amount of sympathy and interest on account of their determined attempt to commit self-destruction by voluntary starvation. The communication was a demand for parochial relief; and the letter stated that they (the Misses Sharpley) had used their best endeavors to maintain themselves by doing Berlin wool and crochet work, but that it had proved an utter failure. They expressed their determination to refuse to return to their place of settlement, to which they had been passed by the parish of Marylebone, namely Slough, near Windsor; and hinted that, sooner than do so, they were determined to die together. It will be remembered that the Board of Guardians of Marylebone had, at the time the Misses

Sharpley made an attempt at self destruction, sums of money forwarded to the workhouse by several benevolent individuals, and, in consequence of the flat refusal on their part to receive a fraction in the shape of charity, the sums sent by persons whose addresses were known were returned. The Board have, however, about £16 still in hand; but it is understood that the Misses Sharpley still refuse to receive anything in the shape of charity from any one. The Board directed the matter to be referred to Mr. Messer, the relieving officer, to be dealt with in the usual way." — *Observer, July 4th, 1853.*

I hope, dear Major, that the interest you have taken in the matter contained in this letter has prevented you from observing its great length, and that you have not been impatiently waiting to hear that I am, as ever,

Respectfully,

Your friend and cousin,

To MAJ. J. JONES,

P. JONES.

Pineville, Ga., U. S. of America.

## LETTER XLI.

DISTRESS AND DESTITUTION IN THE AGRICULTURAL DISTRICTS OF ENGLAND—ADVENTURE OF DR. JONES AND HIS SERVANT ON THE ROAD FROM LONDON TO GRAVESEND; IN WHICH BUCK EMULATES THE CHARACTER OF THE GOOD SAMARITAN.

London, May 4th, 1854.

DEAR MAJOR:—In the autumn of 1852, I made an excursion into some of the agricultural districts in several parts of England. On that tour, I saw enough to convince me that poverty, and consequent suffering, were by no means confined to the manufacturing districts, or to the metropolis. Indeed, I found that London was regarded as affording resources to which the laborer might resort for employment when he was unable to find it in the country, and in the line of pursuits to which he was most accustomed. I found that thousands, who had been employed during the spring and summer months, were now destitute of the means of support; and that, before them, the approaching winter months presented a prospect of want and suffering for themselves and families. Others among the class of agricultural laborers were earning a subsistence just sufficient to keep soul and body together, but not enough "to keep the wolf from the door" of their miserable cottages.

It is a fact, Major, that thousands of these laborers upon the estates of large (and liberal, too, many of them) landed proprietors, are earning not more than six or seven shillings per week. Out of this has to be paid at least one shilling for rent, and another for coal. This leaves four or five shillings (or say, one dollar and twenty-five cents); out of which the week's supply of food and clothing for the whole family must necessarily come. That family frequently consists of husband, wife, and seven or eight small children. The coal consumed is nearly all

used in cooking, and none can be spared for purposes of warmth. The food is chiefly brown bread. You can easily see that, without fuel, with limited and meagre diet, which affords but little warmth during the long and bitter winter nights, there is not much sleep for these poor creatures; and that the wail of woe which (according to the "London Times") is so often uttered by the wretched little children of the ragged-schools, is taken up by many a group of shivering little ones in these rural districts, and the deep stillness of the winter night is broken by the agonizing cry, "Bread, bread! we cannot sleep for hunger."\*

What is to be said for the comfort of the parents, themselves cramped with inanition and cold, who listen to this appeal? Is it any wonder that lunatic asylums swarm with inmates in a land where such things be?

Of the extent to which such destitution as I have been describing exists, even in the counties nearest to London, you may form some opinion from the following, which is one of the reports made by the superintendent of the Leicester Square Soup Kitchen, in the beginning of the year 1853.

"LEICESTER SQUARE SOUP-KITCHEN AND HOSPICE.

The good which has been done by this beneficent institution is incalculable. It has fed the hungry, and filled the poor with good things, in this the most dangerous, as well as the most rigorous season of the year. No fewer than 23,759 wretched creatures have actually been kept from starvation by its agency in the past month, a great proportion of which were the most helpless of all human beings in a great city—namely, agricultural laborers and their families. Society, therefore, owes this establishment the most munificent support, and especially that portion of it comprehended under the title of country gentlemen. Let it never be forgotten, however, that the assistance given to the necessitous and the starving is in the nature of a loan made to Heaven, and that in no instance could such aid meet more effectual application to human relief than in this establishment.

A vast number of agricultural and field laborers still visit

\* See Appendix, J.

the kitchen, several of whom, after having unsuccessfully sought for employment in and round London, have again visited the institution, begging for food to sustain them, in their efforts to procure work elsewhere, or to strengthen them on their return homewards; others have been overheard to express to one another their inclination to steal the first thing they came across, merely for the comfort of a prison for a short time. Workhouses they appear to abhor, preferring to starve or steal, rather than enter within the union doors, plainly showing the difference of treatment and food towards the felon and the recipient of parochial bounty.

There is a large number of able-bodied lads willing to be shipped for sea service, if we had only the means of sending them to sea.

ROBERT CRATE, *Superintendent.*"

Ham-Yard, Feb. 5, 1853.

[*Observer, February 14th, 1853.*

It was shortly after the period to which I have above referred, and in the month of November, 1852, that I went down to Gravesend, for the purpose of seeing some of the gardens (they make the finest asparagus there in the world, perhaps) in that vicinity, and of learning somewhat, it might be, of their mode of horticulture. Gravesend is on the Thames, some twenty miles below London; and to visit it, I employed a private conveyance sufficient for Buck and myself.

A few miles from London, and between that city and Dartford, we saw approaching us, and coming from the direction of the latter place, two women, who were moving very slowly, one of them being occasionally assisted by the other. I was about to pass them, when something in the appearance of one of these women arrested my attention, and induced me to call a halt and speak to her.

"My good woman," said I, "you seem to be suffering."

The woman, overcome, apparently, by this unexpected expression of sympathy, stopped, looked into my face steadily, and burst into tears.

"See here," said she; "this child is but a few hours old." And she took from some sort of a dingy and ragged wrapper, and held up to our astonished gaze, a perfectly naked, newly-born babe; and then she sat down

upon a bank on the roadside, the picture of outcast and forlorn desolation.

“Gracious heavens!” said I, “what is your meaning?”

“My child has been but a little while born,” said she, crying as if she would break her heart, “and I have no where to go with it, and nothing for myself or it.”

I was fairly stunned by the whole thing, Major; and could scarcely collect my senses sufficiently to realize what I heard and saw. But Buck comprehended, and had already sprung to the ground, opened his carpet-bag, and whipped out a flannel shirt, which he rapidly ripped, split, and tied with strips from one of his handkerchiefs, so as to convert it into a covering for the child, with which he gently aided the mother to envelop it. He then commenced to select other portions of his clothing, when I stopped him, and told him to give her the blanket which we had brought along as a wrapper for our feet, together with one or two other articles, which I designated, and which would do for her until she could procure other appliances.

When this had been done, Buck sat down by the woman, looked kindly at her, and laid his coarse hand softly on the baby, whilst the tears streamed from his eyes.

“An you haint got no home?” said he, presently.

“None, none,” said the woman; “not a place to lay my head on, and no food, no food. I did not care so much for myself until this child was born; but now I feel that it’s worse than a thousand deaths of my own to see it die of hunger.”

“Poor crittur! poor crittur!” said Buck; and I am sure I don’t know which wept the most bitterly over that unconscious baby—Buck or its mother.

“Where do you come from,” said I, “and where are you going?”

“I came from Gravesend,” said she. “My husband and I followed the road, sometimes begging, and sometimes doing chores about, until he died, several months ago. Since then, I continued on the tramp. I was on my way from Gravesend to London, and near Dartford, when, having no money to pay for a lodging, I crept, without being seen, into a barn, as night came on. Worn





BUCK EMULATES THE GOOD SAMARITAN.



down with weariness and hunger, I could not sleep, but grew very sick; which hastened my confinement, I suppose, and about two or three o'clock in the morning, my child was born."

"An you all alone by yourself, poor 'oman?" said Buck.

"Yes."

"Oh, my God," said he, fairly convulsed with emotion, "thy ways are past findin out—help me to be thankful for my blessins."

"I was alone," said the woman, "until this morning; when a dog came, and seeing me, ran out and barked. This brought a man to the spot, who said he was the owner of the place. He ordered me to leave, and I had it to do."

"But you didn't tell him your sitiuation, surely," said Buck. "You didn't show him your baby—say you didn't!"

"Yes I did, though; and he told me that, if he gave shelter to every houseless woman that chose to come and litter in his barn, he would soon be overrun with all the trampers in England. I felt that there was a great deal of truth in what he said, and I crawled out and got away as well as I could."

"God be thanked, Marster," said Buck, "that we haint got to live in a country whar poor critturs gits so use to sich conduct tell they don't complain of it!"

"I then went to Dartford workhouse," continued the woman.

"How furr?" said Buck.

"About two miles, I think. I knocked at the gate, and a keeper came out. I told him my condition, but he would not let me in."

"Poor thing! Did you show him your baby, too?" said Buck.

"I did, but he told me to be off—that I did not belong there, and could not be admitted; and he closed the gate on me. I turned towards London, and struggled along; for now my baby was suffering, and I was anxious to save it from dying, if I could. I felt, though, as if I should faint and fall every minute; and was just about giving

up, when this good woman overtook me on the road. She, too, was on her way to London. I told her my story, and that I was unable to proceed. She took me into an ale-house, and, though she herself seems to be poor, she bought for me a little bread and meat, and a pint of beer. This has strengthened me a bit, and I hope to reach London; but what to do after I get there, is more than I can tell. I give you a thousand thanks, sir," said she to me; "and as for this black man, I am sure I can never thank him enough for his kindness to me and my baby." And rising, she shook Buck warmly by the hand.

I gave the woman some directions as to the method of getting assistance at one of the workhouses, but advised her to stop at the nearest place where she could get admittance until she was stronger, added something besides advice, and we parted. Some time afterwards, I clipped the following reference to her from one of the journals. She had found shelter and relief, it seems, at one of the London unions.

#### "CAN THIS BE TRUE?"

Mr. Elliott, registrar of births and deaths of the Borough-road sub-district, appends the following note to his last return:—"At the workhouse, on the 11th inst., the nurse in the lying-in-ward directed my attention to a woman with an infant, saying, 'I suppose you cannot register the child, as it was not born here.' I inquired of the woman where the child was born, and she made the following statement, which I give in her own words:—"My name is Eliza Hayes, twenty-five years old. My husband has been four months dead. I was on tramp on the 1st of November near Dartford. I came from Gravesend. I had no money, and could not get a lodging. I lay down in a barn between seven and eight o'clock. During the night I was taken very ill, and delivered myself of a female child, about two or three o'clock in the morning. In the morning a man came and said I must turn out. I went to the Dartford Union. I think it was two miles off. I knocked at the gate, and a man came. I told him what had happened to me, and showed him the baby, naked. He said he could not take me in, and said that it was of no use for me to wait there; he shut the gate, and I came along the road. A poor travelling woman overtook me. I told her all about it. I

said to her, 'I am not able to go along,' and she took me into a beer-shop and gave me a piece of bread and meat, and a pint of beer; that brought me along the road, and she and I came into London together. She directed me to this work-house, and I was taken in dripping wet; it had rained hard all the way.' " — *Weekly Dispatch, November 21st, 1852.*

I find it necessary to end this letter here; and must forthwith assure you, Major, that I am,

Very respectfully,

Your friend and cousin,

P. JONES.

To Maj. J. JONES, Pineville, Geo.,  
U. S. of America.



## LETTER XLII.

BUCK WITNESSES A MEETING BETWEEN ST. JAMES, AND ST. GILES, IN WHICH THE LATTER, AS USUAL, IS MADE TO TAKE THE KENNEL—EXTENT OF DESTITUTION IN THE METROPOLIS AND ITS VICINITY—DEATH FROM STARVATION, AND SHOCKING DESTITUTION—ANOTHER DEATH FROM DESTITUTION—DISTRESSING PICTURE OF DEGRADATION AND DESTITUTION.

London, May 9th, 1854.

DEAR MAJOR:—One evening, in the month of January, 1853, my servant returned from a ramble into Hyde Park. When I had settled down in my room for the night, and he had brought my dressing-gown and slippers, stirred up the fire, and made everything snug and comfortable, he proceeded to unfold his budget of news, as was frequently his custom. Among other things, he related an affair which he had witnessed just before returning homewards. I prefer to give you the adventure as nearly in his own words as possible, as the simplicity with which he expresses himself sometimes serves to render his narrative amusing.

“I was passin ’long, Marster,” said he, “jest ’bout as hit was gittin dark like, an not thinkin nothin of no fuss, an nothin at all, an first thing I knowed, I seed two men a little ways ’fore me,—sorter wagabon-lookin fellers they was,—an one on ’um, says he, ‘Hell-fire!’ says he; ‘what are yer doin thar, Jack? Why don’t yer come along?’ says he.

I looked at tother one on ’um, an he was gwine on the curosest ever I seed. He was sorter standin half bent down like, with his hands on his knees, an peepin through the area gratins, as ef he was tryin to see through a winder in the house, an snuffin up the ar that come out of a kitchen winder with all his might. Then he tuk up his hands from his knees, an put ’um up to his seedy ole hat, an sorter mashed hit down like, he did, an made motions with his fists, as ef at somebody in the house.

‘What the devil are yer squarin at thar?’ says tother wagabon. ‘Why don’t yer come along, I say?’ says he.

‘I say, Bill, thar’s a mort a dinner gwine on here for these ’ristocrats. Jest smell it,’ says he; an I could hear him sniffle, Marster, clean to whar I stood. ‘Thar’s ’nuff gwine up thar,’ says he, ‘to feed us a week, an here am I a starvin. I’m blowed ef I stand it,’ says he. ‘Hit’s ’nuff to make a man cuss God an die,’ says he, jest so.

‘Yer had better come ’long,’ says tother; ‘are yer crazy?’

‘Yes, I’m crazy, Bill—crazy,’ says he, smashin his hat down agin, ‘crazy to think that these here people’s got more than they wants, whul I’m a dyin for bread,’ says he, ‘an don’t know whar to git it. I’m blowed ef I stand it, I say. I’ll have some on it, ef I die for it.’

‘Jest yer come along, I say,’ says tother.

But no; the man went up to the door of the house, an beat hit with his fist, an pulled the bell, all at same time, an tried to open hit. Tother man went an tried to git him away, but he couldn’t. Bomby a ’oman, she come to the door, an opened hit a little, an when she saw the man, she slammed hit to, quick as she could. The man tried to perwent her, but she was too quick for him. Immediately afterwards, a fine ole gen’l man come to the

door, an opened it, an says, says he, 'What do you want?' says he.

'Somethin to eat,' says the man. 'I'm starvin, an must die ef I don't git somethin soon,' says he.

Then the gen'l'man spoke up high, an says, says he, 'Go away, feller,' says he, 'I've no food for you. Be off,' says he.

But the wagabon wouldn't, an looked mighty stubborn.

'Go away, I tell you, or I shall give you into custody,' says the gen'l'man. 'I will send for the pleece immedi-ently,' says he, 'unless you leave.'

'You an the pleece may both go to hell!' says the wagabon. 'What does a man in my sitiuation care for pleece? Give me some food, I tell you.'

'I shall do no sich thing,' says the gen'l'man. 'Leave, feller!'

'I'm damned ef I do,' says the man, jest so; an then he tried to shove by the gen'l'man, who perwented him, an the wagabon fired away, an gin him fits, in little or no time, I tell you, Marster. He soon made the blood fly. Then the women of the house, they sot up sich a hellabaloo, an screamed an yelled so, that the pleece come runnin up immediently, sure enough, an tuk the man away. 'Fore they got thar, tother man, he run off, I bleeve—leastwise, I didn't see him any more. When they was carryin off the wagabon, I heerd him say, 'Leave go your grip upon my throat, sargeant; I'm weak arter this little skrimmage, for I haint had a mouthful to eat sense yesterday,' says he. 'I thought to git somethin here,' says he, 'from this ole nob; but his heart was reglar hard,' says he. 'Well, anyhow,' says he, very sulky like, 'ef I didn't taste his beef, I drawed some of his claret,' says he."

"Where were you all this time?" said I.

*Buck.* "Not fur off, but sorter skreened from sight like. An I kep close tell everything was quiet, for fear I might be tuk up upon spishun that I blonged with the wagabon. Fact is, though, Marster, I was mighty sorry for the feller, when I come to think 'bout it. The man was raal hongry, Marster, I do bleeve, an sorter got desprate when the smell o' them good vitels come steamin up

through the gratin. Ef he hadn't had anything to eat all day, — an he looked like he hadn't, — an ef he didn't have no place to go to git none, hit was mighty aggrawatin, sartain, jest at that time to ketch the smell o' that roast beef. The Lord save me from sich a temtation!"

*Myself.* "Amen."

*Buck.* "Tell you what was sorter tryin to the poor feller, too, Marster. When that ole gen'l'man come to the door, he come sorter suckin his teeth, like people ginerly does, you know, Marster, when they's jest got up from table; an he looked comftable an satisfied, like anybody does who has a good dinner waitin on him; an when I come to think 'bout it, I didn't wonder that, when he wouldn't give that poor hongry feller nothin, he got perwoked in his mind, an sorter felt like people an Providence was both powerful hard upon him. Well, hit's all right, I spose, Marster; but I can't onderstand it. To save my life, I can't onderstand how hit is, that in a country like this, whar thar's so many great rich people, same time thar should be so many poor ones. Howbeever, maybe hit's becuse a few's got so powerful much, Marster, that thar's not 'nuff left for the balance. Don't you think so, Marster?"

*Myself.* "You have the true reason, I suspect, Buck. St. James takes the lion's share here, I am afraid, and St. Giles must needs make a starve of it."

*Buck.* "Was that what the names of them people was, sir?"

*Myself.* "Not that I know of, Buck; but I am sure that, when those two men met at that door, they might very well have stood for the picture of the characters I have named. Then, certainly, in the language of the 'Times,' was 'the extreme of destitution and despair face to face with the extreme of luxury and physical enjoyment.' I hope, indeed, that the violence which on this occasion transpired may not prove typical of what shall occur when St. James and St. Giles shall some time meet again; for in that event, if the latter should happen to have a sufficient following at his back, those other words of that celebrated journal may come to pass, and 'this



disorder and wrong will result very calamitously to the entire social system.'"

A day or two after the above conversation, I noticed the following article in the morning's paper, which I suspected referred to the same transaction which my servant had witnessed :

"ASSAULT ON A MILITARY OFFICER.

At the Marylebone court, on Tuesday, John Welch, a determined-looking fellow, who said he was a laborer, was charged before Mr. Broughton with having assaulted Colonel Tovey, of 54, Cambridge-terrace, Hyde Park. The colonel, whose left eye was blackened and much swollen, said that on the previous evening, between seven and eight o'clock, whilst sitting at his dinner, two of his female servants rushed into the room in a fright, and told him two men were at the front door trying to force their way in. He directly rose and went to the door, and saw defendant standing there ; he told him if he did not go away he would send for the police. The prisoner said, in a determined tone, 'I'm starving, and relief I must have.' He told him he would give him into custody, when the prisoner told him that the 'police and he might go to a certain place.' He then told him to quit, and saw he had something in his hand, and meant to act. The prisoner struck witness several tremendous blows on the left eye, and was given into custody. Defendant, in his defence, said he called to ask for a ticket for the 'night refuge,' which was denied. Mr. Broughton committed him to the House of Correction for two months." — *Observer, January 27th, 1853.*

And now, what will you think of the happiness of this country, or its destiny, when you are told, as in the following article, that there were, during the year immediately preceding this time, a quarter of a million of human beings, in and about London, in the same condition with this unhappy pauper ?

"It is the fashion to decry the conduct of the poor, because to do so saves the pocket of the rich — who, of course, could not think of bestowing pecuniary aid upon immoral persons, &c. ; but the report of the committee under notice tells another and different tale of these unhappy creatures, as a refe-

rence to the fifth paragraph will prove. In the entire mass of human misery above adverted to—a quarter of a million of men, women, and children, every man, woman, and child of whom, when he or she rose on any morning, knew not whether a meal of food was to be had during the whole ‘weary day,’—there was not one case of misconduct as far as the society was concerned; nay, not one failed in that rarest of all virtues in a high state of civilization, gratitude for the kindness and hospitality which was shown. Furthermore, in no single instance has the least outrage against the law, however trifling, been traceable to any of the recipients of the daily dole bestowed by this praiseworthy institution.”—*Observer, December, 1852.*

During the same winter, many cases of heart-rending destitution were brought to my attention. Among the rest was the following, which is so distressing that I can with difficulty comment upon it; and I hesitate to linger over it until I can call your attention to that which must impress us (who have been so long looking behind the scenes where the great drama of English life is being enacted) as a horrible piece of acting on the part of the coroner and jury, who protest that “it was most distressing that a poor woman should perish in such a way, *when there were so many means of getting relief.*”

“DEATH FROM STARVATION — SHOCKING DESTITUTION.

On Friday evening Mr. W. Baker, the coroner, held an inquest at the William the Fourth, public house, New Gravel lane, Shadwell, on view of the emaciated body of Mary Sandry, aged 43 years, who died from starvation in an empty room, situated at No. 1 Cow lane, Shadwell.

It appeared from the evidence that the deceased was the wife of a laboring man, who, with five young children, came from Ireland two months since, with a few shillings, which the man expended in purchasing a small stock of braces. The family, seven in number, took the room in Cow lane, for which they were to pay 1s. 9d. per week. The man hawked the braces about the streets and public-houses since his arrival in London, and although his wife and children were without food and money he never applied for relief. On Monday morning last a female lodger asked the eldest child how the deceased

was, as she had heard her coughing all the previous night. The child said her mother was dying, and requested the lodger to come and see her. The female did so, and was astonished to find that the deceased was lying on a small heap of straw without the slightest covering. The room was completely destitute of furniture, firing, or food. The lodger asked her why she and her children had remained in such a fearful state so long, when the deceased replied, 'Oh pray do not look at my poverty, but try and get me a doctor.' The female ran to the house of Mr. Sargeant, the relieving-officer of Shadwell, who was from home. In the meanwhile the deceased grew worse, and before any medical assistance could be obtained the unfortunate woman expired. Mr. Sargeant attended at 6 o'clock in the evening, and when he found the deceased dead he expressed his regret that his aid had not been called sooner. The officer immediately gave an order for the children and father to be supplied with bread, meat, oatmeal, a blanket, and a bed, as the children were sitting on the bare flooring, crying from hunger and cold, by the side of the mother's dead body.

The coroner, and the whole of the jury, said they never heard of such a dreadful case of destitution, and it was most distressing that a poor woman should perish in such a way, when there were so many means of getting relief.

The husband said, in answer to the coroner, that he did not apply for assistance, because he thought they would send him and his family back to Ireland. The whole of them had subsisted during the two months on the profit they made on the 5s. worth of braces.

Mr. Thomas Peete, the surgeon, said the deceased died from starvation and exposure to the cold. He never met with such a dreadful case of poverty.

The coroner and jury were of opinion that the father and five children ought to be immediately removed to the work-house, until something could be done for them.

Verdict—"Natural death, accelerated by extreme want and destitution."—*Weekly Dispatch, February 6th, 1853.*

During the past year, I was made acquainted with the following case. It is even more painful than the last, if that be possible.

#### "DEATH FROM DESTITUTION.

On Wednesday, Mr. Brent held an inquest at the Cheshire Cheese, Mount Pleasant, Gray's Inn lane, on Elizabeth Julia

Creed, the illegitimate daughter of a seamstress, who perished from want, under the following distressing circumstances: Harriet Creed, the mother, who was the very impersonation of the most dire destitution, stated that she gave birth to the deceased at 15 Wilson street, Clerkenwell, where, with another poor woman who attended her, she was allowed to remain by the kindness of Mrs. Blanch, the landlady, for six weeks, although she paid no rent. The only subsistence she had during the period was supplied by her landlady, and by the exertions of the nurse, who went about collecting what she could for her. At the expiration of the six weeks she was compelled to leave the lodging amidst showers of rain, and wandered with her infant in her arms, in all directions, until seven o'clock the following morning, when she found herself in Holloway, where some laboring people, compassionating her condition, allowed her to sleep in their apartment a few hours, after which, herself and infant, who were wringing wet, had again to turn out amidst torrents of rain, and thus she wandered until night, when, arriving at Mr. Braithwaite's, grocer, Britannia row, Islington, he mercifully took them in, and allowed them to sleep in his house that night. The next morning the infant's eyes were sunk in her head, and as she appeared to be dying, Mr. Braithwaite sent her to Mr. Gill, the parochial surgeon, who gave her an order to enter the workhouse. On her way a woman advised her not to go to that workhouse, but to St. Pancras workhouse, which she accordingly did, and there obtained an order to see a medical man, who could not be seen until the following morning; upon which she renewed her wanderings until night, when she succeeded in hiring an empty room, at 4 Mount pleasant, where, huddled in their damp rags, they slept on the bare boards until morning, when, upon awaking, she found her infant dead in her arms. While herself and infant wandered in the streets they had no food, and both were nearly naked. She (the mother) had not a shoe to her foot. Mrs. Blanch, whose humanity was highly eulogized, and Mary Fitz, the nurse, fully corroborated the mother's pitiable tale. After the examination of several other witnesses the jury returned the following verdict: 'Deceased died from want and exposure; and the jury deem the mother very culpable in not having at once obeyed Mr. Gill's directions to proceed to the Islington workhouse with her infant.' The jury highly lauded Mr. Braithwaite for having given a shelter and a bed to the wretched mother and her dying offspring."—*Observer*, September 12th, 1853.

I feel that, in mercy to you, Major, I should not continue this fearful catalogue of the victims "of an unsound social system." I will bring it to a close with one more case only:

"POLICE INTELLIGENCE.—*Saturday, Dec. 31.*

*Mansion House.*—Catherine Bishop and Elizabeth Castle were charged before Alderman Humphrey with having stolen a duck. The case excited some interest in consequence of the alleged refusal of a relieving officer to afford relief to the family of the former prisoner in deep distress. Lawson, the beadle, of Leadenhall Market, said: My attention was called by a salesman to Bishop, who had stolen off a stall a fowl, which he had made her put back. I watched her for about ten minutes, and I saw her with Castle, and followed them through the market. I fancied I saw her take something from the stall of Mr. Gill, and in Grace-church street, Bishop passed a duck to Castle. I then took them into custody.

William Clayton, 529: I was called to take Bishop to the station-house. She was intoxicated. At the station-house she told the inspector she had four children locked up in her room in Bushby court, Thomas street, Brick-lane, and that nobody was with them. It was then eleven o'clock at night. I was directed by the inspector to see whether her statement was true. She gave me the key of the room, and I witnessed a miserable scene of distress. Bishop was stated to me to be a woman of bad character, and to have been in custody before for intoxication and pilfering. I went to the relieving officer of the Bethnal Green Union, and told him that I was directed by the inspector to make known to him that there were four poor children locked up in a room, that the mother was in custody, and, by her account, the father had deserted the family for some time. He told me to tell the inspector that he was no policeman, and that he was not to be called up at that hour. I said it was an urgent case, as one of the children was only eight months old. He told me if it was only eight days old, he would have nothing to do with it; that I might lock them all up, and that he would not be bothered. I told him if he was a man possessed of any feeling, he would treat the case differently. He asked me how I dared to insult him by a remark of that kind, and that I was No. 529. I said the case would be brought before the Lord Mayor, and that it would be my duty to make the remarks he had made known to his

lordship. He told me to tell the Lord Mayor to trouble his head about city business, and not about his. He then shut the door, and I returned to the house where the children were, accompanied by the inspector and a woman who had informed me about the poor family. When we went into the room, in which there appeared to be nothing but a broken table and a broken chair, we looked about, but saw no children; but in a corner where appeared to be an old bedstead, we beheld a lump of filthy rags, and there lay the four children fast asleep. They were covered with vermin. I learned from the woman who accompanied me that they had no food the whole day. Of course I made the best arrangement I could, by the direction of the inspector, for the protection of the children. The woman undertook to take care of them, was supplied by me with money, and properly attended to them. They seized the bread that was put before them, and voraciously devoured it. They are all under seven years old.

Alderman Humphrey: Why, they might have been all dead in the morning. He then sentenced the prisoner to twenty-one days in Holloway New Prison, and said the poor children must be taken to the union, and if the relieving officer of Bethnal Green refused to take care of them, let him be summoned to Worship street Police Court, where he knew the magistrate would deal with him as he ought to be dealt with. He highly commended the conduct of the constable, and ordered his expenses to be paid."—*Observer, Jan. 2d, 1854.*

In this police report, you will find several circumstances which serve to characterize certain features of society in this country. First, the abandoned and gin-besotted mother, pilfering for the relief of her starving children. Then, those poor starving wretches of children, covered with vermin, and exhausted by want of food, in their only home, "a room, with a broken table, a broken chair, an old bedstead, and a bunch of filthy rags," for hours and hours, intently watching the opening of that locked door—the smaller ones screaming in frantic agony, until the friendly torpor of inanition has deadened the pangs of hunger. See how they seize the dry loaf, which comes as a glorious vision to rouse their dimmed senses, and devour it like wild animals! Next, we have the comfortable official, hardened by constant contact with degradation and suffering, untouched by the report of such cir-

cumstances, and indifferent to the consequences. And in contrast with him, we observe the more benevolent and conscientious officers, who busily bestir themselves in skinning over another of those wounds which society in this country is perpetually inflicting upon itself.

Allow me to repeat that I am,

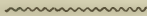
Very respectfully,

Yr. friend and cousin,

P. JONES.

To MAJ. J. JONES,

Pineville, Ga., U. S. of America.



### LETTER XLIII.

UNHAPPY MENTAL AND MORAL CONDITION OF A LARGE PROPORTION OF THE BRITISH PEOPLE, AS SHOWN BY VARIOUS FACTS, ESPECIALLY BY THE NUMBER OF LUNATICS AND INSANE PERSONS, AND OF SUICIDES.

London, May 12th, 1854.

DEAR MAJOR:—We have agreed that a general diffusion of the material comforts of life among a people, and a similar prevalence of mental and moral enjoyment, afford, perhaps, the best evidence of the greatest happiness of the greatest number; that they are the surest signs of a nation's welfare and prosperity, and that the absence of them among a people must result in degradation and suffering.

It has been comparatively easy for us to ascertain what should be said of the British people as regards the possession of the first of these elements of happiness. From the very nature of the case, the evidence as to the other is more intangible, and not so patent to the senses. Still, when we are searching for such facts among the people of a nation numbering its millions of inhabitants, and perpetually contributing its millions of incidents and of paragraphs to the history of human life, we may find it

possible to group and generalize such a number of these facts as will enable us to approximate, at least, a solution of such an inquiry.

The last Census Report (which is my authority for the statement) shows that, when the census was taken (say in the year 1850), there were, in the various lunatic asylums, and other institutions for the reception of the insane in Great Britain, 18,803 persons; 8999 of whom were males, and 9804 females; and that the proportion which the lunatics in such asylums bore to the whole population is as 1 in every 1115.

Though I have endeavored to procure it, I have not yet been able to obtain a table or summary of idiots, lunatics, etc., in the several States of our Union, compiled from the United States Census of 1850; and I have not time now to arrange one for myself. But I have one prepared from the census of 1840; and, as it is a *proportion* only which is material to this branch of the subject, and that is as well shown by the census of 1840, I refer to that for the following information:

The total number of population, then, in Georgia, was 691,392.\* The total number of idiots and insane persons was 428. Of the population, 407,695 were whites, and 283,697 were blacks. Of idiots and lunatics, 294 were whites, and 134 blacks. Thus, it appears that there was one idiot, or insane person, in every 1612 of the whole population; or one idiot, etc., in every 1386 of the whites, and in every 2117 of the blacks.

The same report shows that the whole population of Louisiana is 352,441; or 158,457 whites, and 193,954 blacks; that the whole number of idiots and insane persons was 100; or fifty-five whites and forty-five blacks; and that, as a consequence, there is one idiot or lunatic in every 3524 of the whole population; or one in every 2881 of the white population, and one in every 4310 of the black population.†

The report from the other slave States is not so strikingly favorable as that from Louisiana; but you will see what an immense advantage over that from Great

\* "Statistical Companion," 1852, p. 137.

† See App., H.



Britain it exhibits. By themselves, these things may not be considered as conclusive; but grouped with other facts, they become wonderfully significant.

In the next place, I think that we are fully authorized to infer that, in a country where so large a proportion of the population are uneducated, intellectually, morally, or religiously, as I have shown you is the case here, and where crimes, and especially crimes of great atrocity, abound as they have been shown, by figures and by facts, to abound in this nation, the prevalence of moral, religious, or mental comfort, cannot be extensive.

In the same connection, I may add that the same conclusion is to be derived from what we have seen of the frequent and prevailing violations of domestic relations in this country, the shocking cruelties of husband to wife, of wife to husband, of parent to child, and of child to parent. It is unnecessary that I should argue, I am sure, that, where the domestic relations are not only not the sources of peace and pleasure among the homes of a people, but where the most savage and sanguinary outrages of domestic comfort prevail, there can be no happiness.

I refer in conclusion to one other class of facts, which brings us to the same result; and that is the number and the character of the suicides committed in this country. You have but to open almost any paper that I have sent you, and you will find this exemplified.

As far back as the last century, we were told by an English writer, that "the English have long been reproached by foreigners for the frequent commission of it," (suicide) "and 'the gloomy month of November' has been stigmatized as the season when it is most common." This writer ascribes its prevalence, either to "insanity or vicious passion." Mercier, a French gentleman, who wrote on the subject, in France, in 1782, ascribes its prevalence there "to poverty and oppression."

It is very plain to us, I think, who have been for some time observing the developments of society here, and studying somewhat the motives and passions of this people, that the prevalence of suicides (of *such* suicides as we observe), is due to all the causes above assigned; viz.,

poverty, oppression, insanity, and vicious passion—it being understood that I use the word “oppression” in the sense of cruel treatment, exercised by superiors upon their immediate dependents, and not in a political sense. A few examples will elucidate the subject. I can afford room for a few only.

As instances of self-destruction caused by mental distress arising from the first of the influences above named; viz., poverty, or destitution, you may take the following cases: and you will have no difficulty in seeing how it is that this cause must aid in swelling the number of deaths by suicide in this kingdom:

“The following disclosure speaks volumes as to the trials endured by the poor, and the importance of affording them timely assistance:

Yesterday an inquest was taken by Mr. Baker, at the Grave Maurice, Whitechapel road, on the body of John Green, aged 35, carpenter, Swan-yard, Whitechapel. Deceased was employed in the excavation of the celebrated Box Tunnel; latterly in very great destitution. On Tuesday forenoon last, he was found by Mrs. Hart, his landlady, suspended by a sash-cord to a file which he had fixed in the wall. Life was extinct. He had written two letters—one to his father, and the other to a friend. He remarked in them—‘I am destitute of everything, you will see from the state of my room. I have the prospect of a dreary winter before me. Death is preferable to a life of misery. I have not had enough for the last month to keep body and soul together. Send this letter to my father, who will perhaps pay my debts. I have no money to pay the postage.’

The presence of a good Samaritan would have saved a sinful soul from being thus hurried into eternity.”—*Observer*, Dec. 22d, 1851.

#### “DISTRESSING SUICIDE IN WESTMINSTER.

A discovery has just been made in a house in Dean street, Westminster, which has given rise to a most painful feeling in that neighborhood. About seven years ago, an engineer, named Stone, died, and was buried in the Broadway churchyard. His widow was left unprovided for, and left London to take a situation in Kent, where she was not successful. At

the beginning of the present month she took lodgings in Dean street, Westminster. She at first objected to the rent, saying her only purpose for coming was to visit the grave of her husband. She went away, but returned and took one of the rooms, instead of two, and very little was seen of her afterwards; the last occasion being when she went to the landlady to borrow a pen and ink, saying she wanted to write a letter. After that, for a week, no more was seen of her, and suspicion being excited, the door was forced open, and she was found lying dead on the carpet. Mr. Heath, the surgeon of Bridge street, was sent for, who was of opinion that she had been dead seven or eight days. He found on the mantel-piece two bottles labelled 'poison,' and upon a post mortem examination he discovered about an ounce of laudanum in the stomach. She had been in the habit for two years of going to the churchyard and weeping over the grave of her husband. In her room the following letter was found: 'To save trouble, Mrs. Ann Stone came by her death by a draught of laudanum, no one knowing that she did take it, as she is a total stranger in the house she is in. Every effort she has made to obtain an honest living failed her. She has the presumption to throw her soul into the presence of the Almighty, and she fervently prays that God will have mercy on her soul. Good Christians, do not allow a number of persons to look on my unfortunate body. I have performed all the offices that are requisite; the body is quite ready for the coffin.' She then begs that she may be buried in the same grave with her husband, and expressed a fear that the New Victoria street might destroy it. She concludes:— 'If I could have died on my husband's grave-stone, I would have done so.'— *Observer, Feb. 23d, 1852.*

You may remember the case of the ladies Sharpley, mentioned in one of my latest letters. As an attempt at suicide whilst in a state of distress, both mental and physical, which was caused by destitution, it is peculiarly suited to exemplify the subject we have under consideration.

As an illustration of the suicides caused by ill-treatment, which frequently occur in this country, I direct your attention to the cases which are referred to in my letter of April 22d, 1854; and to the following extract: "about three months ago, a youth hung himself in his cell, making a third case of suicide, besides several at-

tempts at suicide, since Lieut. Austen, R. N. (the present Governor) succeeded Capt. Machonichie, two years ago."

I submit to you, whether or not, you have ever known or heard of as many cases of self-destruction by slaves in our country, in the whole course of your life, as were here committed in one prison, within a period of two years. Indeed, I doubt if you have ever known of a case of suicide committed by a slave in our state. I am sure I have not.\*

I must hasten on and furnish you with some examples of self-destruction in this country, caused by bad passions, insanity, and other unhappy moral influences. Here, for instance, is a case of suicide from ill-temper.

#### "SUICIDE FROM BAD TEMPER.

On Monday afternoon, an inquest was held before Mr. Bedford, on the body of M. W. Weymar, in the board-room of St. Martin's workhouse. The deceased was a bronze cutter, lodging at 13, Bear street, Leicester square. On Saturday week a dispute arose between him and his employer respecting 9d., which deceased claimed for one hour and a half overtime. He was told that would be settled on Monday. He, however, put himself in a great passion, took away his tools, and refused to go to work. He continued in this state of irritation till Wednesday night, when he retired to his apartment. Not appearing all next day, the door was forced, when he was found suspended by a handkerchief to the bed-post, dead and cold. He had £4 in money, and a gold watch in his pocket. Mr. Sinclair, his employer, said he had not discharged him, and would have paid him the 9d. Madame Ledreau, the landlady, expressed her belief that the deceased had worried himself about the 9d. till he lost his senses; he was a man of most irritable temper. Verdict, that the deceased destroyed himself whilst laboring under temporary insanity, produced by excessive irritability."—*Observer*, Dec. 15th, 1851.

From one number only of a paper, I have taken the following:

#### "SUICIDES.

*Suicide in an Omnibus.*—On Tuesday evening an inquest was held in St. Bartholomew's Hospital, before W. Payne, Esq.,

\* See App. D., sec. 21, 43, 62, 78, 92, 109.

on the body of Mr. Edwin Harris, a potato salesman, of 183 High street, Shoreditch, and who on the afternoon of Saturday week was found with his throat cut in an old omnibus on the premises of Mr. Sawyer, livery-stable keeper, in the Curtain road.

Mr. David Harris, brother of the deceased, deposed to having parted with him on the morning of Thursday, the 15th inst., at nine o'clock, when he stated that he purposed going after some money, and he believed that it would yet be all right.

By the jury: The money alluded to was to meet a trade debt, a bill of a large amount owing to a Dutchman. Had seen his brother under similar circumstances before. He was not more desponding than usual. Never saw him again alive.

Mr. Sawyer, livery-stable keeper, deposed to having known deceased many years, and also to being present at the hospital when questioned as to the time when he committed the act, and seeing him write 'Thursday' in reply; also, subsequently, 'I have a wife and six children, but do not wish to see them. I want my waistcoat and some roasting apples. I laid in the cold fifty hours before any one found me.' This paper was produced, and read by the coroner.

William Holland, 146 N., one of the warrant officers of Worship street police court, produced a large clasp knife, discovered under the seat of the omnibus in which deceased was found lying, and covered with blood. Brought him to the hospital in a cab. The knife appeared a new one.

Mr. David Harris re-called: Never saw the knife alluded to before.

Mr. Abel, father-in-law of deceased, stated that on the previous Wednesday evening, deceased called on him and appeared very desponding. Showed him a bill for £83, and said that it was all through the Dutchman his wife and family were ruined. By a juror: The bill is not yet due. On the day before I saw my son-in-law, who then said, 'When a man gets past sixty, and talks about business, he deserves the pole-axe.'

Mr. Frederick Smith, one of the house-surgeons of Bartholomew's hospital, was examined, and stated that deceased died on Sunday evening at a late hour, in consequence of the principal branches of the carotid arteries being severed. He had several times rallied under the treatment to which he was subjected during the day. Verdict, temporary insanity.

*Isle of Wight.—Distressing Suicide.*—Newport has been visited by severe affliction in the distressing suicide of Mr. Robert Bryant, the worthy landlord of the Star Inn, Newport,

Isle of Wight. He rose as usual on Tuesday morning, and after giving some directions to his men about his horses, &c., he went up to his office. Not coming down to breakfast, nor answering when called, the door was forced open, when he was found suspended and dead. He was agent to the Isle of Wight and London Shipping Company, and to various other concerns as accountant and agent. He had the property of a great number of persons in his hands. His widow was unfortunate in her former husband, who died by his own hands. Her distress now cannot possibly be described. This, and the heavy failure of one of the oldest and most respected townsmen last week, for a sum little short of £20,000, has thrown a gloom over the town which will not be soon removed.

*Suicide by a respectable Tradesman.* — On Tuesday, Mr. Robert Judd, a highly respectable tradesman, who for the last ten or twelve years has carried on the business of a bootmaker at No. 9 Beak street, Golden square, committed suicide. The unfortunate man married a second time, about two years ago, having a grown-up family by his first wife, some of them females, to whom the second marriage was very unacceptable, and family misunderstandings frequently arose amongst them. One of these grievous altercations arose on Tuesday, when the infatuated man rushed up stairs to the top of the house, and hastily opening the window of a bed-room on the third floor, he threw himself out of it into the street, a height of nearly forty-three feet. He expired almost before he could be conveyed to the hospital. His body was frightfully mangled."—*Observer*, Jan. 26th, 1852.

The following case which I have referred to under another head, as furnishing evidence of that "vicious passion" so common among the men of this country: viz., the brutal wife-butchering propensity which we have before considered, with others like it, is strongly suggestive of the fact that the number of suicides in this kingdom is increased by reason of the despair with which the minds of these women-butchers are overwhelmed, after they have been urged by their fierce, and devilish passions upon the commission of those awful crimes:

"ATTEMPTED MURDER AND SUICIDE—*Newcastle—Monday.*

This morning, at the borough police court, a tailor of the name of Robert Knox underwent an examination before Cap-

tain West, on the charge of attempting to murder his wife. It appears that the prisoner is a master tailor in the Dog-bank, and his wife a stay and corset maker. On Sunday morning, a few minutes before 1 o'clock, a quarrel, the origin of which is not yet known, took place between them, during which the man sprang out of bed, and seizing a large table-knife which lay near the bed, he struck it with great force into the side of his wife, who was standing in the room with her clothes on. Her shrieks aroused a neighbor of the name of Finnigan, who rushed into the room as speedily as possible, and found Knox and his wife lying upon the ground, the blood streaming copiously from both of them. As soon as Finnigan entered the room Knox drew from his side a large knife, and shouted, 'You see I have done it myself.' An alarm was raised, and several of the neighbors came to Finnigan's assistance, whilst others went in search of medical men and police officers. Knox and his wife were placed on chairs in the bedroom, and on the arrival of the police at ten minutes past one o'clock, both appeared to be in a dying state, and unable to speak. Mr. Rayne and his assistant, and Mr. Henry Fife, surgeons, speedily arrived and dressed their wounds, and waited in attendance upon them until 3 o'clock, when it was thought advisable to procure the attendance of a magistrate, that the depositions of the woman might be taken, as there appeared no probability of her recovery. At 4 o'clock, Mr. Alderman Hodgson and Mr. Bulman, the magistrate's clerk, were in attendance; but as the woman appeared to be then reviving, the depositions were not taken. The prisoner had recovered earlier, and at 3 o'clock was taken to the Manors police station, and charged with attempting to murder his wife, when he replied, 'I am sorry I did not do it effectually.' This statement he repeated several times, both in the presence of his wife, and after his arrival at the police station. Knox, when brought before the magistrate this morning, seemed very weak from the loss of blood, occasioned by the wound he inflicted on himself, and scarcely able to stand. The wound was two or three inches in depth. His wife fortunately had on a very thick pair of stays, or she must have been killed upon the spot. The knife was produced in court; it was a very long, sharp-pointed instrument. It had penetrated through the woman's stays, and about three inches into her body."—*Liverpool Mercury*, December 3d, 1852.

Here are a few miscellaneous cases, which I have taken just at random.

## “DREADFUL MURDER, AND SUICIDE OF THE MURDERER.

On Sunday night last an appalling murder was committed in the village of Castle Rising, near Lynn, in Norfolk, by a man named John Daw, aged 49, gardener to Mr. W. T. Ayre, of Rising Mill, who, having first murdered his wife, Honor Daw, aged 48, and his son, Martin Daw, aged 7, then destroyed himself. It appeared that he had been for some days in a low state of mind. On Saturday afternoon he and the son watered the garden. On Monday morning, at half-past five, a man named Harrison, who was passing along the banks of Rising River, observed the body of a man lying in a shallow in the water. He procured assistance, and Daw's body was identified. Some of the party then proceeded to the deceased's house, in order to break the intelligence to his wife, and surprise was expressed that the woman should not have missed her husband. On arriving at the house of Daw, however, the doors were found to be fastened, and after endeavoring for some time to awaken the inmates, they burst open the door. Here a dreadful scene indeed presented itself. Upon entering the inner room (there being no chamber) the body of the little boy was found lying in a pool of blood, with the head nearly severed from the body. Close to the child lay the body of the mother, with her throat frightfully cut, so as to cause death. The room bore evidences of a frightful struggle having taken place; and from circumstances it is supposed that Daw first attacked his wife whilst in bed, and her struggles awoke the child, who rushed and clung to his mother, the night-clothes of both being nearly torn to shreds. Daw was found with nothing on but his shirt, and not far from where his body lay was found the knife with which he committed the dreadful deed. There was a slight wound in his throat, which no doubt he inflicted whilst standing beside the river, and then flung himself in.

## “SUICIDES.

“*Suicide of a Brother and Sister.*—A most painful feeling has been excited in Burmantofts (Yorkshire) by two suicides in one family. Mary and James Smith were daughter and son of a handle-setter of Burmantofts, with whom they lived. Both were unmarried, and Mary was 23 years of age. She had for a short period been in a desponding state. On Friday, the 25th ult., she left her father's house without saying where she was going, or that she intended to stay long away. No



tidings being heard of her, her relations (entertaining apprehensions from her previous despondency) caused the river Aire to be dragged, and on Monday her body was found therein. It was conveyed to the Nag's Head Inn, Hunslet, where an inquest was held. There were no marks of violence upon the body, nor any reason to doubt that she had drowned herself in a moment of aberration of mind, and a verdict was returned of 'Found Drowned.' But the tragedy did not end there. On Thursday morning her brother James was found hanging in his father's kitchen quite dead. On Friday morning an inquest was held, and it appeared in evidence that the Smiths worked in the mills of Messrs. Booth & Co., Chorley lane. James, like his sister, had been in a desponding state for several weeks. He appeared to have been much shocked by his sister's death. She was interred on Wednesday. Early on Thursday morning Smith's father called him up to go to work. They started together, but on the road his father lost sight of him. It appears that he returned home. The only person in the house was a younger brother, to whom he said that he was so ill that he could not bear the thoughts of going to work. At 6 o'clock the brother went to work, and the deceased was left alone. At 8 o'clock a neighboring woman called for the purpose of washing, and on entering the kitchen was horrified to find him suspended by the neck from a beam. She raised an immediate alarm, and the body was promptly cut down, but life was quite extinct. The hapless suicide had tied a silk kerchief round his neck, and with the assistance of a chair made the other end of the kerchief fast to a beam extending across the ceiling, and then completed the rash act by throwing himself off the chair. Constitutional despondency evidently caused the deaths of the brother and sister. In the brother's case a verdict was returned of 'Temporary Insanity.'"—*Observer, April 19th, 1851.*

*"Suicide of a Female.*—On Monday, Mr. Carter concluded an inquest on the body of Mary Ann Adams, found in the Thames, off Rotherhithe, on the 10th inst. The deceased was the wife of a clerk in the city, who had absconded, after committing extensive forgeries, leaving his wife and children helpless. She had been compelled to seek refuge in St. Mark's workhouse, but immediately before her death was residing by permission in the house of a friend at Old Brentford. She left that place for London in very low spirits, ostensibly for the purpose of re-entering the union with her infant, aged 17 months. Her friends saw no more of her until called to

identify her body. Letters in the handwriting of the deceased were produced. In the first she says, 'I hope the Almighty will pardon me for the crime I have committed, but I can never be happy in this world, neither could I leave my infant behind. God grant I may be forgiven for such a rash act. I freely forgive my husband as I hope to be forgiven.' The next was as follows: 'I have preferred Waterloo Bridge for the act. Send to Mrs. Tappin, and don't tell Anna for the world. Good bye, God bless you all. I hope to be at rest with my poor infant. Do not shed a tear.' On a scrap of paper was written in deceased's hand-writing, 'Of sorrows and troubles I have had my share. To leave an infant to the buffets of the world is a worse crime than the one I have committed.' The body of the child taken out by deceased, and which doubtless perished with her, has not been found. The jury returned a verdict to the effect that Mary Ann Adams committed suicide, being of unsound mind.

*Supposed Suicide of a County Magistrate.* — On Sunday afternoon the body of Mr. Richard Benson Blundell, of Deysbrook, West Derby, near Liverpool, was found in a pond in a field, called Finch Farm, and on Tuesday an inquest was held at the Sefton Arms, West Derby, when it appeared that about 12 o'clock he had left his house, and was supposed to have gone to Liverpool in the omnibus. He did not arrive at home as usual at night, and, soon after half-past eleven on Sunday morning, one of his sons saw his father's hat in a pit in an adjoining field. The pit was immediately dragged, and in about an hour and a half the body was found. It appeared to have been in the water some hours. Mr. Bark, surgeon, said that he had frequently attended the deceased, who always, in his presence, appeared perfectly rational. He was sometimes attacked with jaundice, which naturally exercised considerable depression upon his spirits. He was accustomed to live highly, and witness had entertained fears that he would some day be attacked with a fit. The jury returned a verdict to the effect that the deceased was found drowned, but how the body came into the water there was not sufficient evidence to prove.

*Determined Suicide by Fire-arms.* — On Wednesday morning, between 9 and 10 o'clock, the neighborhood of Golden lane, St. Luke's, was alarmed by the loud report of fire-arms, followed by successive screams from the house No. 64. Police-constable Steward, 67 G, on hastening to the spot, found, in a slaughter-house at the rear of the premises, a man lying on the ground with the back part of his head blown away, and a rusty

old horse-pistol in his hand. The unfortunate man was a pork butcher, named Joshua Walden, 56 years of age, for a considerable time tenant of the house. Pecuniary difficulties are ascribed as the occasion of the rash act.

On Wednesday, Alderman Alexander Taylor, of Oldham, destroyed himself by cutting his throat with a razor. Mr. Taylor was generally known throughout the manufacturing districts, having been an active Free Trader in the days of the Anti-Corn-Law-League. He had become a violent political partisan at the last two elections, under circumstances which estranged him from many of his former friends, and this, it is believed, was the cause of his committing suicide."—*Observer*, March, 28th, 1853.

*“Distressing Suicide at Dartford.* — An appalling act of self-destruction was committed early on Wednesday morning last, by a gentleman who had taken a bed at the Bull and George Inn, Dartford. The deceased, whose name was Henry Lavender Culmer, was manager for Messrs. Saunders and Otley, publishers, Conduit street, London. He was single, and 34 years old. He was writing during a great part of the day, and went to bed at about 11 at night, having first smoked a cigar with Mr. Meyers, the landlord, and asked the servant to call him at 7. She did so, but received no answer, and her attention being called another way, she did not proceed to call him for another hour, when she went again and knocked at his door, but received no reply. Mr. Meyers immediately sent for Branden, the superintending constable, who proceeded to the deceased's bed-room, and finding the door locked, they burst it open, when a horrible scene was disclosed. Deceased, partly dressed, was lying on the floor, in a pool of blood, his head literally severed from his body, nothing but the vertebræ sustaining it. Close to his head was a razor; a pistol recently discharged lay on the table, covered with blood, and also another, likewise covered with blood, loaded, but having no cap on. A hole was discovered beside his ear, which had received the contents of the pistol, but it is supposed that the first discharge not proving effective, he had taken up the second pistol, but could not discharge it in consequence of the cap being off, and that he must then have resorted to the razor. Mr. Meyers instantly sent for Dr. Culhane, but life had been extinct for several hours. His father had committed suicide about twelve years ago. From the uncle of the deceased, who was also present, it was elicited that some family matters had preyed

much on the deceased's mind. He had been in the habit of making an allowance to his mother, who, nevertheless, was constantly writing to him for money. There was another cause of trouble to the deceased. He had been engaged to a young lady, who had broken off the correspondence in consequence of the frequently excited state of his mind. Deceased had borne an unimpeachable character, and the jury returned a verdict of 'Temporary insanity.'—*South Eastern Gazette.*—*Copied into Hull Packet, June 17th, 1853.*

*“Love and Suicide.*—On Thursday, Mr. Baker held an inquest at the George and Vulture, Ratcliffe highway, on the body of a fine young woman, named Eliza Hare, aged 20, who committed suicide. The deceased was much attached to a young man in the Customs department. On Saturday evening she saw him talking to a female named Jemima Steward, in Wellclose square, which seemed to annoy the deceased, who became much excited. About 1 o'clock on Sunday morning the deceased was seen to leap over the iron railing on Old Gravel lane Bridge, into the water of the London Docks. An alarm was raised, when a watchman brought the drags, but the deceased was not found for ten minutes. Every exertion was made by Mr. English, a surgeon, to restore life, but all efforts were in vain. The deceased was to have been married on Sunday next, and was very respectably connected. Verdict, 'Temporary insanity.'

*“Melancholy and Extraordinary Suicide.*—A lady named Tryphena Harding, aged 36, residing at No. 7, Marlborough terrace, Walworth road, the wife of a naval officer, committed suicide on Thursday, last week, by drowning herself in a water butt, where she was found by her servant. A singular feature of the case, and which shows the determination of the unhappy woman, is that the bath being only partially filled with water, she had deliberately sat down at the bottom. The deceased was a lady of great accomplishments and sensitiveness, and upon every occasion that Captain Harding was at sea displayed the utmost distress of mind. To make this case of a melancholy character, the unfortunate lady was near her accouchement, and has left two children to deplore their loss. The jury, without hesitation, returned a verdict of 'Temporary insanity.'”  
—*Hull Packet, June 17th, 1853.*

*“Suicide by a Clergyman.*—Last week excitement was created in Worcester and its neighborhood, by the fact of the Rev. H. J. Stevenson, vicar of Hallow (three miles from

Worcester) and examining chaplain to the bishop of the diocese, having destroyed himself under circumstances of singular determination. The reverend gentleman was one of the honorary canons of Worcester Cathedral, and had been 'in residence' last week, 'but, having been attacked with nervous excitement, his medical adviser ordered him to suspend all clerical duty for the present, and to return home to Hallow. The deceased gentleman followed this advice, and appeared to be getting better. On Thursday night he retired to rest with Mrs. Stevenson at the usual hour, and appeared in good spirits. About 1 o'clock he rose, as he said, for the purpose of taking a composing draught, and shortly afterwards Mrs. Stevenson heard something trickling on the floor, and, supposing he was spilling the medicine, she got out of bed and went to him, when she was horrified to see that her husband was cutting his throat with a razor. She heard him say, 'I don't know whether I can do it enough,' and, though she had seized his arm, he managed so to turn the blade as to sever at once the jugular vein and carotid artery, and he fell on the floor a corpse. All was the work of an instant, and Mrs. Stevenson could do nothing more than cry for help; but when the family rushed to the room they found the doors all locked. The key of the bedroom could not be found, and an agonizing suspense of nearly half an hour had to be endured while the village blacksmith was roused, who, on his arrival, forced open the door with a lever. The key was afterwards found in the deceased's slipper.

*"Suicide by a Gentleman of Fortune.* — Mr. Wakley has held an inquest on John Shedden, Esq., at the deceased's private residence, Tavistock place, Tavistock square. The deceased, who was a bachelor, aged 64, always enjoyed the best health and spirits, and never betrayed a suicidal tendency, or symptom of insanity, beyond a slight eccentricity of manner. Wednesday evening he dined with his brother, George Shedden, Esq., at 6 Bedford square, when, with the exception of a slight bilious attack, he appeared in his usual health and spirits. Thursday evening he dined alone in Tavistock place, retiring to bed at his usual hour without evincing the slightest change of manner. As he did not make his appearance at the breakfast hour the following morning, the servant proceeded to his bedroom to call him, when receiving no answer to her repeated knockings, she became alarmed, and, calling assistance, had the door forced open, when she found her master suspended by a silk neckerchief from the cross pole of his bedstead. He was

instantly cut down, and medical assistance procured, but life had been some time extinct, as it would appear that the unfortunate gentleman hung himself soon after retiring to rest. He was undressed, and had been evidently in bed, as appeared from its disturbed state. On the dressing-table was a letter written by deceased to a friend, in which he spoke of his resolve to commit suicide to end a life of misery, and as he was unable to face his friends again. He concluded the letter by stating that he was compelled to commit the suicidal act. The Coroner observed that the letter was evidently the production of an insane brain. George Shedden, Esq., could not account for his brother's suicide, as his affairs were in a most prosperous state, and he had nothing, as far as witness was aware, to disturb his mental quietude. Several other witnesses having been examined, without at all clearing up the mysterious circumstances that induced deceased to destroy himself, the jury returned a verdict of Insanity."—*Observer, July 4th, 1853.*

The most singular fact in connection with this subject is the number of suicides, or attempts at suicide, by children in England. You will find a few instances below.

#### “DESPERATE ATTEMPT AT SUICIDE.

At Worship street, on Friday, Caroline Townsend, a decent looking girl, only eleven years of age, but three or four years older in appearance, was charged before Mr. Hammill with attempting to drown herself in the Regent's Canal. It appeared that about noon, on Thursday, Mr. Thompson, who resides near the canal at Haggerstone, saw the prisoner from his window hovering about the towing path in a manner that excited his suspicion. He therefore watched, and presently saw her go under the bridge, and throw herself into the water. He instantly hastened to the spot with a pole, and, with the assistance of another person, got her out, and conveyed her to the Duke of Sussex public house, where she was stripped and laid in warm blankets, and restoratives administered, and she was afterwards taken to the police-station. The water under the bridge was at least eight feet deep, and quite out of the view of passengers on the road, and but for her having been accidentally noticed by the witness Thompson, she would no doubt have been drowned. On being questioned, she said that her grandmother, with whom she lived, had ‘blowed her up,’ and struck her for burning a hole in a slipper, and told her she

might, if she liked, go and make a hole in the water, and that she, accordingly, went to the canal to do so. The prisoner now assigned the same reason as before for attempting to destroy herself, adding that her grandmother had struck her the night before for the same offence of burning the slipper. The grandmother said the girl was rather perverse and mischievous, and had been slightly scolded and punished for injury to a pair of slippers, but she was never ill-used, the old lady said; and it was evident, from her appearance and comfortable clothing, that she had been taken care of.—Mr. Hammill remanded her for a week.”—*Observer*, February 3d, 1851.

#### “SINGULAR MONOMANIA.

A shocking death occurred a few days ago to a little girl, whose parents reside in Short-acre. For some considerable time the child, whose name was Sarah Aldridge, and whose age is twelve years, has been subject to fits, and about a fortnight ago she was discovered hanging by the neck from the chamber window. She was rescued from her fearful situation, and every care taken to prevent a repetition of the act, which was for a few days successful. Ultimately it appears that the poor child, who was still bent on destroying herself, obtained a quantity of chips, and placed them under her pinafore, and set fire to them. She was perceived by some neighbors, who succeeded in smothering the flames which enveloped her, but she was so dreadfully burned, that death ultimately put an end to her sufferings.”—*Birmingham Mercury*.—Copied into *Observer*, February 3d, 1851.

#### “SUICIDE OF A CHILD.

On Friday an inquiry was instituted by Mr. Bedford, the coroner, at St. George's Hospital, as to the death of Caroline Hemington, aged eleven years, who had destroyed herself. The deceased resided with her parents at Edfield street, Nottingdale. On the first of last month the deceased had the misfortune to break a small looking-glass, and she was greatly alarmed lest her father should chastise her for it. Upon his coming home he asked her why she had put her sister to bed so soon, and she replied, 'Because she was sleepy,' and immediately went up stairs herself. The father followed shortly after, and found a quantity of blood by a table in the room, on which was lying a razor also covered with blood. As he did

not see his daughter in the room, he looked under the bed, and there found her bleeding from a large wound in the throat. A surgeon was sent for, who sewed it up, and she was then taken to the hospital. In this place she told a younger brother that she meant to kill herself. Mr. Rouse, the house surgeon, stated that the wound was three inches long, and very deep. It was such an extraordinary case for a child to commit such an act, that he asked her who did it, and she said herself. She died on Wednesday, from the effect of the wound. The jury returned a verdict, 'That the deceased destroyed herself by cutting her throat with a razor, being at the time of unsound mind from fear.'—*Observer, March 17th, 1851.*

#### “SUICIDE OF A BOY.

On Saturday afternoon Mr. Carter held an inquest at the Hero of Waterloo, Waterloo-road, on the body of Morris Frankford, aged fifteen, whose body was found in the Thames. The evidence went to show that the deceased was apprenticed to a cigar maker, named Jonas, in Holborn. He was last seen alive on the evening of the sixth of the present month, and the body was taken out of the river on Wednesday last. The belief was that the treatment he, in common with other apprentices at the establishment named, had received, had induced him to commit suicide.—A verdict of 'Temporary Insanity' was recorded.—*Observer, May 25th, 1853.*

#### “SINGULAR SUICIDE BY CHILDREN.

A few days ago, a lad, named Henry Havill, aged twelve years, son of an agricultural laborer, residing at Rockbeare, in Devonshire, was found hanging to the bough of an elm tree quite dead. He left his father's cottage in good health and spirits, taking with him his food for the day. The night passed over, but the lad did not return. On going to the field where he had been at work, the boy was found hanging to the bough of a tree by his handkerchief. There were no marks of violence on him, and there can be no doubt that he had committed self-destruction. No one could assign any reason for the rash act, as he had not evinced any distress of mind, and was in good health and spirits when seen at his work. A few months ago, however, his brother also committed suicide in the same way, and it is thought that this produced a morbid effect upon his mind.—*Hull Packet, June 17th, 1853.*



The cause which urged some of these children to destroy themselves is apparent. It is still the story of brutality—cruelty on the part of their immediate superiors, or fear of such treatment. And it serves to throw a flood of light upon this painful subject.

Such facts will appear most remarkable to you, I am sure; for I suppose such a thing as suicide by a child of tender years was never heard of in our Southern States.

I will not continue this subject. I feel persuaded that enough has been said and shown to satisfy you or any other reasonable man, that the inhabitants of this kingdom, regarded as a whole, are as unhappy as I have shown them to be immoral, cruel, and bloodthirsty.

I subscribe myself again,

Respectfully,

Yr. friend and cousin,

To MAJ. J. JONES,

P. JONES.

Pineville, Georgia, U. S. of America.

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## LETTER XLIV.

CAUSES OF THE SUFFERING AMONG THE BRITISH PEOPLE  
CONSIDERED, IN A CONVERSATION BETWEEN DR. JONES AND  
AN ENGLISH NOBLEMAN.

London, May 16th, 1854.

DEAR MAJOR:—You may remember that I mentioned having met a Lord B. at A—— Hall, upon the occasion of my first visit to that place. With this gentleman I have frequently interchanged visits since that time, and the acquaintance then made has ripened into something like intimacy. His lordship has professed himself much interested in learning what he might from my servant and myself of our peculiar institution (as we call it) in the Southern States; and this, I presume, is what has brought him to visit me, and to encourage my visits to himself, as he has done. In our various interviews, we have dis-

cussed this subject freely, and, whilst doing so, I have, from time to time, remarked upon those features of English society, and many of those facts which I have been bringing to your attention; and I have endeavored, in such conversations, to contrast them with society and its developments in our Southern States.

We have just concluded an interview, in which I submitted to him, at his instance, my opinion as to the causes to which the great prevalence of social suffering, which I have observed in this country, chiefly owes its origin. I have thought it probable that, after what I had written to you on this subject, there was much in this conversation which would interest you; and as the subject-matter is but a step in advance of the point to which I had progressed in my last letter to you, I will give you the benefit of that conversation.

“At our last conversation,” said Lord B., “we were interrupted when you were about to state your views as to the causes of that extraordinary amount of suffering which (as I do not deny), you have shown to prevail among a large proportion of the people in this country. If you have no objection, I should like to hear all that you have to say on that subject. If I am not mistaken, you had remarked that the unhappy condition of such large masses of our people, in your opinion, was owing to a natural fierceness of temper, to an unequal distribution of the property of the country, and to oppressive taxation.”

*Myself.* “You are right, sir. Such is my opinion; and I shall have no difficulty in sustaining it by facts, I believe. I think I have already mentioned a sufficient number of these facts to satisfy you as to the existence of that vicious and vindictive temper, and its influence in adding to the list of atrocious crimes throughout the land, and I do not understand you to deny the correctness of my facts, or the inferences I have derived from them. I believe I have with equal plainness indicated how it is that this vice is incessantly productive of outrages upon the social and domestic relations of the people, and as a consequence upon their happiness.”

*Lord B.* “For the sake of this conversation, at least, let that be conceded.”

*Myself.* "In that event, it only remains for me to call your attention to a number of facts, sufficient to sustain the other members of the proposition, as I have stated it. I remark then, first, that by reason of those peculiar features in the constitution of Great Britain, which makes it a government of King, Lords, and Commons; and of her social polity, which maintains a legal distinction of classes, and for this purpose favors entails, primogeniture, and the other appliances necessary to the retention and accumulation of property in the same family, it follows, as a matter of course, that a very large proportion of the property of the country (and especially the real estate) is abstracted or withdrawn from the ordinary circuit of trade and commerce, where, otherwise, it might minister to the gratification of the many, and is more or less restrained to the enjoyment of the (comparatively) few. We are told in 'Bowen's Political Economy,' and your Lordship can easily set me right, I suppose, if there is error here, that 'the inequality in the distribution of wealth in England is greater than in any other civilized nation; and her nobility and gentry are wealthier, more intelligent, more highly cultivated, more influential, and more secure in the possession of their power and property than the corresponding classes now existing, or that ever have existed, in any country in the world. Five noblemen, the Marquis of Breadalbane, the Dukes of Argyle, Athol, Sutherland, and Buccleugh, own perhaps one-fourth of Scotland. I have already quoted the assertion of M. de Lavergne, that 2000 proprietors possess among them one-third of the land and total revenue of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland. It is admitted that up to 1848, there were not more than 5000 Scotch and 8000 Irish land-owners; and good reasons have been adduced for the opinion that there are only 46,000 who should be classed as landed proprietors in England. About 60,000 families, then, own all the territory which is occupied by over twenty-seven millions of inhabitants.' These facts serve to show how large a proportion of the wealth of this kingdom is thus withdrawn from the enjoyment of the great mass of the people."

*Lord B.* "This statement applies only to property in the land."

*Myself.* "True; and the land with its appurtenances constitutes a large proportion of the nation's wealth. But it is quite evident that the long-continued enjoyment of real estate, with its accumulations by the same family, must enable that family to invest more or less of their means in personal property, which, though not subject to the same sort of legal restraint, must continue to a greater or less degree to be attached to the land, or to revolve about it, as it were, and be transmitted with it; and thus become subject to a somewhat similar exclusiveness of appropriation. When this is considered, it will be perceived that the amount of wealth thus to a great extent withdrawn from the enjoyment of the many, and exclusively assigned to the few, is enormous."

*Lord B.* "But is this property thus withdrawn from the enjoyment of the many? Schiller tells us:—

'Wie doch ein einziger Reicher so Bettler in Nahrung,  
Sich! Wenn die Kenig baun haben die Kärntner zu thun!'

Perhaps you do not understand German, Doctor?"

*Myself.* "I have learned to read it a little since I have been in Europe, but I cannot speak it."

*Lord B.* "A free translation might be rendered thus:

'How, one rich man finds many beggars bread!  
And when kings build, the carters sure are fed.'

*Myself.* "Your lordship must pardon me for saying that there is more of poetry than political economy in that couplet. It is certainly well in every country that the rich should feed deserving beggars. But it is surely better that there should be no beggars to feed. Again, it is well that the sovereign should employ the carter when he builds, and thus afford bread to the latter. But it certainly is better that the carter should not be dependent upon the king's plans for building, in order that he may secure a livelihood. And if it should be made to appear that the undue wealth of the rich, causes the poverty of the beggar; and that the abstraction of wealth from the general property of the people, in order to support the

king and his family, prevents others from building, and thus throws the carter out of a certain and steady employment, why, then the sentiment of the German poet is no reply to the proposition I have had the honor of submitting for your consideration. You will please to observe, too, that my remark was, that this enormous wealth was to a *great extent* withdrawn from the enjoyment of the people generally. Of course I did not mean to deny that more or less of it, especially the income, must pass into the hands of those who are employed to serve the owner. Still the fact remains, that the great body of this wealth, by reason of the laws, by virtue of which it is held as property, is fettered in its circulation, so that it may continue to accumulate in the owner's family."

*Lord B.* "I must acknowledge that there is truth in your observations."

*Myself.* "If this be admitted, it appears to me very easy to see (without reference now to other causes) that the difficulty of earning a subsistence is increased for the laboring classes (to say the least of it) very greatly in this country, by this state of facts. But if we look only to the fact that so large a proportion of the real estate of the kingdom is thus locked up in the possession of a few families, and that the difficulty to the farmer, the laborer, or the artisan, of procuring an interest in and a fixed home on the soil, is thereby greatly enhanced, it is easy to perceive that this class of people have not the incentives to effort, which stimulate persons in similar condition of life, elsewhere. Notwithstanding all they can do, they may feel that the chances are that they must remain but tenants or hired workmen, without those aspirations, those cheering and exciting motives, which nerve the laboring classes in other countries. Under such a state of things, it is not surprising that many should grow weary in the race of life (especially if meeting with some unexpected misfortune), droop, give up the struggle, and fall into the class of paupers or vagabonds — or worse still, into that of thieves and outcasts.

But this is not the worst that is to be said upon this subject. There are causes still more powerfully operating to grind the faces of the poor in this country, and still

more extensively acting to deprive them of the opportunity of acquiring property, or even the means of subsistence. These grow out of the taxation — and this, again, has its origin in the immense expenditure which is necessary to pay the interest on the public debt, and to sustain the artificial system of society which we have been contemplating.

Look, for example, to any statement of the finances of your country. I will repeat from a pamphlet, published a year or two since, by Ridgway in Piccadilly, and entitled 'The Finances and Trade of the United Kingdom at the beginning of the year 1852.' By this it appears, that the net income of the State at this time was fifty-two millions sterling. But of this, to begin with, no less a sum than twenty-eight millions is impounded for the interest of the debt, and the charges consequent thereon. The expenditure for the year 1851 was forty-nine millions and a half—leaving a surplus of two millions and a half in reduction of taxation and in liquidation of debt. One of the first items is that of the Civil List. This consists of £385,000, out of which sum are defrayed the expenses of her Majesty's household and Privy Purse, the salaries and retired allowances of the officers of the household, the royal bounty, alms, &c. This sum, together with £12,730 paid as Civil List pensions to persons who have rendered personal service to the Crown, or performed public duties, or who have been distinguished by their useful discoveries in science, and their attainments in literature and the arts, made up the sum of £397,730.

The next item is 'Annuities and Pensions for Civil, Naval, Military, and Judicial Services,' &c., amounting to £378,341.

The next two items, 'Salaries and Allowances,' and 'Diplomatic Salaries and Pensions,' consist of the salaries of certain officers (such as the Speaker and officers of the House of Commons, the Commissioners of Audit, the Comptroller-General of the Exchequer, &c.), and also the salaries and expenses of the diplomatic service.

By what I have stated, your Lordship will perceive, that nearly two millions of dollars were, in this year, appropriated to the expenses of Her Majesty's Household

and privy purse, royal bounty, alms, &c. In the month of June, 1852, as I see by the Observer of June 7th, 1852, the House of Commons voted £113,476, or \$567,380 for maintaining royal palaces and buildings; and for royal parks and pleasure gardens, the sum of \$302,730. By an issue of the same paper, dated September 20th, 1852, I find that it had been determined to build a new palace for the Queen at Balmoral, which was estimated to cost from £80 to £100, or about half a million of dollars more.

Will your Lordship assist me in the effort to ascertain some of the details comprised in one or two of the general items to which I have referred? That for example entitled 'Salaries and Allowances!' What is the Salary of the First Lord of the Treasury?"

*Lord B.* "Five thousand pounds, and official residence."

*Myself.* "And what of the other officers of the cabinet?"

*Lord B.* "The Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Secretaries of State, for the Home, Foreign, and Colonial Departments, each receive £5000, the Chancellor of the Exchequer having an official residence; the First Lord of the Admiralty has £4500, with official residence; the Lord Chancellor has £10,000; the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster has £4000; the President of the Board of Control £3500; the Lord President of the Council, Privy Seal, Chief Commissioner of Woods, &c., and President of the Board of Trade, have £2000 each; and the Postmaster-General £2500. These constitute the Cabinet. There are in the government, besides these, the Commander of the Forces, who receives £3460; the Secretary at War, Joint Secretary of the Treasury, who receive £2500 each; the Attorney-General, who receives £5500; Solicitor-General, who gets £2580; the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, who receives £20,000; and the Chief Secretary of Ireland, who gets £5500."

*Myself.* "I presume, sir, you know that the heads of departments in our general government receive only \$6000. The heads of departments in your government, therefore, receive five times as much for their services, as

ours—and quite as much as the head of our government, the President of the United States. Your Attorney-General receives very considerably more than the President of the United States; and the Lord Lieut. of Ireland just double as much. The Master of the Rolls has a salary almost equal to the Chancellor, does he not? And the Vice Chancellors have large salaries too!"

*Lord B.* "The Master has £7000; and the Vice Chancellors £6000 each."

*Myself.* "What is the salary of your other Judges?"

*Lord B.* "The Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench receives £8000; the puisne judges £5500. The Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and the Chief Baron of the Exchequer receive £7000 each; and the puisne judges £5500. In Scotland the Lords President receive £4800; and the Judges £3000 each. In Ireland the Chancellor gets £8000; the Master of the Rolls £4300; the Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench £5074; the puisne judges £3688; the Chief Justices of the Common Pleas, and of the Exchequer, receive £4615 each; and the puisnes £3688 each."

*Myself.* "I am obliged to your Lordship for this information. It shows that the Chief Justice of your Court of Queen's Bench receives just eight times as much for his services, as the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. And your puisne judges receive more than five times the sum received by the Associate Justices in the United States. Even in Scotland and Ireland the judges receive more than three times the salary paid to Associate Justices of the Supreme Court in the United States. Your officers of almost every other kind are paid in very much the same proportion, I believe. And then there are your pensions and sinecures. Your retiring ministers of state all receive pensions, I believe. Will you be so good as to mention the amount of some of these?"

*Lord B.* "The First Lord of the Treasury, and all other members of the Cabinet, receive a retiring allowance of £2000 each; the Irish Secretary, and Secretary at War, £1400 each; the Joint Secretary of the Treasury, First Secretary of the Admiralty, and Vice Presi-



dent of the Board of Trade, have a pension of £1200 each."

*Myself.* "I have referred to your sinecures. There are of these, which are supported from the public revenues, as well as from fees of office. Of the first, you may take as a specimen, the appointments of Colonels to the various regiments. These may be excused, perhaps you are prepared to say, on the ground, that they are intended to be the rewards of veteran service. This might be satisfactory, if they really were so. But it was only during the course of the last year, that the *Times* took the Government to task for conferring the two most distinguished of these, having an allowance, the one of £3000, and the other of £2000, upon Prince Albert, and the Duke of Cambridge. Of the second sort of sinecure, you have an example, in the case of Mr. Moore, to which the *Times* called the attention of the public, a year or two since. According to the *Times*, that gentleman was in the receipt of £9000, fees of office, as Registrar of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, when the services were entirely, or almost entirely performed by others. In addition, I remember that the *Times* stated, that there was paid £1500 to each of three deputy registrars, and ample payment to the clerks of seats, all nominated by the registrar, and well paid for doing little more than nothing. That paper then passed from what it called the 'aristocracy' of the office, to the 'rabble,' who, as it asserted, 'do all the real work, and get little of the real pay.'"

These are very good illustrations of the manner in which the St. James of your social system is enabled to monopolize the resources, and the wealth of the nation, and thus to force the St. Giles into beggary, starvation, or crime. Is it any wonder, therefore, that we find your men of thought sometimes exclaiming, as does Southey! — "We talk of the liberty of the English, and they talk of their own liberty; but there is no liberty in England for the poor." Nor is it any wonder, in view of such unjust social provisions, that so many of these poor should be, as he describes them; viz., "deprived in childhood of all instruction and all enjoyment; of the sports in which childhood instinctively indulges; of fresh air by day, and

natural sleep by night. Their health, physical and moral, is alike destroyed; they die of diseases induced by unremitting task-work, by confinement in the impure atmosphere of crowded rooms—or they live to grow up without decency, without comfort, and without hope, without morals, without religion, and without shame; and bring forth slaves like themselves to tread in the same path of misery.”

*Lord B.* “Undoubtedly, our public debt is a very large one, and our government is costly. But you must admit that the abolition of the corn-laws, and the tax upon income tend very much to adjust the taxation necessary to sustain this expensive system upon something of an equitable basis.”

*Myself.* “I am not qualified, my lord, to discuss these political questions with you. But I find your press complaining, that your tariff of taxation is, by no means, adjusted, with reference to ‘the comforts of the poor,’ and insisting that St. Giles gets the worst of it here, as in so many other ways. Take, for example, the following which I clipped from the Weekly Dispatch, of February 6th, 1853.

“*The Duties on Butter, Cheese, Eggs, &c.*—In one of the best of his free trade speeches, Sir Robert Peel said that it was his object, in the new commercial policy which he supported, to make living cheap in England. . . . It is strange that since the death of the great statesman, no earnest attempt should have been made to rid our tariff of the many remaining duties upon articles of necessity and comfort which still disfigure it. Take as an example the duties upon butter, cheese, eggs, &c. The duty upon butter imported from foreign ports is 10s. the hundred weight, or a little more than one penny per pound. Cheese pays 5s. per cwt., or a fraction above a half-penny per pound. Eggs pay 10d. per 120, and 5 per cent. upon the value, making about 10½d. the hundred. Poultry pays 5 per cent. upon its value. Now, all these are strictly protecting duties; that is to say, they are imposed, not so much to increase the income of the country, as to keep up the market price of the articles at home for the benefit of farmers. The quantity of butter imported from foreign places, in 1852, was 354,218 cwts., producing a duty

amounting to £167,418. Eggs were imported to the number of 115,526,225, paying duty amounting to £42,149. The quantity of cheese was 338,988 cwts., paying £83,872. The poultry imported only amounted in value to £31,523, paying duty £1657. Now, with the exception of poultry, it will be seen that all these articles upon which heavy protecting duties are still levied, are articles of the first necessity, and consumed in largest amount by the working classes. To tax butter is to make the careful mother sparing in the use of that nutritious article upon the bread of her children. To tax cheese is to make the working man pay duty for his principal meal—for bread and cheese too frequently constitute his dinner. The duty upon eggs is enormous, and the number consumed shows how important they are to the subsistence of the working people. The price of eggs fluctuates in the market, during the summer, between 3s. 6d. and 5s. 6d. the hundred—so that the duty is often 25 per cent. upon the value. At particular seasons, it is true, eggs sell at a higher price, but they rarely reach 10s. per 100 for more than a fortnight together at any time of the year. Foreign eggs are mostly sold in poor neighborhoods, and the consumption of them is mostly amongst poor families. When one reflects how often an egg and a cup of tea are the scanty meal of poor women in humble life, one cannot help feeling indignant that a duty of 25 per cent. should be levied upon this kind of food, upon the pretence that it is necessary to maintain the incomes of rich squires and fat farmers.”

. . . . .

Whilst upon the subject of taxation, I will mention that according to Maltebrun's Geography, the average amount contributed, by the people, to the revenue in England, was then \$16.28 each. In the British Empire, in Europe, it was \$11.28. This calculation was made some years ago; but I presume it does not vary very much from the state of facts, as they now exist. If we take the amount which has been specified, as the nett income of the United Kingdom for 1851, viz., 52 millions of pounds sterling, subtract therefrom the sum of £563,453 8s. 8d. which I find were receipts from other sources than customs, or taxation, and then add what had been subtracted from the gross revenue, in the shape of charges, &c., for collection (less, of course, the charges upon the same of

£563,453 8s. 8d.), and divide this sum by 21,000,000 (as the sum of the population of the United Kingdom on the 21st of March, 1851), we will obtain nearly the same result as Maltebrun.\*

If, for the sake of the contrast, we would ascertain the average amount of taxation paid by each citizen of the State of Georgia, we may pursue a similar course — take the revenue of the United States derived from taxation, divide it by the population, and add to it the taxation by the State of Georgia obtained in a similar way. Thus I find that the revenue of the United States derived by taxation was \$49,017,567·92 (According to the American Almanac for 1853, and the Report of the Secretary of the Treasury), for the year ending June 30th, 1851. By the census of 1850, the population of the United States was shown to be 23,191,876. Assuming it, in round numbers, as 23,000,000, and dividing the amount of revenue above stated by this sum, we have a result of \$2·17½. An almanac for 1851, printed in Georgia, informs me that the sum total of the tax-digest of that State for the year 1849 was \$320,090·03. Divide this by the number of the population which the census report exhibits about that time, — viz., 905,999,† — and we have the sum of thirty-five cents, and a very small fraction over. If it be more accurate to exclude the slave population, we will do so, and divide the amount on the tax-digest by the free white population: viz., 524,318. We thus obtain a result of sixty-two cents nine mills, — say sixty-three cents, — as the average amount of taxation then paid by each taxpayer in Georgia. This, added to \$2·17½, will give us \$2·80 as the average amount of taxation paid by each citizen of Georgia to his Government at this period. If the slaves be excluded from the divisor in the first calculation above stated, the result will be slightly increased. But this statement is near enough for all practical purposes of comparison."

\* The "Statistical Companion" for 1852 (to which I have several times previously referred) states the population of England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland, and the other islands of the British seas, to have been 20,936,468, on March 31st, 1851. The "Observer" newspaper, published a short time since, gives it as 21,121,967. I assume it, in round numbers, as 21,000,000.

† "Statistical Companion," 1852, p. 137.

I find, Major, that I cannot give you all of the conversation between Lord B. and myself, upon this occasion, in one letter, without trespassing too much upon my time and your patience. I therefore close this, with the assurance that I am, as ever,

Respectfully,

Yr. friend and cousin,

P. JONES.

To MAJ. J. JONES,  
Pineville, Ga., U. S. of America.

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### LETTER XLVI.

CONTINUATION OF THE CONVERSATION BETWEEN DR. JONES  
AND AN ENGLISH NOBLEMAN — “LET US HEAR THE CON-  
CLUSION OF THE WHOLE MATTER.”

London, May 18th, 1854.

DEAR MAJOR:— I expect to turn my face homewards some time during the next week; and my heart is bounding with the joyful thought that I shall probably be with you early in the next month. Before I sail, however, I must finish the account of the conversation which I was reporting to you in my last letter.

After the remarks there stated, I went on to say, “In the next place, I invite your lordship’s attention to the fact, that these are not the only taxes which the inhabitant of Great Britain pays. In other ways he is highly taxed—in one, especially, which impresses a citizen of my country very unfavorably. That is, the price which is paid for the administration of justice in your courts.

The amount of fees which, as I have shown, are paid to the sinecure officers in the Registrar’s office of the Prerogative Court, affords an indication of the contribution which is levied on all the property of the kingdom, which must pass through the courts for the purposes of administration or distribution.

If we turn to the Court of Chancery, we shall find the evils there so immense as to excite the reprobation of all who understand them, except such as are interested in maintaining the system. The extracts which I am about to read to you embody these evils in a condensed form.

‘EVILS OF THE CHANCERY SYSTEM.

An interesting lecture was given by Mr. W. Carpenter, on Wednesday, in the Lecture Hall, Greenwich, on Chancery reform.

Lord Erskine, on taking the chair, said the abuses in the court were so notorious that he would not waste time by dilating on them. Chancery reform was no less needed than had been slavery abolition, the Reform Bill, or even Catholic Emancipation [hear].

Mr. Carpenter said it was the theoretic right of every Englishman to have cheap law; yet the exactions in the highest court in the kingdom were so enormous as to have become proverbial in the mouths of men. The instances were not few in which the atrocious intolerable abuses of the Court of Chancery in this kingdom—the instances were not few in which the atrocious system pursued in their courts of equity had sent men to the workhouse or the lunatic asylum, and left families exposed to all the horrors of starvation. It was vile and flagitious wickedness—an abomination to every honest man—and a disgrace to the country which tolerated it [hear]. The property which was locked up in the Court of Chancery, through which all this evil was consummated, amounted to the enormous sum of £200,000,000. It was utterly impossible to portray in their proper colors the hideous wrong and misery inflicted by this system of dispensing justice and equity to the people of this country. But in order to enable his hearers to form some faint idea of the enormity of wrong perpetrated, he would, as the best and most satisfactory mode of giving them a notion on the subject, state the details of one or two cases. Mr. Carpenter then referred to the case of Mr. R. Mill, who died in 1841, leaving £12,000 as a charitable fund, the dividends of which were to be applied to the augmentation of small curacies. into the details of which he entered with much minuteness. In one part of that case no less than twelve counsel were employed, each holding a brief of thirty-six sheets in his hand, and the question to be decided was, whether the receiver was to be allowed some £40 or £50 or it may be £100 a year. The

question, however, was not yet determined, for it was referred three years ago to the Master to make a report, and up to the present time no report had been made. No less than £2000 could have been expended in the contest on this little point, which, however, is not decided yet. If things went on in their present course, it would probably be left to some future generation to learn the conclusion of this case, in which property to a very large amount was involved. Another case of a similar kind was that of *O'Neil v. Lucas*. The suit was commenced in 1836, and was instituted to compel the payment of £1700, of which the plaintiffs, who were children, had been deprived by their trustee. What must they think of the Court of Chancery, when the costs in this, as one would imagine, very plain case, amounted to £3286; and, still more than this, when an order was made for levying these costs off the estate of the children [cries of shame]? There were other points in the same case which he would not then enter into, but it was probable that the replacement of this £1700 would entail costs to the enormous amount of £13,000 [shame]. Was it to be wondered at that such a system plundered property, broke men's peace of mind, scattered families, blasted their hopes and prospects, and drove the object of its solicitude to suicide or insanity?

A vote of thanks was passed to the chairman, and the meeting separated.—*Observer, December 23d, 1850.*

#### COURT OF CHANCERY.

To the common apprehension of every Englishman the Court of Chancery is a name of terror, a devouring gulf, a den whence no footsteps return. Ask why such a family was ruined, why the representatives of a wealthy man are wanderers over the face of the earth; why the butlers, and housekeepers, and gardeners of the kindest master in the world, in spite of ample legacies in his will, are rotting on parish pay; why the best house in the street is falling to decay, its windows all broken, and its very doors disappearing; why such a one drowned himself, and another is disgraced—you are just as likely as not to hear that a Chancery suit is at the bottom of it. There is no word so terrible to an Englishman as this. An honest, industrious man, accustomed to hard thrift and slow accumulation, building his fortune course after course, and indulging in visions of futurity to compensate for much present self-denial, will turn pale and sick at heart at the bare mention of Chan-

cery. A suit in that court is endless, bottomless, and insatiable. Common notions of justice and law become childish follies before the inscrutable mystery of a Chancery suit. Such is the ancient court which our Premier ventures to threaten with innovation—a court which, in the estimation of most Englishmen, and with a view to a large proportion of its actual results, is an organized iniquity, an incurable evil, an inveterate wrong.’”—*The Times, March, 1851.*

*Lord B.* “My dear sir, I shall not deny that the Court of Chancery is obnoxious to many of these charges; but does it not strike you, that, in stating their cases, these gentlemen have not been able to resist the temptation which the opportunity afforded of a little figurative declamation? and that, as you say in America, they ‘have piled up the agony’ somewhat?”

*Myself.* “For example, in what respect, my lord?”

*Lord B.* “For example, the Chancellor’s *felo-de-se* victims, Doctor.”

*Myself.* “Indeed you have overlooked facts, if you suppose so; as the following extract, taken from the ‘Observer’ of February 23d, 1852, must convince you:

#### SUICIDE FROM A DREAD OF A CHANCERY SUIT.

On Monday last, an opulent and highly-respected man, Thos. Bath, Esq., of Northover, near Glastonbury, Somerset, committed self-destruction by drowning himself a few hundred yards from his own mansion. It appears that some few months since, Robert Phippen, Esq., of Badgworth Court, a magistrate of the county, who had also served the office of high sheriff, died at an advanced age, supposed (though, as it has turned out, erroneously) to be enormously rich. To this gentleman’s affairs, as well as those of two maiden-ladies named Batt, who died wealthy at Mark, near Blackford, the deceased had been left executor. Differences, however, unhappily arose in the administration of the affairs amongst the members of the respective families, and the business of one estate, if not both, was at length consigned to Chancery, very much to the annoyance and discomfiture of poor Mr. Bath, who entertained an instinctive dread of litigation. Hence the proceedings taken in the matter preyed heavily on his mind, and led to the event so much deplored by his family and friends.’



Oppression in the Bankruptcy and Insolvent Courts, from exorbitant taxation of costs and fees, is also very great, according to the two extracts which I hold in my hand, from the "Observer" of March 8th, 1852, and January 27th, 1853; to which I refer your lordship. And, if Lord Brougham is to be credited, in a statement made, during the month of April last, to the House of Lords, the costs in your county courts are in like manner excessive and oppressive."

*Lord B.* "What you have said and read in this connection, I grieve to say, is probably correct. But I hope that the day of reform as to some of these matters is not far distant."

*Myself.* "Sufficient for the purpose which I have in view, is the fact that such evils now exist, as I will presently more particularly explain.

Before doing so, however, I desire to mention one other enormous evil, which constitutes a part of the system, or is intimately associated with the unequal distribution of the resources of this country. That is, the excessively unjust adjustment of your ecclesiastical revenues and patronage; by reason of which, the higher orders of your clergy are surfeited with riches, whilst the lower are sometimes almost reduced to beggary. Your bishops and other dignitaries are so exorbitantly paid, as to increase, in a similar way to that I have already suggested with respect to another privileged class, the difficulties of subsistence to the poor generally.

It was not long since (that is to say, some time during the year 1852), that I heard Sir B. Hall state, in his place in the House of Commons, that, according to a return which had been recently laid on the table, one bishop had an income equal to the salaries of the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Secretaries of the Home Office, of the Colonies, of Foreign Affairs, and of a Commissioner of the Customs, all added together. Another bishop, he stated, had an income equal to the salaries of the Chief Justices of the Queen's Bench and of the Common Pleas, the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and the Sergeant-at-Arms attending the House, all put together. Sir B. Hall had taken up the subject of church abuses

about this time, your lordship may remember, and published a letter on the subject, which contained much valuable information. I do not propose to trouble you with it, but I cannot resist the inclination to read in your hearing the following remarks of the 'Weekly Dispatch' (published on the 2d of November, in the same year), in which this letter and these church abuses were discussed :

'PITY THE BROKEN-DOWN CLERGY.

At Arpthorp's 'Depot for the Publications of Ecclesiastical and Political Progress,' in Bishopsgate street Without, a letter on 'Church Abuses,' written by Sir Benjamin Hall, Bart, M. P. for Marylebone, is sold at the extraordinary low price of one penny. It is an exposure of Church abuses, which it reflects as clearly as any mirror that ever left the establishment of M'Lean.

Very few persons think there exists anything but pure religion under long lawn or a goat's-hair wig; they are quite indignant if you hint that a bishop would not stick at a trifle in a matter in which money was concerned; and go further, and impugn your belief, if you think a bishop loves lucre. Robert Moore, a prebend of Canterbury Cathedral, is one of the sons of Archbishop Moore. This archbishop, about fifty years ago, gave his son a sinecure office in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, worth only £10,894 per annum.

On reference to Sir Benjamin Hall's penny letter, we find that in seven years, ending 1850, his Grace's gross income was £210,134 8s. 4d.; his net income, £160,984 7s. 8d.; income from fines for seven years, £83,951 12s. 7d.; and his average salary, poor man, only £22,907 15s. 4½d. a-year! How his Grace manages to sustain life upon such a paltry, unworthy income, we are totally at a loss to discover.

That ill-used and over-worked man, the Bishop of London, is in a worse plight; his income is only £16,513 2s. 10d. a-year. Why, upon such scandalous wages, he must be as badly off as a 'poor frozen-out gardener' of Fulham.

The Bishop of Durham grasps £26,786 16s. 0½d. a-year. The odd three farthings! In many instances the bishops have, in addition to their sees, several other sources of ecclesiastical preferments; for instance, the Bishop of Exeter is treasurer and canon of his cathedral, value £1198 per annum; rector of Shobrook, £280 per annum; canon of Durham, £2600 per

annum; total, £4078 net income, besides his see. But we have shown, in another article devoted to this subject, how the bishops have evaded furnishing true and faithful returns; how they have 'cooked their accounts,' in order to preserve their enormous incomes; but it was done, we suppose, for the glory of the Most High, and not with any view to enrich themselves by laying hold of what is erroneously called the property of the Church.'

#### 'CORMORANTS OF THE CHURCH.

Some weeks since, the Rev. Charles Phillips wrote to Sir Benjamin Hall, one of the members for the Borough of Marylebone, asking him to subscribe his mite towards the erection of a church in Bedford Newtown, St. Pancras. Sir Benjamin declined to accede to the reverend gentleman's request, on the following grounds (we hope others may do likewise):—'I consider that the funds of the Established Church are ample for the erection of churches, and to provide for the spiritual wants of the laity, without the constant demands which are made upon us by the clergy who are in possession of the ecclesiastical property, while the working clergy are left with the smallest pittance, and the laity are taxed for contributions, under the plea of the poverty of the Church. If I take the case of the diocese of London, I can prove that the property of the Church, now vested in the Bishop and the Deans and Chapters of St. Paul's, and St. Peter's, Westminster, is amply sufficient for all spiritual purposes, if properly administered. The present Bishop of London, when sitting at the Board of Ecclesiastical Commissioners, in 1837, determined that the income of a Bishop of London should be £10,000 per annum, and he returned the revenue of the see, for the seven years ending 1835, at £105,045 14s. 4d., giving an annual average of £15,786 7s. 9d., and at that time the Paddington estate was only partially built upon. The next septennial return, ending December, 1843, shows the income had materially increased; and the last return for seven years, ending 1850, exhibits a still greater increase; and this is independent of any leases which may have been granted by the Bishop to his trustees for private uses, upon which, no fines having been taken, his lordship has not given the value. Thus, for instance, in 1843, the income is returned at £13,500; but the Bishop having run his life against the lives of the lessees, he granted a new lease of the rectory of Rickmansworth, the annual rent-charge of which

is £1406 18s., to his trustees. The value of the see that year should consequently have been returned at £33,000 at least instead of £13,500. In 1848, the net income, as given by the Bishop, was £22,975—this is exclusive of two palaces—while the annual value of livings in his gift amounts to £58,725, as exhibited in the Clergy List, to which may be added other patronage, worth many thousands a-year.

In 1850, being the last year of the septennial period, the Bishop of Durham's net income was £24,363, although his lordship was appointed subject to the provisions of the act of 1836, in which year the income was fixed at £8000. The Bishop of Winchester, in the same year, had £26,241, instead of £7000, and alienated from the Church a most valuable estate in Southwark, for a fine of about £17,000, by renewing a lease. The Bishop of St. David's enjoys a much larger income than that assigned to his see, and receives £1600 a-year from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, to make up an imaginary deficiency. The Bishops of Chichester, Oxford and Rochester, do the same in various amounts. The Archbishop of York, when Bishop of Hereford, received £15,400 from the Commissioners to make up a similar supposed deficiency, whereas, including that sum, he had £18,195 17s. 4d. more than the income assigned to his see. The Bishop of Bath and Wells, when translated to that see from Oxford in 1845, found a charge upon the see to the Commissioners of £800 a-year, after allowing £5000 a-year to the Bishop. In the five years ending December, 1850, his lordship received £28,326 15s., but did not pay one farthing of the charge due from him, retaining the amount to his own uses.'

During the same year, the 'Times' published a letter from the Rev. Sidney Godolphin Osborne, from which I have taken the following:

'CAST-OFF APPAREL FOR POOR CURATES.

'The sympathy of the public has of late years been a good deal directed to the evils of what is called the slop-system. Poor Hood and others have done much for overworked, ill-paid seamstresses and tailors; the contrast, however, between capital in cash and capital in sweat and toil does still present many painful features. There is a class of workmen to whom little sympathy has as yet been afforded, but whose condition deserves all sympathy, and I think is capable of amendment;

I mean those unfortunate gentlemen who as curates do a good deal of slopwork for the Church capitalists.

'The curate of a parish can do for the souls of the people every single necessary thing that the rector can do, or even a bishop. The curate is often left in sole and entire charge of a very large parish; he represents in that parish all the Church offers, all the State demands, for the cure of souls in it. The rector or vicar may be drawing from £300 to £800 per annum from the said parish as master spiritual workman of it, and this net, clear of all deductions; the curate—the slop-hand—is doing the work at a salary of from £80 to £120, with unavoidable calls upon that income, seldom leaving to any curate a clear four-fifths of the nominal payment to him. We hear with truth of the wealth of the Church? we know now what have been, and still are, the incomes of the bishops; we know something of the amount of money falling into the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners; we know how they have aided in building palaces, and been blind to knavery in highly reverend quarters. Will the public believe the fact?—for years past there has been a society whose aim is to collect cast-off apparel for poor curates. I have read with my own eyes the letters of curates and their wives, full of gratitude for gifts of worn-out clothing, giving painfully interesting details of how they worked up our old things into their own and children's best apparel. If merit should ever lead to promotion, I can quite conceive the possibility of a gentleman stepping into Fulham as its rightful occupant who had lately worn gratefully the cast-off trousers of the late bishop, and made Sabbath coatees for his children of the worn-out gowns of his wife. Why, sir, ladies' maids and valets have a right to complain that charitable ladies come to master or mistress and beg for poor parsons the perquisites of their orders.'

Again, the same reverend gentleman says,

'I have before me the report for 1852 of 'the Poor Pious Clergyman Clothing Society;' in it there is a copy of a letter of thanks for relief to the manager of that institution, under every letter of the alphabet; and these are headed 'Extracts from Correspondence.' I find in these, letters from clergymen—*i. e.*, from men who might be bishops—gratitude expressed for coats, which fitted themselves as though they 'had been made to measure;' secondhand frocks, equally fortunate in fit,

‘for their daughters;’ ‘brown linen, which makes up into wagoner’s bibs for our boys.’ ‘Old bed curtains, which, remade, made nice winter curtains for my room.’ ‘When we are sitting round our hearth,’ writes letter ‘G,’ ‘we talk over our dress, and one points to one thing and another to another, all and each supplied by your parcel.’ Letter ‘L’ says, ‘Accept our warmest thanks for all you have sent, but especially for the linen, which Mrs. L—— much required; the boots and coats are matters of delight to my boys,’ &c., &c.

Commenting on these facts, one of your radical journals holds the following language :

‘Probably among these humble men we might find some of the lights of the Church as she should be. What a hard step-mother they have found her as she is. She ordained them to be children of God; she compels them to be the suppliants of men for food and raiment to keep them respectable. A member of this national Church dare not preach where he can, and so get him together a congregation who trust and love him. No, he is admitted to the grace of starvation, while the property amassed in the course of ages is shared mostly on the principle of patronage and favoritism.

Then there is the enormous folly of simony; the enormous folly of non-residence; the enormous folly of doing work by badly paid deputies, who are ground down to the earth—the clerical Uncle Toms of clerical Legrees—victims of the worst kind of slavery, the slavery of mock freedom, the slavery whose alternative is starvation.’—*The Leader*, April 16th, 1853.

I think that it is unnecessary for me to add anything further on this subject, and in support of the proposition which I have submitted for your lordship’s consideration.”

*Lord B.* “Suppose that proposition be admitted, Doctor. What then? Am I next to be invited to agree with you that there is no such thing as gradual reform, no remedy for such evils, except that which is to be found in revolution and a cheap republic?”

*Myself.* “By no manner of means. Neither as a remedy for these evils, nor as a refuge from the crime, privation, and suffering, which so extensively prevail in this

kingdom, would I advise any such rash experiment or resort. I have no call to preach revolution, and no such qualifications as should authorize me to set up as a reformer. Indeed, to be candid, I must confess that I regard the form of government which prevails in my own country as still an experiment — an experiment the tendency of which, in some parts of our country, according to present indications, is to urge liberty over that precipice, upon the edge of which constitutional barriers terminate, and into the gulf of license which lies below — an experiment, the present tendency of which is to agitate the vessel of State so much as to bring too many of its dregs to the surface. Before we undertake to set ourselves up as a model, therefore, it behooves us, in my opinion, so to guide our course, and govern ourselves, that, in avoiding the Scylla by which your vessel is threatened, we are cast not upon a Charybdis equally as dangerous and destructive. And I have ventured to tax your lordship's patience with these several conversations (at your own instance, it is true), not for the purpose of recommending our system as that which should be adopted in lieu of your own (although, with all its weak points, I believe it infinitely superior to yours); but for the purpose of impressing upon your consideration the force of the following truths: viz., that the institution of slavery, whether it be a blessing or a curse, was derived from the people of England; that it was incorporated into our social polity by the mother country; \* that notwithstanding the existence of this institution in our midst, — perhaps partially because thereof, — our people have greatly the advantage of that mother country in the elements of virtue and happiness; that, surrounded as your people are by the dark mass of evils which I have pointed out, so much in need of social reform themselves, as to cause your own moralists to cry out that 'there is no liberty in England for the poor,' sick almost unto death with social disease, and unable to heal yourselves, we cannot confide in your skill as physicians for our body-politic;

\* See Stevens's History of Georgia, pp. 285, 286, 287-308. Also, App., I.

and that, as a consequence, we have the right to insist that we may be more safely trusted to apply our own remedies, in our own time and way, to our institutions, according as we may think they need 'the amending hand.' In the mean time, and in view of all these things, we further insist that it is not modest, sensible, or just, for your people to obtrude interference in the shape of passionate appeals for the reform of our institutions from your philanthropic ladies, or bitter denunciations of us and those institutions from your anti-slavery gentlemen; and that if, nevertheless, such people persist in attempting to 'pull out the mote' from our eyes, without first casting 'out the beam' from their own, they must expect, in this connection, to hear those other scriptural words, 'thou hypocrite!' and to be told that 'with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again.'"

Here ended our conversation; and here, dear sir, must end the last letter which I shall, perhaps, ever write to you from England.

Very respectfully,

Yr. friend and cousin,

P. JONES.

To MAJOR J. JONES,  
Pineville, Ga., U. S. of America.



## APPENDIX.

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### A.

In order that the reader may be aided in the effort to institute the comparison which has been invited in the preceding pages, between the state of morals and of crime among the people of a slaveholding community, and of those of Great Britain, and be somewhat qualified to form an opinion as to the effect in this and other respects, of the two systems—the slaveholding and the free labor—upon the character and happiness of men, I have deemed it advisable to annex a report made by the Judge of the Middle District in the State of Georgia, having reference to the state of crime, &c., in that district during the years 1850, 1851, and 1852, and published in 1853 and 1854.

*“To His Excellency, Howell Cobb, Governor, &c.*

§ 1. SIR. — For a part of the time during which I have occupied the Bench of the Superior Court in this State, I have kept a record of criminal cases tried before me; and have obtained information from the evidence submitted, or directly from the accused, enabling me to elicit some statistical results, which I have thought might possibly be found useful, if published.

From the accusations before the Superior Courts, of the nine counties in the Middle District, in the form of indictments, I have also derived some information from which I have deduced similar results.

Such statistics in other countries, where the law makes a provision by which they are obtained, have been found of considerable importance. They have served to suggest reflections of interest to the social, and the law reformer, to the law-maker, and the law-expounder. Though, those which I present are upon a limited scale, and cannot be expected to be thus highly important, still they serve to throw some light upon the character and condition of society in our State; I have therefore concluded that it would not be amiss to give them publicity. I could think of no way by which I might effect this better, than by putting them into the shape of a Report to the Chief Magistrate of our State; and accordingly, I thus submit them to the public.

§ 2. I propose at first to refer only to the accusations made against, and trials had, of free white persons in the Superior Courts of this District, for the three years 1850, 1851, and 1852. I hope hereafter to show what is the state of crime in this Judicial District among persons of color.

§ 3. During the years just specified, there have been 319 accusations in the form stated against white citizens in this District; being an average of  $106\frac{1}{3}$  per year.

§ 4. The following table will show the centesimal proportion of crimes contained in these accusations against the *person*, against *society*, and against *property*; for the three years stated. Under the head of crimes against society, I include such offences as bigamy, bastardy, forgery, retailing without a license, uttering counterfeit money, trading with slaves, &c. Under the head of crimes against property, I place all larcenies, robbery, malicious mischief, &c.

In every 100 accusations of all kinds there are:

|                                  |        |
|----------------------------------|--------|
| Of crime against the person..... | 48-28  |
| Of crime against society.....    | 37-93  |
| Of crime against property.....   | 13-79  |
|                                  | 100-00 |

§ 5. The following table will show the centesimal proportion of the various accusations filed during these three years. I put them in this form, thinking that it will be more convenient and useful, than if I were to give number and detail.

In every 100 accusations of all kinds, there are:

|                                                                             |       |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| Adultery and fornication.....                                               | 5-53  |
| Affray.....                                                                 | 1-57  |
| Altering marks of animals.....                                              | ·31   |
| Arson.....                                                                  | ·31   |
| Assault and battery, and assault.....                                       | 31-70 |
| Assault with intent to murder.....                                          | 2-50  |
| Assault with intent to commit rape.....                                     | ·31   |
| Attempt to excite insurrection*.....                                        | ·31   |
| Bastardy.....                                                               | ·63   |
| Bigamy.....                                                                 | ·63   |
| Cheating and swindling.....                                                 | ·63   |
| Cruelty to slaves.....                                                      | ·31   |
| Forgery.....                                                                | ·63   |
| Forcible entry.....                                                         | ·63   |
| Gaming.....                                                                 | 2-19  |
| Having counterfeit bills in possession with intent to pass<br>the same..... | ·31   |
| Harboring a slave.....                                                      | ·31   |
| Illegally whipping a slave.....                                             | 1-88  |
| Keeping open a tippling house on the Sabbath-day.....                       | 2-19  |
| Keeping disorderly houses.....                                              | 1-25  |
| Keeping lewd houses.....                                                    | 1-88  |
| Killing cattle.....                                                         | ·31   |
| Larceny from the house.....                                                 | 3-15  |
| Larceny simple.....                                                         | 6-58  |
| Larceny from the person.....                                                | ·31   |

\* The offender was a foreigner.

|                                                   |      |
|---------------------------------------------------|------|
| Malicious mischief.....                           | 1·57 |
| Manslaughter.....                                 | ·63  |
| Mayhem.....                                       | ·31  |
| Murder.....                                       | 3·45 |
| Notorious act of public indecency.....            | ·63  |
| Perjury.....                                      | ·94  |
| Rape.....                                         | ·63  |
| Resisting civil officers.....                     | ·31  |
| Retailing without a license.....                  | 7·52 |
| Riot.....                                         | ·94  |
| Robbery.....                                      | ·31  |
| Stabbing.....                                     | 4·40 |
| Trading with and furnishing liquor to slaves..... | 8·77 |
| Uttering base coin.....                           | 2·19 |
| Uttering counterfeit bills.....                   | ·31  |
| Vagrancy.....                                     | ·31  |
| Violating graves.....                             | ·94  |

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100·00

§ 6. It will be found in the above table, that crimes against the person greatly preponderate; assaults and batteries, and assaults (which are the slightest offences against the person) constituting almost one-third in every hundred offences.

Of the accusations involving charges of murder, not more than one could be considered as premeditated murder. The remainder were cases of death resulting from fighting in hot blood. It follows, therefore (there being 11 charges of murder in the 319), that in every 100 accusations of all kinds, there are of murder premeditated only 31·100 of a case, or less than 10 in every 100 accusations involving the charge of murder.

It will be perceived, that of offences against the person, the charge of stabbing bears the larger proportion next to assaults and batteries. The frequency of the offence, committed as it is with a knife or other deadly instrument, is suggestive of the too prevalent habit of carrying such weapons in our State.

§ 7. Of offences against Society, it will be seen that trading with and furnishing spirituous liquors to slaves, and retailing without a license, are the most common, the first being in the proportion of 8·77 in every 100 of all crimes, and the latter in the proportion of 7·52.

§ 8. Of offences against property, the most common is the crime of simple larceny, which is in the proportion of 6·58 in every 100 offences of all descriptions. It is proper to remark, however, that of these 5·33, or all but 1·25, are found in the county of Richmond alone, where the principal town in the District is situated, (a town of some 15,000 inhabitants at this time, I believe), and where—as similar statistics in other countries show—that state of society exists (I am not sure, but I should be justifiable in saying, that peculiar result of civilization is found) which seems most prolific of theft. But I will have more to say and show on this subject by-and-by, when I shall come to compare these tables with those similar statistics in other countries.

§ 9. I find by the United States Census returns filed in your Excellency's department, and published by authority of our General Assembly,

that there were at that time in the nine counties of this District, a white population of 37,278 souls.

§ 10. It is evident, therefore, that for the three years specified, there has been one accusation against a white person to every 350.57 of the white population.

§ 11. It has been seen that the mass of these consists of assaults and batteries, misdemeanors, and other minor offences not felonies, or punishable by imprisonment in the penitentiary. Of felonies, or offences so punishable, there are about 1.5 of the whole number, or 20 felonies in 100 offences of all kinds, or one felony in about every 1750 of the white population.

§ 12. Of the whole number of these accusations, I find that 296 are against males, and 23 against females, or one accusation against a woman to every 13.87 males.

Nearly all the crimes committed by females are by abandoned women in the principal town of the District. But 7 out of 319 are charges against women who live in the country.

The following table will show the centesimal proportion of accusations against males and females.

In every 100 accusations, there are :

|                                    |       |
|------------------------------------|-------|
| Offences committed by males.....   | 92.79 |
| Offences committed by females..... | 7.21  |

---

100.00

In every 100 accusations, there are :

|                                             |       |
|---------------------------------------------|-------|
| Offences against the person by males.....   | 96.11 |
| Offences against the person by females..... | 3.89  |

---

100.00

In every 100 accusations, there are :

|                                           |       |
|-------------------------------------------|-------|
| Offences against property by males.....   | 97.73 |
| Offences against property by females..... | 2.27  |

---

100.00

In every 100 accusations, there are :

|                                          |       |
|------------------------------------------|-------|
| Offences against society by males.....   | 86.78 |
| Offences against society by females..... | 13.22 |

---

100.00

§ 13. The record of trials affords us tabular results quite as interesting. For example, we find that in every 100 cases which have been tried in this District, there are accused :

|                                     |       |
|-------------------------------------|-------|
| Natives of the Southern States..... | 83.33 |
| Natives of the Northern States..... | 3.70  |
| Natives of foreign countries.....   | 12.97 |

---

100.00

§ 14. We also find that in every 100 cases tried, there are :

|                        |       |
|------------------------|-------|
| Married persons.....   | 63.46 |
| Unmarried persons..... | 36.54 |

---

100.00

§ 15. In every 100 persons tried there are :

|                                                         |        |
|---------------------------------------------------------|--------|
| Persons who can read and write badly .....              | 18·31  |
| Persons who can read and write indifferently well ..... | 32·69  |
| Persons who can read and write very well .....          | 16·31  |
| Persons who are good scholars .....                     | 1·92   |
| Persons who cannot read or write .....                  | 30·77  |
|                                                         | <hr/>  |
|                                                         | 100·00 |

§ 16. In every 100 persons tried, there are :

|                                              |        |
|----------------------------------------------|--------|
| Persons over 15 and under 20 years old ..... | 3·85   |
| Persons over 20 and under 30 years old ..... | 46·15  |
| Persons over 30 and under 40 years old ..... | 28·85  |
| Persons over 40 and under 50 years old ..... | 7·69   |
| Persons over 50 and under 60 years old ..... | 13·46  |
|                                              | <hr/>  |
|                                              | 100·00 |

§ 17. In every 100 cases tried of all kinds there have been 33·33 cases with which the evidence connected the use of spirituous liquors as a cause; or just one-third. And in every 100 cases of crimes against the person, there have been 46·16 cases with which the evidence connected the use of spirituous liquors as a cause. By which it appears that nearly one half of the crimes against the person are more or less attributable to spirituous liquors.

§ 18. In every 100 cases which have been tried, there have been :

|                                        |        |
|----------------------------------------|--------|
| Pleas, or verdicts of Guilty, in ..... | 68·52  |
| Verdicts of Not Guilty, in .....       | 31·48  |
|                                        | <hr/>  |
|                                        | 100·00 |

§ 19. It is true that these tables would be more satisfactory, and more nearly approach accuracy, if the instances on which they are based were more numerous, and the field of observation wider. Still, as they are, they afford some approximation to correctness of result, something from which practical inferences can be drawn. Such calculations should never be expected to point with positive accuracy to truth, but only to indicate it with an approach to such accuracy.

Certain it is, that some of the data from which the above conclusions are derived, are more numerous and accurate than many of a similar kind from which Messrs. Beaumont and De Tocqueville deduce their results in their famous treatise on crime in America.

I hope, with the aid of these gentlemen and others, to compare some of the results above obtained with similar statistics in other States and countries.

§ 20. One of the first features in the tables which I have presented that prominently attracts our attention, is the very considerable preponderance of crimes against the person.

What does this indicate? As compared with similar calculations in other civilized countries, what observation should be made upon it? If these crimes against the person were of an atrocious character and not chiefly assaults and batteries, or other minor offences, I should hesitate before agreeing that it was not to be regarded as a sign of a people more or less barbarous, as compared with other civilized States. It is proper to remark, however, that calculations based upon statistics in latter years, especially as regards society in America, do not show that crimes

against the person are fewest where civilization (especially that which consists with the highest degree of education) has most extended its influences.

Figures clearly show this in many places. For example, the tables of M. Guerry in his "Statistique Morale de France," a work published about 20 years since, show "that while crimes against the person are the most frequent in Corsica, the Provinces of the Southeast, and Alsace, where the people are well instructed, there are the fewest of these crimes in Berri, Limousin, and Brittany, where the people are most ignorant.

Again, we find MM. Beaumont and De Tocqueville saying, when speaking of crime in the United States, "Thus not only do two States out of three present a greater proportion of individuals condemned for crimes against the person in 1830 than in 1790," (when the writer supposes the States were less civilized than in 1830.) "but in 1830, that State where we find the greatest number of such offences is the State of Connecticut, which in point of education and intelligence (*en fait d'instruction et de lumieres*) occupies the first rank in the whole Union; and the State which has fewest crimes against the person is the State of Pennsylvania, where the population is comparatively ignorant." — *Beaumont et De Tocqueville, System Penitentiare, Vol. II., p. 263.*

At another place on the same page, these writers say, "it has been generally considered in Europe, that as a society advances in civilization, the number of crimes against the person diminishes. The statistics which we have to present, prove, that in America at least this is not true. We see, on the contrary, that in Pennsylvania the number of crimes against the person does not diminish with time, and that, in the States of Connecticut and New York, according as civilization advances, these offences seem to increase with it. This increase takes place in a manner equal and uniform; it is difficult to attribute it to chance."

Thus we see that an increase of crimes against the person with us is not, necessarily, evidence of a low state of morals and civilization.

§ 21. Though this be true, still I think that if connected with this considerable preponderance of crime against the person in our district, the statistics which I present exhibited many such offences of an aggravated and atrocious character (instead of an almost entire absence of such cases), it would be legitimate to conclude therefrom, that this state of facts indicates an inferior state of morals and civilization.

As it is, I think we are only authorized to infer from it, that our people are tenacious of a reputation for courage, that they are resentful of insults, are fond of indulgence in spirituous liquors, and when under this influence are too apt to give and to resent real or fancied insults; that they are a people of quick passions without malice, as the general rule, and though often erring while under the effects of intoxication or passion, are without that brutality, that induration of moral perception in which so many horrible crimes have their origin in other countries; especially in France and England. That notwithstanding the fact, that as a whole, they do not reach a very high standard of education, yet that there is among them a general diffusion of Christian and moral influence, and sentiments, and that they are not urged by oppressive institutions, nor want and starvation into those desperate or depraved habits, which degrade and brutalize the human being; and out of which these terrible crimes arise, as the reeking vapors ascend from the dunghill.

We shall be confirmed in this view by observing the exceedingly small

number of crimes against property, and the comparatively small number of aggravated cases of crimes against society, which these statistics present.

§ 22. The next remark which the subject calls for, is, that the number of accusations in proportion to the white population, at first impresses one as greater than we have the right to expect from other circumstances which come under our notice.

If we contrast this with the number of crimes in France, in proportion to the population, as shown by M. Guerry's tables, in the work already referred to, the comparison will appear to be greatly in favor of that country. But this aspect will not bear close scrutiny. Such examination will show a better state of morals in our community than in highly civilized France.

It will be found, by looking to the tables which I have presented, that the great majority of accusations with us, are for minor offences; such as assaults and batteries, retailing without license, trading with slaves, petit larcenies, and other inconsiderable misdemeanors; there being very few atrocious crimes of any description, especially such crimes as premeditated murder (or assassination as the French call it), death from poison, parricide, crimes against children, rapes, arson, burglary, &c.; whilst M. Guerry's tables groan under the weight of many such; and they may be said indeed to constitute a very large proportion of the crimes in France.

As I have already shown, in our community, the felonies of all descriptions amount to only about one-fifth of the accusations.

§ 23. As compared with England and Wales, the number of crimes is very largely in our favor.

I find, that in the year 1840 there were, in England and Wales, about 86,561 committals. The population at that time was about 15,000,000, and this gives us about one committal or accusation to every 173·28 of the population. — *Chambers's Information for the People*, Vol. I., p. 46; 1st Am. Ed.

From other sources, it is easy to learn that the proportions of crimes to the population in England is much greater than with us; and among the offences in England and Wales are crimes, the most revolting to humanity, parricides, murders of children by parents, (driven to desperation and madness by want and starvation), shocking mutilations of tender infants, premeditated murders of wife by husband, and husband by wife, violations of females ending in murder, deaths by poison, and by starvation, atrocious burglaries consummated by murder, and other such crimes. Let it not be supposed, that the view of this subject which these statistics furnish, would be changed if the number of crimes committed by persons of color constituted an element in our calculations. I am prepared, at the proper time, to show, that, in proportion to the population, there are fewer crimes among our slaves than among the whites; and that a report of crimes among the slaves in our district will be found almost, if not quite, as favorable, as that given by Sir Charles Lyell in his last book of travels in this country, of the 500 slaves on the estate of Mr. James Hamilton Couper of our State.

§ 24. The next feature in these tables worthy of your Excellency's attention is the smallness of the number of females charged with crime, in our community. That number is only 7·21 in every 100 accusations.

Now, from Sir Henry L. Bulwer's "France, Social, Literary, and Po-

litical," p. 143, we learn, that "in the committals in England and Wales, the females are in the proportion of 1 to 3." From a note on the same page we learn, that "in 100 crimes against the person, the men are guilty of 86, the women of 14. Of 100 crimes against property, the men commit 79, the women 21."

From another source we learn, that "the proportion of females to males in committals (England and Wales) for thefts without violence, is as 84 to 73, a difference of one-sixth against females."—*Chambers's Information for the People*, Vol. I., p. 461; 1st Am. Ed.

From another we ascertain, that from 1827 to 1831, in Connecticut, there was 1 white woman committed to 16.44 whites of both sexes; or 1 white woman to 15.44 of males: in Pennsylvania, in the year 1830, there was 1 white woman committed to 15.64 of both sexes, or 14.64 males. — *Beaumont et De Tocqueville, Systeme Penitentiare aux Etats Unis*, p. 271.

Let us observe first, the wonderful difference in our favor in this respect, when compared with France and England, the two most civilized nations of Europe. In France, the committals of females are as 1 woman to 3 males; in England and Wales, as 1 to 5; with us they are as 1 to more than 13. This simple circumstance is significant of a very great difference between our society, and that of those two countries.

Here is a fact, prominent, indisputable, which gives evidence in our favor of a great moral advantage; which proves—whatever they may say of our civilization, and the structure of our society—that moral degradation and crime, as compared with them, have made but little inroad upon the *mothers* of our State.

In this respect, we can compare favorably even with "the land of steady habits." The statistical results above given, as to Connecticut, it is true, are very nearly similar to those which our tables present; but it should be recollected that the statistics, furnished by the French writer, refer to the whole State, while mine go only to nine counties of our State, embracing one of the only two cities in the State of more than 10,000 inhabitants, out of which city arise 16 (or nearly two-thirds) of the 23 offences shown to have been committed by females. And these 16 are principally by lewd women of the town, several of whom were natives of the Northern States.

In the rural portions of the district, which contain more than one-half the population, only about one-third of the offences which are committed, are committed by women.

This plainly authorizes the conclusion, that, if an average were taken of the whole State, it would be greatly in favor of our population over Connecticut and Pennsylvania, in this regard.

If it be thought, that this comparison is not entirely fair, because out of our calculations the negro women are omitted, whilst the laboring peasantry are of course included in the foreign statistics, and that among them these crimes may be chiefly found, I again suggest, that I hope hereafter to give a statement of crimes among persons of color in our district, and in the meantime, I declare, that facts and figures show without the least doubt, that among the negro women of our district, there are by far, fewer crimes than among the whites, and that if I were to present this comparison with reference to the whole population, the result would be still more remarkably in our favor.

§ 25. Another feature in the statistics to which I have called your attention, is the proportion of foreigners accused, to the natives. This



proportion is very large, being 12·97, or (discarding the minute fraction) 13 in every 100 offences.

In a calculation which I have made, based upon a statement which has been kindly prepared for me under the directions of Major Zachary, the worthy Principal Keeper of our Penitentiary, I find the ratio of foreigners imprisoned there, to the number of convicts, natives of the United States, as something less.

I take occasion here (while alluding to this Penitentiary record) to say, that I hope in some subsequent number to present the results in the form of tables (similar to those which I have presented in my first number), derived from this State Prison summary. In the mean time, I shall refer to it in aid of the observations I am making upon the Statistics which I have already published.

This record from our Penitentiary shows the proportion of foreigners to be as 7·20 in every 100.

As a sort of disturbing force to the conclusion, derived from this record, I find—by the returns of the United States census of 1850 for our State—that there were reported 85 convictions in the year, 66 of which were natives, and 19 foreigners. Also, that on the 1st of June, 1850, there were in prison 34 natives and 7 foreigners.

This exhibits a wonderful disproportion of foreigners to natives, taking into consideration the relative numbers of the population, foreign and native; the convictions showing one foreigner to about every 3·50 natives, and the accusations 1 to about 5.

These returns, however, seem to be incomplete, and derived from a portion of the counties only; and should not, therefore, probably, be taken into the account.

Let us then take the very lowest ratio exhibited, viz. : that shown by the record from our Penitentiary, where we have 7·20 foreigners born out of the Union in every 100 convictions, or 9 out of the whole number, 125, and consider the subject with reference to that proportion.

By the United States census returns for our State, I find, that in 1850 the foreign population, or number of our inhabitants born out of the United States, was 5907. Since that time, this population has very much increased. I find by the sexton's report for the city of Augusta, during the past year, that the deaths and burials of foreigners in the city have considerably more than doubled since 1850; and this population has probably, therefore, more than doubled in this place, since that year.

The intelligent officer at present occupied in taking the city census, has satisfied me by other facts which he has brought to my attention, that this population has more than doubled in Augusta since that date. This is also true, no doubt, of other cities in the State. The increase, however, is very much confined to the towns, and is slight elsewhere.

On the whole, I think that I shall not be far from the truth in assuming that the number of such persons in our State, at present, is very nearly 10,000.

Now, according to the census returns, the free white population of our State in 1850 was 521,438. From this let us deduct the number of foreigners at the time, viz. : 5907, and we have in round numbers a native white population of 515,000. From among these 515,000 natives, then,

came the 116 native convicts in the Penitentiary, while from the 10,000 foreigners came the nine convicts born out of the United States.

This, it will be perceived, gives one conviction of a native to every 4956 of the native population, and one conviction of a foreigner to every 1111 of the foreign population, or four of the latter to one of the former, taking into consideration the relative proportion of the population, foreign and native. In this estimate, it will be seen, we have not taken into account the increase of the native white population since 1850.

I have not time to dwell upon the practical reflections to which these results give rise, but must for the present leave them with the reader.

Before taking leave of this subject, however, I desire to remark, that Beaumont and De Tocqueville, in their *Système Penitentaire*, &c., show that at the time when they wrote, in the States of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, the number of persons born out of the United States, in the State prisons of these States, was as 14 in every 100 imprisoned (*Beaumont et de Tocqueville, Système Penitentaire*; Par. edit. 1836, vol. 2, p. 500), a result very similar to that which the record from this district, as presented by me, shows, viz.: 13 in every 100 imprisonments.

I find also from the same source, and same page, that in the States referred to, the number of persons, natives of the State in which they were tried, in the State Prisons, were as 53 in every 100 of all offences, and the number of persons, natives of other States of the United States, were as 33 in every 100; while the record kept by me shows 55 natives of the State and 32 natives of other States in every 100 tried — a result very nearly coincident.

At the same place, these writers compare the number of foreigners tried in France in proportion to natives, with what is shown (as above) as true of the United States, and say that —

The number of foreigners in France to the total accused is as 3 to 100.

The number of accused born in the department where tried, is to the whole as 72 to 100.

The number of accused born out of the department, but in France, is as 23 to 100.

This table shows many more natives accused of crime, much fewer foreigners, and considerably fewer persons born in other sections of the country than with us.

Messrs. Beaumont and De Tocqueville think that this result is owing to the fact that the population in France is “infinitely more sedentary” than with us. There can be no doubt, that this in part accounts for the difference; but whilst it does this, it also illustrates in part, the difference in the moral condition of the two countries, especially when we take in connection with it the reflection, that the record which I have presented, and by which we make this comparison, exhibits few or none of those revolting crimes which appear so prominently in the criminal calendar of the French.

‡ 26. Another very interesting feature of these statistics is the comparative ages of persons committing crimes. Our tables show, that in this judicial district 3·85 are between the ages of 15 and 20, 46·15 between the ages of 20 and 30, 28·85 between 30 and 40, 7·69 between 40 and 50, 13·46 between 50 and 60.

The record from our Penitentiary furnishes the following table:—

|                                         |              |
|-----------------------------------------|--------------|
| Convicts between 15 and 21 in every 100 | 19.20        |
| “ “ 21 and 30 “ “                       | 35.20        |
| “ “ 30 and 40 “ “                       | 22.40        |
| “ “ 40 and 50 “ “                       | 12.00        |
| “ “ 50 and 60 “ “                       | 6.40         |
| “ “ 60 and 70 “ “                       | 4.80         |
|                                         | <hr/> 100.00 |

It appears by the record referred to, that of the above there are 13.40 who are between 18 and 21, or nearly 20 years of age, and only 5.80 who are under 18.

A table is furnished by Beaumont and De Tocqueville, at pp. 281, 282 of their work, heretofore cited by me, showing the ages of offenders in the States of N. York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and Connecticut, as follows:

|                                  |                  |
|----------------------------------|------------------|
| Prisoners less than 20 years old | 1 in 10 or 10.00 |
| “ between 20 and 30              | 1 in 2 or 50.00  |
| “ “ 30 and 40                    | 1 in 5 or 20.00  |
| “ “ 40 and 50                    | 1 in 9 or 11.11  |
| “ “ 50 and 60                    | 1 in 25 or 4.00  |

The rest are above 60 years old.

A similar table is furnished by these writers, showing the ages of offenders in France, as follows:—

|                                    |                 |
|------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Convicts less than 21 years of age | 1 in 5 or 20.00 |
| “ between 21 and 30                | 1 in 3 or 33.33 |
| “ “ 30 and 40                      | 1 in 4 or 25.00 |
| “ “ 40 and 50                      | 1 in 8 or 12.50 |
| “ “ 50 and 60                      | 1 in 18 or 5.56 |
| “ “ 60 and 70                      | 1 in 46 or 2.17 |

The number above 70, they say, is something, but so small as to make record useless.

In Chambers's "Information for the People," I find the following table compiled for England in the year 1838:—

|                              |              |
|------------------------------|--------------|
| Offenders under 12 years old | 1.58         |
| “ between 12 and 16          | 9.92         |
| “ “ 17 and 21                | 29.13        |
| “ “ 22 and 30                | 31.24        |
| “ “ 31 and 40                | 14.75        |
| “ “ 41 and 50                | 7.02         |
| “ “ 51 and 60                | 3.00         |
| “ above 60                   | 1.58         |
| Not ascertained              | 1.78         |
|                              | <hr/> 100.00 |

In the British Almanac for 1845, I find a similar table for 1843, as follows:

|                               |              |
|-------------------------------|--------------|
| Offenders aged under 15 years | 5.7          |
| “ between 15 and 20           | 22.7         |
| “ “ 20 and 25                 | 24.3         |
| “ “ 25 and 30                 | 14.9         |
| “ “ 30 and 40                 | 16.4         |
| “ “ 40 and 50                 | 8.1          |
| “ “ 50 and 60                 | 3.5          |
| “ above 60                    | 1.9          |
| Not ascertained               | 2.5          |
|                               | <hr/> 100.00 |

§ 27. A comparison of these statistics, coming as they do from such different communities of men, and at different periods of time, is not a little useful. Such comparison serves very forcibly to show the approximation to accuracy of result, and consequent reliability of such statistical tables. By it we find, what an English writer calls "wonderfully uniform results as to age," just where character, habits, structure of society, &c., may be supposed to operate with least influence; and just such variations elsewhere as serve, to a certain extent, to illustrate the difference in the character, habits, and condition of the people.

We observe at a glance, in these tables, how true it is, as Sir H. L. Bulwer somewhere says, that such statistics everywhere show that the greatest number of crimes are committed by persons at a period of life "when the faculties are most developed, and the passions most strong."

But let us first compare the record as taken from our Penitentiary with the French table, and we will find with us, 19·20 offenders under 21 years of age, or about 1 in 5. In France we find 1 in 5. We have with us offenders between 21 and 30 years of age, 35·20, or nearly 1 to 3. In France we find 33·33, or 1 in 3. With us there are offenders between 30 and 40 years old, 22·40, or something more than 1 in 4. In France, 25·100, or 1 in 4. With us 12·00 are between 40 and 50, or nearly 1 in 8. In France, 12·50, or just 1 in 8.

§ 28. If with the French and our tables, we now compare the table (as above given) for the Northern States, we shall find a considerable difference in the first proportion stated, that is to say, of persons under 20 and 21, and this of course affects the ratio of the next proportion, viz.: the ages between 30 and 40. In the American table, we find that the age taken is 20 years, and in our Penitentiary and France it is 21 years. By the first we find, that offenders in the States mentioned, under 20 years old, are as 1 in 10, and between 20 and 30, as 1 in 2, whilst with us and in France, offenders under 21 are as 1 in 5, and between 21 and 30, as 1 in 3.

In commenting on this difference, as between the French and the American tables, which they exhibit, Beaumont and De Tocqueville, at p. 302, vol. ii. of their work, say that "it is the displacing of a year which causes the difference observable; a difference only apparent."

If this be so, there is indeed a very surprising coincidence in these results. Even if they be wrong in this, still there remain many striking features of similarity.

§ 29. When we bring the English tables (above given) into comparison with the others, a remarkable difference is observable, to the advantage of the French and our own people.

We find from one of the above tables, taken from English authority, that out of every 100 offenders, there are 40·63, or about 1 to every 2½ under 21 years of age. Of these, 1·58 were under 12 years, and 9·92, or nearly 1 in 10, between 12 and 18. With us there are about 1 in 5 only under 21; 5·80, or about 1 in 20, between 15 and 18, and none under 15 years old.

We have heard much about the number of "juvenile delinquents" in England, but a comparison of their criminal statistics with other countries exhibits this in so prominent a manner, as to sadden and shock—as to excite the wondering thought, of how it is possible, that a hard-thinking, practical, unimpassioned people like the English, in the face of the stubborn and alarming evidence, which this and other features of their criminal statistics

(such as the large number of awfully brutal male offenders, the great proportion of female criminals, the deep depravity and fiendish cruelty of some of them) exhibit, as to the degree and extent of their national immorality, can "thank God that they are not as other men," or even as the poor slaveholder, and can warn unhappy slaveholders (as does one of their greatest men, Earl Carlisle, in his preface to 'Uncle Tom's Cabin'), not "to lay the unction to their souls, that the common run of mechanics and laborers in England are on a level of suffering and degradation with the slave on a rice swamp in Carolina, or at a sugar-crop time in Louisiana, &c."

One would think that, instead of wasting their energies in sympathy for people who are so much less immoral, brutal, and depraved than themselves, and leaving such to deal with their national ills as they best can, they would bring all their resources to bear upon the reform of those social evils in their own system, which, in the voices of the weak and helpless, are crying to Heaven for redress—that they would give all that they can spare of what Lord Carlisle calls "the warmth of sympathy and ardor of humanity" to stay the bloody hands of their starving and brutal "common run" of adult male criminals; and especially to hold them up from injuries to helpless women and infants—to save from famine and cruelty, crime and its consequences, the miserable little pauper children who swarm throughout the kingdom, and to turn back or away, from an earthly hell of want, and crime, and degradation, the broad and deep stream of mothers and wives, sisters and daughters, which has been so long pouring into that dread abyss in England.

§ 30. So far as the statistics which I present are significant, there is no evidence afforded, by the record of trials before me, that the influence of marriage has the effect of lessening crime.

It will be observed that, in the cases referred to, in every 100 offenders sixty-six were married and thirty-three were unmarried. This would seem rather to encourage the idea that crimes with us are more frequent among married than among single persons. But this would not be just.

I have thought there was some cause to disturb the accuracy of the report in this particular. The judge was compelled, in many instances, when the prisoner was a stranger in the community, to rely upon him for this information; and when he had been convicted, there was always a strong motive to represent himself as a man of family, so as to appeal thereby to the sympathy of the Court when sentence should be pronounced. In this way, wrong statements have sometimes been made, as I have reason to believe.

The record from our penitentiary shows, that considerably the larger proportion of convicts are unmarried. This may be relied on, without doubt.

Other reports, from other prisons in the United States, show the fact, that the larger proportion of convicts are unmarried. The whole going to prove that the sacred influence of woman in our country is, to a certain extent, operating, wherever it can be exerted in the family circle, to lessen vice and elevate the moral character of the other sex.

I will add, too, in proof of this, that in some prisons, where pains have been taken to obtain this information, it has been ascertained that a large proportion of convicts had lost their parents (the mother's influence was, without doubt, the chief loss) while yet in tender years. See, for example, Letter from Mr. Barrett (chaplain, etc.) to Beaumont and De Tocqueville.—*Systeme Penitentiaire*, p. 231, Vol. II.

§ 31. I next approach the subject of most interest, perhaps, connected with this report: viz., the influence of education upon crime.

It must be confessed, that criminal records, in this regard, do not afford that plain and simple testimony to the fact that ignorance and vice go hand in hand together, which is expected by the intelligent thinker who for the first time examines the subject. The true explanation is, that what is called education—that is to say, teaching men to read and write, and cast up accounts, — does not, as all experience shows, prevent men from committing crime. These capacities, in fact, enlarge the field of operations by creating additional resources, hold out new temptations and inducements to unprincipled persons, and thus add sometimes to the stock of crimes. That sort of education which lessens crime must be of a higher character—must, while it trains the intellect, also discipline the affections, and restrain and direct the passions. Hence it is, that we find, in the list of criminals, so many offenders who can read and write very well, and yet so few who are highly educated. The latter class of persons are almost always (certainly in our country) among those whose religious and moral training have been cared for by their parents, or others, as part of their education.

On this subject, the report which I have presented from this district shows, that in every 100 persons tried, there are 30·72 who could not both read and write, 51 who could read and write badly and imperfectly, 16·34 who could read and write very well, and only 1·92 who were good scholars.

The record from our penitentiary presents us with the following result :

|                                                           |        |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|--------|
| Prisoners who cannot both read and write, in every 100... | 35·20  |
| Prisoners who can read and write badly.....               | 16 00  |
| Prisoners who can read and write imperfectly .....        | 44·00  |
| Prisoners who have received a liberal education.....      | 4·80   |
|                                                           | 100·00 |

It is evident, from the above, that the capacity to read and write in our State, as in other places, is not evidence of that sort of education which diminishes crime.

Similar observations have been made as to other of the United States. For example, we find Beaumont and De Tocqueville saying, at p. 302, Vol. I: Par. Ed. 1836, of their work, when speaking of this subject in the United States, “It may seem that a State having every vent for its industry and its agriculture will commit less crime than another, which, equally enjoying these advantages, does not equally enjoy the advantages of intelligence and enlightenment. *Nevertheless, we do not think that you can attribute the diminution of crime in the North to instruction, because, in Connecticut, where there is far more instruction than in New York, crime increases with extreme rapidity; and if one cannot accuse knowledge as the cause of this, one is obliged to acknowledge that it is not a preventive.*”

The instruction here referred to, as the basis of these conclusions, is instruction in the lower branches of education only.

In France, the tables of M. Guerry, already referred to, show, as, in a previous number, I have suggested, that crimes against the person are most frequent in the provinces where the people are well instructed; and that, as for crimes against property, it is almost invariably those departments that are the best informed which are the most criminal.

Here, again, the test of instruction was "the list of those returned to the minister of war, at the period of conscription, as able to read and write."

Mr. Rawson, Secretary of the Statistical Society of London, has found that, of every 100 offenders in England and Wales, 35·4 could neither read nor write, 54·2 could read and write imperfectly, 10 could read and write well, and only 4·10, or  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., had received a liberal education.

In Scotland, out of 8907 offenders, 20·2 per cent. could neither read nor write, 59·2 could read and write imperfectly, 18·2 could read and write well, and 2·4 had received a liberal education.

The reader will perceive that this report of Mr. Rawson also sustains and confirms what has been above said and shown in relation to this subject.

Let not any good citizen be startled by these considerations, and discouraged in his strong desire to promote the cause of education — the general diffusion of elementary learning among the people. Rather let all good citizens co-operate to lay down this basis as one which is absolutely necessary for the great superstructure of moral and religious truths which should constitute our civilization.

In such a social edifice, erected on such a foundation, crime can find no fit abode. But the rude foundation of elementary knowledge, instead of excluding, may but give shelter to unclean things.

Messieurs Beaumont and De Tocqueville, though somewhat puzzled by the conclusions to which they were brought by the facts which they furnished, yet do not doubt the happy influence upon man of *proper* education; and they take occasion to say that "instruction, wherever it has no distinct groundwork in religious faith, creates a crowd of new wants, which, if not satisfied, urge those who experience them into crime. It multiplies social ties; it is the soul of commerce, and of industry; it creates thus among men a thousand occasions of fraud, or bad faith, which are not found among an ignorant and a rustic people. In this way, it is natural that it should rather augment than diminish the number of crimes. This point, indeed, now-a-days, seems generally conceded: for in Europe it has been observed that crimes are on the increase, for the most part, in those countries where instruction is most general. However, on this occasion, we express our opinion entirely in favor of education. To us, its advantages appear infinitely superior to its inconveniences. It develops the arts, and sustains all the industries. It fosters, thus, the moral force and the physical well-being of the people. The passions which it excites, fatal to society when things go wrong, become prolific of advantages when they are able to attain the prize at which they aim. Thus, instruction, it is true, opens up some sources of corruption among men, but it is it, also, which obtains for the people most wealth and most prosperity. To a nation surrounded by enlightened neighbors, it is not only a luxury, but it is a political necessity."—Note, *Sur l'instruction aux Etats Unis. pièce 5.*

On this subject, Sir H. L. Bulwer, remarking on the similar facts to those which we have been observing, says, very happily, "In giving instruction, we create a power which, if left to itself, may produce more good than evil — which will always produce good with evil, but which it is still our duty to govern and direct, in order to produce as much good,

as little evil, as possible; and if we wish to make ourselves sure of its results — if we wish from afar to see, to regulate, and to rejoice in its effects, we must not only *fill the mind* — we must *form the character*; we must not only give *ideas* — we must give *habits*,” etc.

These are very important facts for the consideration of our people. Important, not only because that this education of the *heart*, as well as the *intellect*, is of so much influence in lessening crime and immorality, but important, also, because, with us, as citizens of a republic, it is (what Beaumont and De Tocqueville suggest the education of the mind may be, in some other States) a “political necessity.”

On a pure and intelligent franchise must rest all free institutions. It cannot be thus pure and intelligent without the education of the affections and passions, as well as of the minds, of those who exercise it. Without such education, the people must be more or less at the mercy of demagogues and time-serving politicians—of political quacks and impostors. In this view it was, that Chief Justice Marshall proclaimed, that “virtue and intelligence are the foundation of our liberty.”

Would that every American citizen would reject the vain and braggart thought, that our own country has already solved the problem of man’s competency for self-government; and might realize the great truth in his heart of hearts, that virtuous education, and it only, under God, affords the key to the solution of this mighty problem!

## B.

*His Excellency, H. V. Johnson, Governor, &c.*

§ 1. SIR. — While one of the Judges presiding in the Superior Courts of our State, I addressed to the predecessor of your Excellency, several numbers which related to the Statistics of Crime, as collected from judicial proceedings, in the Middle District, as well as from the records of our Penitentiary.

In consequence of the absorbing interest which the political excitement of the past Summer and Autumn was creating in the public mind, as well as in consideration of my own pressing engagements, I paused in the course of publication which I was giving to a consideration of this subject.

In the hope that it may not be without some service, I now resume that subject, and continue it in the shape first given to it, viz.: an unofficial report to the Governor.

Since my last communication, I have obtained Statistics of Crime in Great Britain and France, so recent as the year 1851; and thus I am enabled to compare the state of crime in those countries at this late date, with what our records furnish about the same time.

§ 2. From the “Companion to the Year Book of General Information,” published in London in the year 1853, I am enabled to furnish the following report:

Number of persons committed or bailed in England and Wales in the year 1851, 27,960.



Of these there were :

|                                              |        |
|----------------------------------------------|--------|
| Offences against the person.....             | 2,218  |
| “ “ property .....                           | 2,060  |
| “ “ accompanied with violence ...            | 21,906 |
| Malicious offences against property .....    | 305    |
| Forgery, and offences against currency ..... | 808    |
| Other offences.....                          | 663    |
|                                              | <hr/>  |
|                                              | 27,960 |
| Offences committed by males.....             | 22,391 |
| “ “ females .....                            | 5,569  |
|                                              | <hr/>  |
|                                              | 27,960 |

‡ 3. Number of committals, &c., during the same year, in Scotland, 4,001.

Of these there are :

|                                            |       |
|--------------------------------------------|-------|
| Offences against the person.....           | 981   |
| “ “ property, with violence.....           | 665   |
| “ “ without violence.....                  | 1,923 |
| Malicious offences against property .....  | 054   |
| Forgery, and crimes against currency ..... | 126   |
| Other offences .....                       | 252   |
|                                            | <hr/> |
|                                            | 4,001 |

|                                       |       |
|---------------------------------------|-------|
| ‡ 4. Offences committed by males..... | 2,892 |
| “ “ females.....                      | 1,109 |
|                                       | <hr/> |
|                                       | 4,001 |

|                                                  |       |
|--------------------------------------------------|-------|
| ‡ 5. Offenders under 16 years of age.....        | 509   |
| Offenders who could neither read nor write ..... | 830   |
| “ “ read and write imperfectly .....             | 2,378 |
| “ “ “ well.....                                  | 716   |
| “ of superior education.....                     | 77    |
|                                                  | <hr/> |
|                                                  | 4,001 |

‡ 6. As verifying previous observations made by me on this subject, I desire to call the attention of your Excellency to the fact, that in England and Wales, as in Scotland, a very great disproportion exists between crimes against the person and against property—the latter predominating in a remarkable degree. It will be remembered, possibly, that we find in our State, crimes against the person to be about 48 in every 100, those against property about 38 in 100, and those against society about 14 in every 100.

The great number of crimes against property of an atrocious character, which are almost all those accompanied by violence, (chiefly burglaries and robberies no doubt), thus shown to have been committed in England and Wales in 1851, also verifies an observation previously made by me, viz. : that criminals in these countries appear to be rendered depraved and desperate by want, to an extent unknown among us.

§ 7. Let us now contrast some of the tables which we may frame from this report of crime in Great Britain, with similar details as furnished by me from the records of our State,

1. It will be observed that the above report shows, that of the crimes committed in England and Wales, 24, or about 1 in 4, are committed by women; and in Scotland, 38, or about 1 in every  $2\frac{2}{3}$  are committed by women.

Now it will be found by the report which I furnish, that there are with us, to 1 crime perpetrated by women, more than 13 crimes committed by men.

§ 8. 2. We find in Scotland, in 1851, that, of 4001 committed or bailed, in every 100 offenders there were less than 16 years old, 12·50, or just 1 in 8.

The record from our Penitentiary shows about 1 in 20 under 18, and none under 15 years of age.

§ 9. 3. We find also that in Scotland, during this year, there were of persons committed or bailed:

|                                               |     |
|-----------------------------------------------|-----|
| In every 100 who could not read or write..... | 20  |
| “ “ read or write imperfectly.....            | 60  |
| “ “ “ well.....                               | 18  |
| “ “ were superior scholars.....               | 2   |
|                                               | 100 |

It is curious to see how nearly this table agrees with that furnished by Mr. Rawson from the criminal records of Scotland some years since, and already quoted by me. In that it appeared, that there were offenders:

|                                                    |       |
|----------------------------------------------------|-------|
| In every 100 who could neither read nor write..... | 20·2  |
| “ “ read or write imperfectly.....                 | 59·2  |
| “ “ “ very well.....                               | 18·2  |
| “ “ had received a liberal education.....          | 2·4   |
|                                                    | 100·0 |

I have shown from the record furnished me, that in our Penitentiary in the past year, there were offenders:

|                                                     |        |
|-----------------------------------------------------|--------|
| In every 100 who could not both read and write..... | 35·20  |
| “ “ read and write badly and imperfectly..          | 60·00  |
| “ “ had received a liberal education.....           | 4·80   |
|                                                     | 100·00 |

§ 10. I have but one comment to make on the comparison thus instituted. It confirms what I have already suggested, of the difference between us and the people of England and Scotland in our social structure, in comparative education, in the habits, and moral civilization of the masses, and in the working of our institutions; and it should cause us to rejoice and be exceeding glad and thankful, that with all our faults as a people, we are yet spared from those degrading influences which bring woman down to that degree of awful depravity she has reached in England and Scotland, and which consigns so many of her little ones to an early hell of destitution and despair.

§ 11. I am indebted to the kindness of a friend in Paris, for a report made during the past year, to the Emperor of France by Monsieur Abbatecci, minister in the department of justice, containing statistics of crime for the years 1850 and 1851. This enables me to compare some features of the state of crime in that Nation, with what I have shown to have existed among us about the same period.

§ 12. From this report we learn, that there were implicated before the Courts of Assize, in France, during the year 1850:

|                                                                                                  |       |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| Offenders against the person, 2808 ; or in every 100.....                                        | 39-00 |
| “                  property, 4324 ;                  “                  “                  ..... | 61-90 |

In 1851 there were:

|                                                                                                  |       |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| Offenders against the person, 2773 ; or in every 100.....                                        | 39-30 |
| “                  property, 4298 ;                  “                  “                  ..... | 60-70 |

---

100-00

§ 13. In these years there were accused before this tribunal:

|                                                              |       |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| Of males, 5931 ; or in every 100.....                        | 83-90 |
| Of females, 1140 ;                  “                  ..... | 16-10 |

---

100-00

§ 14. As I have shown by previous examination of the subject, the whole number of crimes in France, as compared with those in England and Scotland, is small; but it is still evident, and that from the report before me, that many atrocious offences abound in that country, such as are almost unknown in our State. For example, we find that the number of rapes and attempts to commit rape upon children, during the year 1851, which were before the Courts of Assize, were no less than 615; being 11-60, or more than 1 in 10 in the whole number of crimes.

This shocking offence is said by the report to have been steadily on the increase since 1825, and the minister suggests that more severe and stringent penalties may be required in order to protect society from this odious crime.

Such an offence is almost unknown among us; and, indeed, several of those which appear in the minister's report, are by no means common in our State.

§ 15. We also ascertain from the above report, that of those criminals who were thus implicated before the Court of Assize in the year mentioned, the proportion of women to men was about 1 to 6, a result certainly better than we find in Great Britain, but still not so favorable as among ourselves.

On the whole, however, the aggregate of criminal statistics for these two years, seems to indicate an improvement in France, since 1830, the period, of which, and previous to which, Messrs. Beaumont and De Tocqueville, and Sir H. L. Bulwer and others, have given us reports, as I have shown. I am not surprised at this, in view of the care and pains which this report of the French minister shows to be taken by his government, for the purpose of ensuring a wise and accurate administration of criminal justice. I wish, indeed, that I had more time and room, to dwell upon some of these interesting features of the report.

§ 16. To one other circumstance I call attention. It is this: In the year 1851 there were in France 67 convictions in every 100 trials in the

Court of Assize, and 33 acquittals. And in the report submitted by me last Spring, it is curious to observe that in the Middle District, during the period of which report was made, embracing the year covered by the French Minister's statement, there were (leaving out fractions) about 68 convictions, and 32 acquittals, in every 100 trials.

These very striking coincidences of results, in the operation of laws, and of human nature, among communities of men, far distant from each other, and differing in the elements of their social organization in so many respects, afford useful lessons to the legislator; and are strongly suggestive of the fact that, by a careful generalization, such results may be deduced from the working of laws and constitutions, as will afford something like accurate guidance to efficient legislation, to judicious reforms, and thus to wise and prosperous institutions.

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### C.

*To His Excellency, H. V. Johnson, Governor, &c.*

§ 1. I now bring to the notice of your Excellency the state of crime among the blacks in the nine counties of the Middle Judicial District, in this State.

I presume, that perhaps this district affords a very fair exponent of the state of crime among this class of our population throughout the whole State. In it, we have the second city, in point of population, in the State, with all its encouragements to crime among these people. In it, too, we have the large cotton-planter with his slaves aggregated in masses, and we have the small farmer of the piny woods, with his few slaves segregated, and living in neighborhoods sparsely populated.

It is proper, too, that I should have mentioned, that I have taken great pains in collecting the information which I publish. I have not hastily received and adopted the statement of officers in the several counties, but have endeavored to procure the exercise of caution and care in the reports made to me by others.

So far as capital cases were concerned, my task was easy; for I had kept memoranda of offences committed by slaves, and which had been tried in the Superior Courts of the district during the years 1850, 1851, and 1852; the period of time to which I had confined my attention when reporting the state of crime among white persons. As all other and minor offences are tried by other tribunals, of course, I have had to depend on these for information in relation to them; but I think I have taken the proper steps to make it reliable.

I have received from the Clerks of the several Superior Courts in the district, except Richmond county, certificates of the number of such offences committed in their respective counties. I have desired these officers to take their time, and use diligence in procuring the necessary information from the Justices of the peace in the county, and the result has been satisfactory. I excepted Richmond county, because I knew that in the city of Augusta more of such offences had been committed than elsewhere in the district, and I preferred not only to have the assistance of the Clerk and his deputy, together with the Sheriff, in procuring

this information, but I was anxious also by personal application, to obtain a report from the Mayor of Augusta, and the Clerk of Council, of all violations of public laws, which appeared on the police records of the city, as well as reports from the police officers in the city, and Justices of the peace in the county. In this way I think I have approximated accuracy in the details which I furnish. I add, that I have even asked for information in relation to all criminal charges against slaves who may have been removed without prosecution (if any), and I have taken into the account the only case of this kind, which is reported, as having occurred in the district, within the period under consideration.

In the statement which I so make, I present all the accusations against the blacks in the Superior, Inferior, Justices', and Police Courts of this district, for such violations of public laws as constitute crime in the eye of the penal law, and all charges of this sort which have been reported and have not been prosecuted. Thus it will be seen that I have not confined the statement alone to crimes which were prosecuted to conviction, but I present all accusations which have been reported, however terminating.

§ 2. Of such accusations, during the three years specified, in the nine counties of the Middle District, there appear to have been 215 against blacks, 170 of which were against slaves, and 45 against free persons of color. Of the 170, there were accusations against females 20, and of the 45, there were against females 19.

By the United States census returns for 1850, there was in these counties a black population of 44,731 souls, of which 44,100 were slaves, and 631 free persons of color.

The following table will show the centesimal proportion of crimes contained in these accusations against the person, against society, and against property. I place gambling and harboring of slaves in the catalogue of crimes against society.

§ 3. In every 100 accusations of all kinds against slaves, there are —

|                                 |        |
|---------------------------------|--------|
| Of crimes against the person .. | 66·47  |
| “ “ society ..                  | 31·76  |
| “ “ property ..                 | 1·77   |
|                                 | 100·00 |

§ 4. In every 100 accusations of all kinds against free persons of color, there are —

|                                 |        |
|---------------------------------|--------|
| Of crimes against the person .. | 75·55  |
| “ “ society ..                  | 15·56  |
| “ “ property ..                 | 8·89   |
|                                 | 100·00 |

The following table will exhibit the centesimal proportion of these various accusations.

§ 5. In every 100 accusations against slaves, there are —

|                                     |        |
|-------------------------------------|--------|
| Of murders ..                       | 1·76   |
| rapes ..                            | ·58    |
| Assault with intent to kill ..      | ·58    |
| Of larcenies ..                     | 1·76   |
| gaming ..                           | 30·58  |
| harboring slaves ..                 | 1·21   |
| Assault and battery, or fighting .. | 63·53  |
|                                     | 100·00 |

§ 6. In every 100 accusations against free persons of color, there are—

|                           |        |
|---------------------------|--------|
| Of larcenies .....        | 8·89   |
| gambling .....            | 15·56  |
| assault and battery ..... | 75·55  |
|                           | 100·00 |

§ 7. Of the above accusations against slaves, there are 4·70 offences in every 100, which would constitute felonies at common law, or under our penal codes, that is to say, something less than one-twentieth of the whole. And of the accusations against free persons of color, there are in every 100, 8·89 which would be felonies, or about one-twelfth of the whole.

§ 8. In every 100 accusations against slaves, there are —

|                                     |        |
|-------------------------------------|--------|
| Charges against males .....         | 88·23  |
| “          “          females ..... | 11·77  |
|                                     | 100·00 |

§ 9. In every 100 accusations against free persons of color, there are—

|                                                |        |
|------------------------------------------------|--------|
| Offences charged against males .....           | 57·77  |
| “          “          “          females ..... | 42·23  |
|                                                | 100·00 |

§ 10. As of the 44,731 persons who constitute the black population in this district, 44,100 are slaves, and 631 free persons of color, it results from what appears above, that during the years specified, there was an average of one accusation to about 723 of the slave population, and an average of one accusation to every 42 of the free blacks.

§ 11. Before remarking further on these results, I desire to call the attention of your Excellency to some facts which may inspire confidence in the approach of something like general accuracy in these statistics of crime among the blacks.

In view of the difficulty in procuring exact returns, because of the fact that many offences committed by slaves, which would amount to violation of our penal laws, if committed by whites, are punished by the master or his agent, and never appear on public records, nor can be reported by officers of justice; and also, that in serious cases the owner is sometimes urged by his interests to remove his slave from the State to avoid a prosecution, I know it is natural for many persons to suppose that any calculations on this subject must be more or less conjectural, and not to be relied on as statistics. The comparatively small number of crimes reported, and the extremely favorable character of the results derived from the report, may also weaken confidence or create surprise.

§ 12. I wish it to be understood, that I do not pretend that the report which I make is exact; I only claim for it, that it is not far from accurate, and that it is sufficiently so to allow of such cautious and guarded practical deductions, as will enable us to generalize conclusions with some degree of confidence.

§ 13. To show that this observation is correct, I call attention to the following suggestions. Capital cases among slaves and free persons of color are by our laws tried by the Superior Courts. It is not difficult to get the records of such trials. If any such cases occur in a district of nine counties in extent, and are not prosecuted, because of the slave's removal before arrest, it cannot be difficult for careful inquiry to ascer-

tain how many of such cases have occurred in three years. None of the causes above alluded to, as creating obstructions in the way of reaching accuracy, as to other crimes committed by blacks, apply to such cases, and we may certainly rely with confidence upon the statements which I furnish as to these.

Now it appears in the report which I make, that in the whole district there have been only four capital cases in three years, among a population of 44,731 blacks. Three of these cases were tried before the Superior Court, and in one the slave was removed before arrest. This gives us in a population of 44,731, just  $1\frac{1}{3}$  capital offences per year, or estimating the three years, one capital charge to every 33,548 of the black population, or taking the centesimal proportion, only 1.86 in every 100 accusations.

By looking to the report made by me of crimes committed in the middle district by whites, it will be seen that capital cases there are as 3.45 in every 100 accusations. A greater difference in favor of the blacks, than is indicated by the whole summary of crimes which I furnish, and which some may think too small.

§ 14. Let us, in this connection, also examine the French Minister's report (referred to in my last number), of accusations before the Court of Assize in France for the year 1851. We know from previous examination of the subject, that as compared with some other European States, the total number of crimes is small. And yet we find in the report to which I have referred, that of 5,287 accusations in 1851, there are of assassinations and murders, 451; poisoning, 38; infanticide, 164, and rapes on adults and children, 857; in all amounting to 1510, or something more than one-fourth of the whole, or 28.56 in every 100 accusations.

When with this we contrast the number of capital cases, viz.: murders, assaults with intent to kill, and rapes, appearing in my report of crimes among the blacks, and as to which the report is without doubt accurate, the difference in favor of our blacks is most surprising, and strongly tending, I think, to show that the report as to numbers, however favorable, may be not far from correct.

§ 15. In still further confirmation, I will mention that in pursuit of information relating to other subjects connected with the institution of slavery, in the course of the past year, I addressed circular letters to planters and slave owners, in the several counties of this District, and while doing so concluded among my questions to embrace the following: "Have any of your negroes committed any such crimes as murders, manslaughter, mayhem, rape, or any other crime against the person in the last ten years? Have any of them committed burglary, robbery, larceny, or theft, or any such crime against property in the last ten years? Have any of them in that time committed any act which would have sent him or her to the Penitentiary if he or she had been a free white citizen? If any of your slaves have been so charged, how many females were so accused? Are petty thefts among themselves frequent with your negroes?"

At my request, most of the answers to my questions were verified by affidavit, and are before me in the solemn form of testimony, from some of our most respectable and intelligent citizens.

§ 16. I now refer to the answers of 10 only of these gentlemen. I take this number for convenience, as the aggregate number of their slaves is 1001. From the report of these gentlemen, it appears that among this

numeroer of their slaves, for ten years preceding the past year, 1853, there have been 1 case of burglary, 1 case of larceny from the house, 1 of simple larceny, and 1 of assault and battery—in all 4.

The largest of these slave owners (and one who has a large cotton producing interest, is an estimable and intelligent gentleman, and minister of the gospel), swears as follows: “I do not think any of my negroes could have been sent to the Penitentiary for any offence which they have committed since I owned them.”

Another, who says that he has never had any offence committed by his negroes which would have amounted to a felony if perpetrated by a white man, remarks that he has “heard of little pilfering among themselves, such as taking of fruits and watermelons, &c., never of clothing, or such property. I have never heard of anything very serious.”

Another, who reports 194 slaves, and is an educated gentleman residing among his people, and closely observing them, coincides with what is above stated, and of small and petty pilfering among themselves, says he has “heard of some four or five cases in the past year.”

All agree in the report, that petty thefts are not very numerous; and one, a citizen of Tatnall county, when speaking to this point, “hits the nail on the head” roundly, by saying, “they have no need to steal, for they have plenty without stealing.”

All of which, it will be perceived, tends to confirm what I have otherwise shown of the comparative small number of crimes among our slaves, and the exceedingly small number of aggravated cases.

§ 17. To this I will append what Sir Charles Lyell says of the slaves on the plantation of James Hamilton Couper, Esq., in this State.

“The most severe punishment required in the last forty years, for a body of 500 negroes at Hopeton, was for the theft of one negro from another. In that period, there has been no criminal act of the highest grade, for which a delinquent could be committed to the Penitentiary in Georgia, and there have been only 6 cases of assault and battery. The murder of a husband by a black woman whom he had beaten violently, is the greatest crime remembered in this part of Georgia, for a great length of time.”—*Lyell's Travels in the U. S.*, Vol. I., p. 266.

§ 18. On the whole, I think that after due consideration, it will be found that some reliance may be placed in the approximation to accuracy, which is assumed for this statement of crimes among the blacks.

§ 19. When we examine the tables which are submitted in this report of crimes among the blacks of the Middle Judicial District in our State, we cannot fail to be impressed with the considerable preponderance of crimes against the person—a preponderance greater even than in case of free white offenders among us. But, if we look to the details, we will find that these offences against the person consist chiefly of fights, or assaults and batteries among themselves, and are not of a serious nature. These among the slaves constitute nearly two-thirds, and among the free persons of color, quite three-fourths of all the accusations.

§ 20. The next most conspicuous offence is that of gaming, and for the cause of its prominence we may look to the influence of the town upon that class of population—all of the cases reported, save one, coming from the city of Augusta. The crime of larceny stands next most prominent in the list, and is almost entirely confined to free persons of color; with whom it constitutes about *one-twelfth* of all accusations; whilst with the slaves it amounts to 1.76 only, in every 100; or considerably less



than *one-fiftieth* of the whole. A circumstance very significant as to the morals between the two classes of blacks. It is a circumstance, too, perhaps, not altogether insignificant as to the fact (inasmuch as these people among us, as the general rule, are notoriously idle, improvident, and destitute) that poverty and want are prolific parents of theft. Thus can be readily realized the true philosophy contained in that homely observation of the plain planter, which I have mentioned, viz.: "they (his slaves) have no occasion to steal, because they have plenty without stealing."

§ 21. It will be seen that two still more striking facts indicate the difference between the moral and physical well-being of the slave and free person of color, which are these:

1. The number of accusations against slaves are 1 to every 723 of the slave population; and among free persons of color, are as 1 to every 42. The accusations against male slaves are as about 88 in every 100, and against females as 12 in 100, whilst against male free persons of color they are as about 58 in 100, and against females as 42 in every 100.

It will be remembered, perhaps, that in the whole District the number of accusations against female slaves was, in three years, 20 only, out of a population of 44,100 slaves—a less number than against white females (greater in proportion to the whole number of slaves accused), though the slave women are considerably more numerous than the white women, whilst the number of accusations for the same time against free women of color, was 19 out of a free colored population of 631. This circumstance bears evidence of a degradation, not to be found among any other class in our country—a degradation suggestive of reflections which are of great and increasing practical importance. I would call it evidence of a degradation lower even than woman seems to have reached in England and Scotland, were it not that among the accusations against these free persons of color, there appeared none of those brutal and revolting offences so often perpetrated by abandoned women in Great Britain, and but few cases comparatively of theft—to which crime, destitution, and starvation in that country, drive so many of these unfortunates.

On the subject of the difference in the number of crimes committed by slaves and free persons of color, Beaumont and De Tocqueville say, "that one strongly deceives himself if he believes that negroes are kept from crime by giving them liberty; experience on the contrary has discovered, that in the South the number of crimes is very much greater among the free negroes than among the slaves."—*Système Penitentiare*, Tom. I., p. 299. As it was then, so it is still, and must continue whilst the same causes operate.

Again, the same authors say, that the proportion of women in the prisons of the Union become more considerable, according as we descend into those States where the negroes are more numerous, because negro women commit infinitely more crimes than the white women, &c.—*Ibid.*, Tom I., 272.

Here the reference is to negro women who are free, and this appears from a subsequent note on the next page, as well as from portions of the text, other than that I have quoted.

§ 22. I have already remarked upon the exceedingly small number of capital cases among our blacks; and I now call attention to the few cases which would have been considered felonies if committed by free whites (few in comparison to the small aggregate total, appearing in this report),

and to the almost entire absence of those malignant, bloody, atrocious, or revengeful crimes which are to be found, and must, in the nature of things ever be found on the criminal calendar of every people, where the lower orders are beastly in habits, degraded in morals, suffering from want, hunger, cold, and squalor; or writhing under the iron heel of oppression. To the plain corollary, or consequence, I may refer, in conclusion.

§ 23. As I have not before mentioned the fact, and it occurs to me just here, I desire to remark, that a very large proportion, indeed a very large majority of the assaults and batteries reported against the blacks, and as a consequence, a very large majority of all the crimes committed by them, were occasioned by the intoxication of one, or both of the parties—especially is this true, as to the free persons of color. I had no means of verifying this with entire accuracy, but judging from the cases on the police records, as the facts remain in the memory of the officers, this inference is plainly authorized.

§ 24. I have time, in conclusion, to deduce only a few hasty general conclusions from the above statement of crime among the blacks, and especially among slaves.

From all that is thus shown, it is apparent, that our negroes, (as perhaps Sir Charles Lyell suggests,) are kind, warm-hearted, and impulsive, and not a morose and malignant people. But it is also obvious, that other causes must rest at the foundation of these results; for we find that among other people of cheerful temperaments, and kind affections, but differently situated, crimes, and atrocious crimes too, are found in a fearful ratio to the population.

These causes, without doubt, we are authorized to infer are:

1. A wholesome moral restraint, in which respect for the relation of man and wife and its incidents, is generally encouraged, sometimes enforced by the owners of slaves in our country. To maintain which, these owners are in a high degree prompted by their interests, by the desire to obtain the services of healthy, and intelligent, and able-bodied servants, and to increase the stock of their property by the natural multiplication of their slaves.

2. A general diffusion of practical and plain Christian and moral elementary principles among them.

3. An abundant supply of food and clothing, as the general rule, which also the interest of the owner, if not his sense of duty, requires to be provided.

4. Considerate legislation, which has reference to a system of restraints (judicious and expedient, where such an institution is maintained), on the one hand, and on the other, to justice and humanity.

These are some of the reasons why we find, that this institution of slavery (whose uses were established by an inscrutable Providence, and designed to exist, despite the puny efforts and revilings of weak and ignorant men, until His all-wise purposes shall be accomplished) when we would estimate its value with relation to that sum of human suffering and sin which go to make up crime, though unsightly and disagreeable, it may be, in some of its features, "wears yet a precious jewel in its head"—the almost priceless gem of comparative immunity from the curse of crime, and all that it entails upon a people.

§ 25. *Extract from Cobb's Historical Sketch of Slavery.*

“The criminal statistics of the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States show, that the proportion of crime committed by negroes in the former, does not reach the ratio of this population as compared with the whites, while in the latter, the ratio is much greater. The same is true of the statistics of mortality and disease. The apparent disproportion in the former case is greater than the truth, as many petty crimes by slaves do not reach the courts; and in the latter, it may be truly said that the Southern climate is more favorable to the health and longevity of the negro. But, making due allowances in both cases for these causes, it is still true that the negroes are less addicted to crime, and are more healthy and long-lived, in a state of slavery than freedom.”

D.

§ 1. By reference to § 15 of Appendix, C, it will be seen, that the author of that report there states, that, in pursuit of information relating to other subjects connected with slavery, and for the purpose of procuring statistics having reference to crimes in his district, he had addressed circular letters to many planters and slave-owners in that district, asking for information in relation to the treatment of their slaves, and the state of crime among them; and that he had received answers from these gentlemen, furnishing information on these subjects in reply to his questions. Judge Starnes's report contains no more of these answers than was of immediate service to him in preparing his criminal statistics. It occurred to me that there might be some information in these answers relating to the subject of slavery, and its incidents, which would be of service, if presented to the public in connection with the matters contained in the foregoing pages. I have accordingly obtained the originals of these letters, and propose to submit copies of a few of them, for the purpose of enabling the reader who has no experience in such matters, to ascertain something more of the moral character of our slaves in Georgia, of their comfort, and their treatment by owners. I have selected a few of these letters as specimens of the whole, because it would occupy too much room to publish all. But these have been taken at random; and I pledge my faith that, in all important particulars, they coincide, or very nearly so, with those which are not published.

§ 2. The following is a copy of Judge Starnes's letter, and of the questions to which the other letters are replies:

“1. How many Slaves do you own or superintend? How many Males, who are grown? How many Women? How many children under ten years old?

2. How much food do you give to each *per day*, or *per week* of seven days? How many pounds of meat, and what sort of meat, the year round, do you give them? Can you approximate the quantity in pounds of meal, or vegetables, such as potatoes, peas, turnips, etc., which you allow them *per day*?

3. What sort of, and how many, suits of clothing do you give them a year? In the term clothing, I include hats, shoes, and blankets.

4. What house-room do you allow them? What is the size of their rooms? How many, on an average, occupy a room? Has each house or cabin a fire-place?

5. How much and what sort of fuel is allowed them in winter?

6. What provision do you make for the attendance of a physician upon the sick? What time is allowed your lying-in women after child-birth?

7. Are the infant negroes all suckled by their mothers, and have their mothers a sufficient supply of breast-milk for them?

8. Do you allow milk to the young children generally? How are the infants taken care of when their mothers are absent?

9. Have you had a still-born child among your negroes in the last ten years? if so, how many? How many negro children have you, in that time, lost in the *first*, how many in the *second*, how many in the *third* years of their lives?

10. At what ages are the young negroes put out to work? and to what sort of labor are they first put?

11. How many aged and infirm negroes have you? What food and clothing do you allow them? and what work require of them? How are those who need attendance cared for and looked after? How old is the oldest of your negroes?

12. During what hours do your slaves labor, and what hours have they for rest?

13. How many lunatics have you on your place or places? What food and clothing do you allow them, and how otherwise treat them?

14. Have any of your negroes committed any such crime as murder, manslaughter, mayhem, rape, or any other crime against the person, in the last ten years? or have they been charged with any such offence? if so, how many?

15. Have any of them committed burglary, robbery, larceny, or theft, or any such crime against property, in ten years? if so, how many? Have any of them, in that time, committed any acts which would have sent him or her to the penitentiary if he or she had been a free white citizen?

16. If any of your slaves have been so charged, have any of the females been so accused?

17. Are petty thefts among themselves frequent with your negroes?

18. Have you had a case of suicide among your slaves in ten years? Did you ever know of a case of suicide by a slave? if so, how many in your life, and how long have you lived in a slaveholding community?

19. What religious opportunities do your slaves enjoy? Are any of them members of Christian churches?

20. Have you ever separated families by sale? Do you make a practice of doing so by purchase? What is the general custom of the county in this respect?

Very respectfully,

To \_\_\_\_\_.

Yr. obdt. servt., etc."

The following letter is from a citizen of Washington County:

Davisboro, May 20th, 1863.

§ 3. DEAR JUDGE:—I furnish below such answers as I can make to your interrogatories.

§ 4. To the 1st question I answer, I own and superintend 198 servants;

among them are thirty-three grown women, twenty-six girls from ten to eighteen years old, thirty-four girl children under ten years of age, thirty-six grown men, twenty-seven boys from ten to eighteen years of age, thirty boy children under ten, five old women who are over-aged and infirm, five old men in the same condition, making ten thus situated, one who is maimed and lame, and one who is an idiot—both of the last are males.

§ 5. To the 2d question I answer, I give to all servants who are over ten years of age  $12\frac{1}{2}$  pounds of bacon per month of twenty-six days, and a peck of meal per week of seven days, each. To all children under ten years I give  $6\frac{1}{4}$  pounds of meat per month, and half a peck of meal per week. The meat which I allow to the servants who labor, or are infirm, amounts to about half a pound per day, of shoulders or middlings, with about a pound and a half of meal, a peck (the allowance for a week of seven days) weighing from eleven to fourteen pounds, and thus you have the pounds per day. I generally kill from ten to twelve beeves in the year, this I seldom or never weigh out to them, as it is given to them extra of their regular allowance, and is cut up and divided among them as equally as possible. As for vegetables, such as peas, potatoes, and turnips, I have the two latter planted in patches, and allow them to go and get what they desire: this is especially so of turnips. I have, some few times in my life, given them allowance in sweet potatoes, though generally I raise an abundance of them; but when gathered and put up in hills, they are given out in families, and according to the size of the families; sometimes they are allowed to go to the hills and get them as they wish. As for peas, I make it no article of allowance—I plant them in all of the corn-fields, and the servants go and gather them as they wish. All of the servants, on each of the three plantations, are permitted to raise chickens, and have gardens, in which they raise such vegetables as they choose to plant.

It has been a custom with me for several years past, and which I still keep up, to give the servants on each of the plantations a barbacue, or dinner, so soon as they finish laying by the corn crop—this generally happens on or about the 4th of July. I most always attend them, or, in my absence, the overseers, to see that they have an abundance of provisions, such as beef, pork, mutton, and bacon, corn and wheat, bread and vegetables.

§ 6. To the 3d, I answer, I give all servants two suits during the year, and frequently, to some, three. The suit for summer consists of a shirt and pantaloons, or, to women or girls, frocks, made of cotton osnabergs, principally manufactured at home. In winter, I give them a shirt, pantaloons, and sack-coat, the filling of wool, the warp of factory thread, No. 5 or 6, and cloth wove at home. Mostly all the servants who work out have hats yearly, and all of them blankets every two years. They also have shoes every winter, and often some are allowed two pairs per winter.

§ 7 To the 4th, I answer, most of my servants' houses are built 18 by 20 feet, and each family occupies a separate house—sometimes it consists of a man and his wife, and six or eight children; and I suppose, if the average was made, it would not exceed more than five to the house. Some of the houses have sheds attached to the main building. All of the houses have at least one fire-place. The chimneys are built mostly of

rock in the body, and brick funnel. Some few are built of timber for body of chimney, and mud and sticks for the funnel.

§ 8. To the 5th, I answer, I own a large body of timbered land; and, with exception of one of the plantations, the wood is near the servants' houses. The wood or fuel mostly used by servants for making their fires is pine, red oak, and hickory. During the winter months, wood is hauled to their houses from the new grounds which are being cleared up. I have never debarred my servants from getting any kind of wood, and in any quantity they pleased,

§ 9. To the 6th, I answer, whenever any of the servants are sick, it is reported either to the overseer or myself by one of their family, and we go to see them. If a simple case, we administer and prescribe, sometimes bleeding, when necessary; but if the case requires the aid of a physician, he is sent for immediately, and one of the female relatives of the sick sent in to attend their wants; and the overseer or myself see that the medicines are given in accordance with the prescriptions of the physician. Where I have thought the case dangerous, and requiring my personal attention, I have sat up and attended the sick during the night. In all instances where the women are discovered to be in a child-bearing situation, they are taken into their houses and put to spinning, at least eight weeks before confinement, and remain in six weeks after the birth of a child.

§ 10. To the 7th, I answer, in all cases the women are allowed time for nursing their children. My rule has always been that the mother of an infant under four months is allowed to come in from work once between breakfast and dinner, and once between dinner and night. I never but twice, in my recollection, had women that did not give a sufficient supply of milk for their children; and in both of these instances I had the children frequently fed with cow's milk in suckling-bottles.

§ 11. To the 8th, I answer, my servant children under ten years of age are allowed, every morning during the summer months, to have milk, such as clabber, butter-milk, or sweet milk, from the dairy. I keep from two to three old servant women at each plantation, who take care of all children under ten years while their mothers are absent in the fields at work.

§ 12. To the 9th, I answer, within the last ten years, on one of the plantations of which I have the management, so far as I now recollect, there have been four still-born children, from two women, each having two. Previous to that time, I do not remember any such occurrences.

§ 13. To the 10th, I answer, when my little negroes arrive at the age of ten or eleven years, they are put to driving up the cows and calves, carrying water to the grown hands in the fields; and some of the girl children, at those ages, are learned to spin, and others are taken by the old men and women into the vegetable and potato patches, and learned to hoe. The first year after that time, they are gradually taken into the fields of corn and cotton with the other hands, two in one row, and learned to work, the older ones learning them—this is often by some relative of theirs.

§ 14. To the 11th, I answer, I have ten aged and infirm servants—five males and five females. They are fed and clothed in the same manner with other servants, that labor in the fields; receiving whatever clothing and food the others get, and at the same time. The old women take care of the children, the old men work in the gardens and patches about the

house and for their use—this they do as they choose. The oldest servant on the different plantations is about eighty-four years, and there are among the above two of about the same age. There are none of them yet but that can travel about, and take care of themselves pretty well.

§ 15. To the 12th, I answer, my servants should get to their work about sunrise, and work to my usual breakfast hour; which, in summer time, is between seven and eight o'clock. They then stop about one hour to eat, and at about half-past eleven to twelve they stop for dinner, and rest about two hours and a half; then work till sunset, or a little afterwards.

§ 16. To the 13th, I answer, I have but one idiot, and that a male, about twenty years of age. He receives his clothes and food as the other negroes, and often gets two suits to another's one. His mother takes care of him; she is employed in spinning. He is kept with the old women and children, and does no labor but what he chooses. He frequently draws water and picks up wood for the other servants. All the servants appear to like him, and treat him with the greatest kindness.

§ 17. To the 14th, I answer, I have never had any negro under my charge to commit murder, manslaughter, mayhem, or rape, so far as I have any knowledge of it; nor have any of them been charged or accused of such crimes.

§ 18. To the 15th, I answer, that none of the negroes which I own or superintend have been charged or accused of burglary. They have frequently been accused of stealing from each other little things, and they have at times been detected and corrected. One of the negroes was charged with robbing a trunk of some large sum, amounting to five or six hundred dollars, and she was tried, convicted, and punished according to law; but she was not entirely under my management at the time.

§ 19. To the 16th, I answer, the negro who was tried and convicted of robbing the trunk before mentioned was a female, and was raised in a city, about her mistress' house, and was treated with the greatest kindness, and greatly indulged.

§ 20. To the 17th I answer, I cannot say that so far as my knowledge extends, that petty thefts are very frequent among my own negroes; but for the last two or three years I have heard more of them and had to correct oftener for that cause than previously. Perhaps I have had during the last year some four or five cases among all the servants.

§ 21. To the 18th I answer, within the last ten years I have not had a case of suicide among the negroes, nor did such a thing ever occur previous to that time among any of the negroes which I own or control. I never knew of any cases of the sort, though I have heard possibly of three. I was born in a slaveholding State, and have resided all my life in a slaveholding community.

§ 22. To the 19th I answer, I have always permitted the negroes that I own or superintend the privilege of attending church every Sabbath, if they desired to do so. We have a church on one of the plantations, where there is preaching twice in the month. Most of the negroes attend. The larger portion of the older negroes are members of some Christian church, and they are allowed to hold prayer-meetings among themselves on the premises.

§ 23. To the 20th I answer, I never did sell a man from his wife, nor a woman from her husband; nor did I ever purchase a servant from their families. The most of those that I have bought have been for the purpose

of putting them with their families; nor do I believe it to be the general custom of the country to separate families by sales or purchase.

I will add, that I always allow my negroes to make crops for themselves, such as corn, cotton, &c.; and that of the number I control, their crops amount yearly to the sum of eight hundred and one thousand dollars. I never allow them to go off trading of nights and Sundays, but when they receive the money for their crops, they have the mules and wagons to take them to the village or store. The overseer accompanies them. They buy what they want, and bring it home.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOHN J. LONG.

*Georgia, Washington County:*

Before me came John J. Long, who certifies under oath that the foregoing statement is just and true, to the best of his knowledge and belief in the premises. Sworn and subscribed before me this May 21, 1853.

JOHN J. LONG.

S. B. CRAFTON, N. P.

§ 24. The following letter is from a gentleman of Jefferson County, who was formerly in the British Army, served with distinction as an officer under Wellington in the Peninsula, and in the campaign which terminated at Waterloo, and has received from the Sovereign of Great Britain the usual decorative rewards in such cases, in the shape of medals, clasps, &c.:

§ 25. DEAR SIR:—I have received from you a paper containing twenty queries with regard to the treatment and condition of slaves. I would remark that I was born in a slaveholding community, which I left in early childhood for Europe, where I was educated and lived some years. I have, however, lived in Georgia for the last thirty years, the last twenty-three of which I have been the owner and superintendent of slaves.

I now proceed to answer the questions seriatim as far as my knowledge and experience enable me to do.

§ 26. 1st answer. Sixty-five, of which there are—

|                                               |    |
|-----------------------------------------------|----|
| Males, grown ( <i>i. e.</i> , about 16) ..... | 19 |
| Women " " .....                               | 21 |
| Children under ten .....                      | 17 |
| " between 10 and 16 .....                     | 8  |

—  
65

§ 27. 2d. *Food*.—They receive three pounds of bacon per week. When fresh meat is given, as occasionally in winter and spring, they receive more. One peck of corn-meal per week, besides which, potatoes are given occasionally and as long as they last. A piece of cow-penned land is sown in the fall in turnips, which they are permitted to use *ad libitum*. They all have gardens, in which they raise cabbage, &c. I have offered to increase the allowance of meat, if they wished it, but have always been informed by them that they had enough.

§ 28. 3d. *Clothing*.—To each of the men and boys, a winter suit of factory plains (without wool), consisting of a sack and pair of pantaloons; a shirt, a hat, and pair of shoes. In the summer, the same, of lighter factory cloth, except the hat and shoes.

To the women, in winter, of factory plains, a frock and petticoat; a



shift, pair of shoes, and head handkerchief. In the summer, the same of summer cloth, except the petticoat. All the above-mentioned clothing is given to them made up. For the young children, their cloth is given to their mothers. Each negro of every age receives a blanket every second year.

§ 29. 4th. Each family has a house 16 by 20 feet, with a fire-place. This they divide into two rooms. Some of the families have an additional house or room adjoining, in which the larger children sleep.

§ 30. 5th. The woods are convenient to the quarters, where they procure whatever fuel they want to use.

§ 31. 6th. *Medical attendance.*—The same physician that attends my own family. Lying-in women are allowed one month in all cases. If delicate, they are kept in from regular work longer. Sewing and other light work is given to them.

§ 32. 7th. All infants are suckled by their mothers, who in almost all cases have a sufficient supply of breast-milk.

§ 33. 8th. The young children are allowed milk generally. There are three old women whose sole business is to take care of the children during their mothers' absence. Also, to attend the sick, receiving their instructions from myself or the overseer.

§ 34. 9th. *Still-born children in the last ten years.*—Ans., one. With respect to the proportion of deaths in the first, second, and third years, I am not able to answer, but believe it to be less than in any white population which I have known. In connection with this subject, I may remark that eleven years after the death of my father, the slaves that I inherited from him had more than doubled.

§ 35. 10th. At about twelve years old, they begin to make themselves useful in the field as water-carriers to the laboring hands; after which, with a light hoe, they are put to work with their parents, and are not tasked.

§ 36. 11th. *Aged and infirm.*—Six. They have the same food, clothing, &c., that they always have had. As to work, three women attend, as I have said, on the sick and children. Of two old men, one is a carpenter, and does light work of that kind; the other shells corn to send to mill, and attends about the stables. One woman, aged 85, the oldest person on the plantation, does nothing.

§ 37. 12th. All field-hands go out to work at good day-light. The plough-hands come in at 12 o'clock, and stay in two hours. They then return to plough until near dusk. The hoe-hands work by task, which some finish between three and four o'clock.

§ 38. 13th. One idiot, a woman of about 28. Food, clothing, &c., the same as the rest. She is able to take care of herself. Can understand everything she is told, and is perfectly harmless.

§ 39. 14th. I have not known among my negroes of any instances of the crimes stated in this question.

§ 40. 15th. No such cases have occurred.

§ 41. 16th. None.

§ 42. 17th. *Petty thefts among themselves.*—I do not often hear complaints of such things.

§ 43. 18th. *Suicide.*—I have never had such a case, nor have I ever heard of one. I have stated that I have lived in a slaveholding community the last thirty years, twenty-seven years as owner and manager of slaves.

§ 44. 19th. They have free access to all opportunities of religious worship in the neighborhood, with occasional meetings for that purpose on the plantation. Many of them are members of the Baptist, and some of the Methodist Church.

§ 45. 20th. *Separation of families by sale.*—I never have either by sale or purchase. The practice in the county, I believe, is never to separate husband and wife, or young children (viz., under 12 years of age) from their parents.

I am not aware that it is in my power to furnish you with any further information on the subject of your inquiries.

Dear sir, yours respectfully,

J. P. GAIRDNER.

The next letter is from a citizen of Scriven County :

§ 46. DEAR JUDGE. — 1st. I own, and have under my control, 450 or more slaves—100 grown males, 100 females, and 150 children ten years of age and under.

§ 47. 2d. I give one peck of corn meal, or three pecks of sweet potatoes, per week. I allow on the rice fields and in Whitfield County, Ga., half a pound of bacon per day. I allow molasses occasionally, gratis, on these places. In Scriven County, on my cotton plantation, I allow two pounds of bacon (if clear of bone) per week; if bone in it the manager uses his judgment. I give in the summer season, meat one week and molasses the next, allowing two quarts of molasses per week. Before potatoes are housed, they dig and use as much as they choose. Peas and vegetables are given them without allowance, in their season. My negroes all have gardens, and raise cabbage, okra tomatoes, and all the common vegetables generally raised by the farmers.

§ 48. 3d. I give one suit of woollen clothes, one suit of osnaburgs, two cotton shirts, two flannel shirts or their equivalents, one pair of shoes, one straw hat for summer, and one wool hat, cap, or glazed hat for winter; one blanket every third winter in the low country, every second in the up country. Every woman gets a blanket for every child born. Every child large enough to nurse gets his or her blanket. A mother with two children or more under this size, is entitled to an extra blanket.

§ 49. 4th. I have been in the practice of building my negro houses twenty feet square. I am now building them twenty-four by twenty feet. Each house has a good fire-place. No room less than ten feet. On an average not more than two in a room.

§ 50. 5th. They are allowed as much oak, hickory, black-jack, pine, &c., as they wish to use.

§ 51. 6th. I employ a physician by the year for all my plantations, giving him so much per visit, and he is to be the judge when and how often he ought to see the sick. He is to visit each place twice a week, whether sent for or not. I allow my women in child-birth four weeks' attendance, and two weeks without steady work after they come out.

§ 52. 7th. My women always suckle their own children, and I think each one could suckle two children as easily as one. I have twelve children on my cotton farm, born at six births.

§ 53. 8th. Milk is always allowed my children. I have one of the most trusty women on each place to look after the small children and cook for them. They are never allowanced. Each infant has a nurse large enough to carry it miles if necessary.

§ 54. 9th. I never had a still-born child among my negroes. I have on my cotton plantation one hundred and four children under thirteen years of age. Within the last thirteen years I have lost twenty-two children.

§ 55. 10th. The time at which my young negroes are put out to work depends more upon their size than age. None, however, are put out under nine years old. They are first put out with old negroes to aid them.

§ 56. 11th. I have four or five old and infirm negroes that are attended to like my children. I make my old negroes stay with the children. They are allowanced and treated in the same way that my field hands are. The doctor attends them when sick the same as the others. I had a man who died last February, at least one hundred years old. I have more than half a dozen over eighty years old.

§ 57. 12th. My hands labor not more than eight hours per day the year round, sometimes a little more, sometimes less, and always in daylight.

§ 58. 13th. I have no idiots or lunatics on my place, and never had one.

§ 59. 14th. I have had no negro accused of murder, manslaughter or any of the crimes you enumerate.

§ 60. 15th. I never had a negro prosecuted for any offence. My negroes sometimes commit small thefts, such as stealing hogs, chickens, &c., and in almost every instance this is done from their master. I do not think any of my negroes could have been sent to the Penitentiary for any offence which they have committed since I owned them.

§ 61. 17th. I have never known such a thing with my negroes as petty thefts among themselves.

§ 62. 18th. When I was a boy I heard of a negro woman hanging herself. This is the only case I ever knew. I was born in Georgia, and never lived out of the State. I am now fifty-seven years of age.

\* § 63. 19th. A missionary attends all my places. The negroes can attend church every Sabbath if they choose to do so. The minister preaches on my place twice every month. I think about one hundred of my negroes are members of the Methodist and Baptist churches. The missionary has a class of small negroes on each plantation, which he catechises regularly once a week.

§ 64. 20th. I never have, either by sale or purchase, separated families; and it is not frequent in my knowledge that this is done. I sold one of my women a few days since, at her request, to go with her husband. I sold her, as I think, for considerably less than her worth, rather than have her and her husband separated.

*State of Georgia, Whitfield County:*

Before me, William Whitten, a Justice of the Peace, personally came P. L. Wade, who, being duly sworn, deposeth and saith that the foregoing questions as stated are true as far as the knowledge of this deponent extends. Sworn to and subscribed before me this 9th day of July, 1853.

WILLIAM WHITTEN, J. P.

Respectfully your friend, &c.

P. L. WADE.

The following is from a successful planter in Richland County.

§ 65. DEAR SIR.—We own 150 slaves, old and young; more males than females, in the proportion of 10 to 9. About 20.

§ 66. The working hands have four pounds best bacon per week, one peck meal, milk every other night in summer. I plant largely of all kinds of vegetables, which they can get by asking. I have sweet potatoes in abundance during six months of the year, when each hand has a choice of his or her full allowance of meal, or half a peck of meal and one peck of potatoes per week. I distribute molasses occasionally.

§ 67. Old and young get regularly one woollen suit in the fall. In summer the men and boys get two homespun pants and two shirts. The women at the same time have two frocks and two petticoats. All have two pairs of shoes a year. Two hats—woollen and straw. The women get two headkerchiefs. Blankets are distributed when needed.

§ 68. The children are suckled by their own mothers generally: when not capable I have another to take charge of the infant. The infants are suckled four times a day, not counting the time when the mother returns from her work, at dark, and before going out in the morning.

§ 69. I have on my plantation a nursery for the negro children under ten years, under the charge of a good nurse, who takes care of the infants whilst their mothers are at work. I have found from experience that it is best for the children to remain with this nurse from the time they are weaned till they can be of service to their parents. This plan relieves the mother of much trouble and anxiety. The nurse gets every morning a certain quantity of meat, meal, potatoes, milk, sugar, or molasses.

§ 70. I think we have lost one child in every four during sickness—caused generally by carelessness of the mothers. Since the adoption of my plan of a nursery, few die after being weaned, compared to what died formerly, probably not more than one a year on the average—one or two.

§ 71. I have four aged and infirm negroes. They receive the same quantity of necessaries they had in their better days. Nothing is particularly required of them. The little they do is merely for exercise.

§ 72. The children under ten years mind the smaller ones, and assist the stock-minder about the lots. After this age they find light work in and around the brick-yard.

§ 73. We work from daybreak to sunset, stopping two and a half hours during that time for meals when at gang-work; but when tasked the disposal of their meals is left to them.

§ 74. Each family is provided with house room sufficient to accommodate comfortably all its members. This is generally one large room with a fire-place, which they partition to suit themselves. No particular quantity of fire-wood is given them; suffice it to say they have an abundance the whole year with little trouble. The houses are visited regularly every Sunday morning by myself or overseer, to see that they are well swept; and if a clear day, have their blankets and woollen clothes put in the sun.

§ 75. I have on my place a hospital for the sick under the care of a nurse. I engage a physician by the year. The sick are furnished with fresh beef, tea, coffee, sugar and molasses, according to their wants.

§ 76. I have had the good fortune never to have had an idiot or a lunatic among the negroes.

§ 77. I recollect but one case of mayhem on my place. Murder and other high crimes are unheard of around me. Thefts and *petit larceny* among themselves are frequent.

§ 78. I have never had a case of suicide among my negroes; but two or three cases of the kind have come to my knowledge as happening on other places. I will take occasion here to remark that I have never known a negro woman charged with any of the above crimes.

§ 79. Every Sunday I permit a certain number of my slaves to go to "town" to attend church. My intention is to build this year a church on my place, when a minister will be engaged to preach for them every Sunday.

§ 80. I allow four weeks to my women lying-in after childbirth.

§ 81. My oldest negro is upwards of ninety years of age.

§ 82. I have never separated families by sale or purchase. I have had occasion to buy many negroes, and my practice has invariably been to avoid separating them.

CHARLES DELAIGLE.

The following is from a citizen of Tatnall County :

"Reidsville, April 15th, 1853.

§ 83. DEAR SIR:—I have sixteen negro slaves—five males that are field-hands, and three women—two of them child-bearing, the other aged; and there are eight children, under ten years old. We give them as much food as they want and can eat, treating them as the white family in this respect—their food being prepared for them by the same cook which prepares the meals for the family, and they have three meals a day. The meat consists of bacon, beef, and mutton; and the yard or kitchen negroes have sometimes poultry. For bread, chiefly Indian corn, sometimes wheat bread. Sweet potatoes all the year; sometimes Irish potatoes in summer. Sometimes rice, peas (the cow and crowder pea), beans, cabbages, turnips, etc. I cannot give the quantity in pounds, for we don't allowance—all having what they want.

§ 84. We give them not less than three suits a year—a spring, a summer, and a winter suit. Sometimes, if they wear them out, as some of the boys do, we give them more. The clothing consists of cotton in spring and summer, and a mixture of woollen and cotton in winter—all manufactured by ourselves. The men and boys have a hat a year, one pair of shoes to all, except to the little negroes, who are not exposed to the weather, and one blanket a year to each.

§ 85. The infants are suckled by their mothers, who all have sufficient milk for them. They also have milk as often as they wish. The children have milk during the summer, as much as they wish. Our little negroes are so healthy, and have such good appetites, that, by the time they are weaned, they do well on other food, such as the older ones have. I have never had a still-born child on my place in my life. I have never lost a child during the first, second, or third year.

§ 86. I have not an infirm negro on the place. The oldest is about fifty-five, but healthy and vigorous. When they are not under the care of the mother, they are taken to the yard, and cared for by the cook. My slaves get up about daybreak, feed and water the horses, shell corn, etc., until breakfast, which they have by an hour by sun. They then go out to work until twelve o'clock, noon. Then they come in to dinner, and have two hours. They then go out to work until about sundown,

when they come home and get supper. Each family has its own house, about eighteen by fourteen feet. Not more than eight in one room, consisting of a mother and children, the oldest being about eight years of age. When her husband visits her (who belongs to another owner), nine occupy the house.

§ 87. As much fuel as they wish is at the doors of the negroes, almost, and they use it as they wish.

§ 88. I have never needed a physician for my negroes—indeed, I never needed a physician for my whites until last fall. I would send for a physician for my slaves under the same circumstances as for my white family.

§ 89. I have no idiot or lunatic on my place.

§ 90. I have never had any such charge made against my negroes, and they have never committed any such offence.

§ 91. They have not, in that time, committed any theft of which I have heard. I do not hear of petty thefts among themselves.

§ 92. I have never had a case of suicide on my place, and never heard of one. I am upwards of thirty-six years old, and have always lived in a slaveholding community.

§ 93. There is meeting at the Baptist church, about five miles from me, once a month. Two of my negroes are members of that church, and my slaves attend, more or less of them, on the Sabbath. They also attend worship at the Methodist meeting-house, near us, occasionally.

§ 94. I never have separated families by sale, and I never have by purchase separated a family; and the general custom of the country is to avoid this, I think.

I know of no lunatic slaves in this county, or in Montgomery County.

Very respectfully, etc.,

JAMES TILLMAN.

*State of Georgia, Tattnall County :*

Personally appeared before me, James Tillman; who, being sworn, saith that the answers above given are just and true, to the best of his knowledge, information, and belief.

JAMES TILLMAN.

Sworn to before me, this, the 15th day of April, 1853.

SAMUEL D. SURRENCY, J. P.

The letter which follows is from a citizen of Emanuel County.

“Swainsboro, April 17th, 1853.

§ 95. DEAR SIR:—I own forty slaves and superintend one. Ten are men, ten women, and there are just ten children under ten years of age.

§ 96. My slaves have what they ask for, generally—bacon and pork, beef, and sometimes, though not often, mutton, poultry. (though seldom.) corn-bread, peas, hominy, and sometimes rice. They have three meals a day, and generally take what they think will be sufficient. I do not allowance. Their meals are provided for them by cooks. They have vegetables and fruit in summer, collards, turnips, turnip-greens in winter, and plenty of milk in summer. I share, also, the molasses or syrup I make with them.

§ 97. I keep my negroes always well and comfortably clothed, according to the season. The general allowance of clothing is two summer suits, of cotton, and one winter suit, of cotton and wool; though we give extra clothing to them who may stand in need. They have hats and shoes provided them. There are nine feather beds among them, thirteen matrasses, a sufficient number of domestic blankets, bed-quilts, etc.

§ 98. The infants are suckled whenever the mother sees cause to suckle them, having free permission to leave their work for this purpose. The lying-in women are allowed a month, or more, according to their health after delivery.

§ 99. In summer, milk is given to the young children; and in winter, if they are sickly, and need it. The children generally, when weaned, are sufficiently vigorous and healthy to eat other food and keep healthy. One woman, who was afflicted with asthma, has had one or two miscarriages, and this is all of such cases as have occurred in ten years. I have lost no children in the first, second, or third year.

§ 100. I have one aged and infirm negro of my own, and one of a deceased brother-in-law's, who made me his executor, and by his will regulated that this slave should be taken care of by me, and left a legacy to him sufficient for that purpose. The latter is about seventy, and mine is about sixty years old. I allow them the same food and clothing as the other negroes. I require no work. Mine does what he pleases; the other does nothing for me. They are not infirm enough to require superintendence.

§ 101. The infants are brought into the yard when their mothers leave them, and are taken care of by the cooks or larger children. We do not put them to work until they are seven or eight years old, and then only to light work, such as picking cotton, in summer. When there is none of that to do, they do nothing. After ten, the boys are put to the plough, and the girls are kept at light work until they are fully matured. Indeed, our women may be said to do light work at all times, and no more is required of them.

§ 102. Our slaves rise about daylight, and get their breakfast before going out—some of them first feeding the stock. At twelve o'clock they come into dinner, and stay until about one. In hot weather we allow them a longer time. They work until about dark. They then get supper, and have nothing more to do.

§ 103. They have cabins to each family, about eighteen by twenty feet in size, with a fire-place to each. They average about five or six to a house.

§ 104. They have as much wood as they can consume.

§ 105. I send for a physician whenever I think one of them needs it.

§ 106. I have no idiots or lunatics.

§ 107. There has been no such charge brought against any of my slaves in ten years.

§ 108. I have not heard frequent complaints of thefts among themselves. I have myself missed some choice fruit in summer, and suspected them of taking it. Nothing worse has come to my knowledge.

§ 109. I have never had a case of suicide among my negroes, and have never known of one anywhere. I have heard of one or two in my life. Being so contented, from having their wants supplied, I do not see any temptation for them to make away with themselves. I am fifty-nine years old, and have always lived in a slave community.

§ 110. There is a Methodist church within a mile of us, where there is preaching once a month, on Sabbath, and a Baptist church within two and a half miles, where there is Sabbath preaching once a month. Our slaves have the privilege of attending either or both of these places. Six or seven of them are members of the church.

§ 111. The custom of the country is not to separate slaves by sale, as a general rule. If two persons own a husband and wife, and one of them moves away, the general custom is for one or the other to buy.

Respectfully, etc.,

JAMES HICKS.

Personally appeared, James Hicks; who, being sworn, saith that the above facts, as set forth in his letter, are correct, to the best of his knowledge and belief.

JAMES HICKS.

Sworn to in open court, April 17th, 1853.

NEAL M'LEOD, *Clerk*.

To satisfy you that our slaves are not desperately discontented with their condition, I will relate the following:

I had a sister who died a little more than nine years ago, and left to me, by will, two slaves—a man, about thirty-one years old, and a woman, about twenty-four years of age. During her lifetime, she expressed a wish to me that these slaves should be set free, and desired me to have them freed, provided it could be done. I told her, before her death, to inform them that, if they would leave the State of Georgia, and go to some State where they could legally be emancipated, they should be free; but if they chose to remain in Georgia, they must content themselves to remain slaves. This information was communicated to the woman, and she chose to remain. I do not *know* that the man had the same offer made to him, but believe he had. He is now in my service, and I could fearlessly challenge the world to produce from among white servants a more honest man, or one more devoted to the interests of his master.

Yours respectfully, etc.,

JAMES HICKS.

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## E.

### *Extract from the Constitution of the State of Georgia.*

ARTICLE IV., § 12. "Any person who shall maliciously dismember, or deprive a slave of life, shall suffer such punishment as would be inflicted in case the like offence had been committed on a free white person, and on the like proof, except in case of insurrection by such slave, and unless such deaths should happen by accident, in giving such slave moderate correction."



*Extracts from 13th Div. of the Penal Code of Georgia.*

“[§ 11.] Any person, except the owner, overseer, or employer of a slave, who shall beat, whip, or wound such slave; or any person who shall beat, whip, or wound a free person of color, without sufficient cause or provocation being first given by such slave or free person of color, may be indicted for a misdemeanor, and on conviction shall be punished by fine, or imprisonment in the common jail of the County, or both, at the discretion of the court; and the owner of such slave or guardian of such free person of color, may, notwithstanding such conviction, recover, in a civil suit, damages for the injury done to such slave or free person of color.”

“[§ 12.] Any owner or employer of a slave or slaves, who shall cruelly treat such slave or slaves, by unnecessary and excessive whipping, by withholding proper food and sustenance, by requiring greater labor from such slave or slaves than he, she, or they are able to perform, or by not affording proper clothing, whereby the health of such slave or slaves may be injured and impaired, or cause or permit the same to be done, every such owner or employer shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction, shall be punished by fine or imprisonment in the common jail of the County, or both, at the discretion of the court.”

*Extract from Act of May 10th, 1770.*

“*Punishment for making slaves labor on Sunday.* — If any person shall on the Lord’s day, commonly called Sunday, employ any slave in any work or labor, (work of absolute necessity and the necessary occasions of the family only excepted,) every person so offending shall forfeit and pay the sum of ten shillings for every slave he, she, or they, shall so cause to work or labor.”

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**F.**

§ 1. The following table, which I take from the “Mortality Statistics” compiled from the Seventh Census of the United States by the Superintendent of the Census, and published by authority of the House of Representatives, seems to show that the number of slaves who die of old age in the United States is considerably greater than the number of free white citizens.

By consulting it, and the population tables; and taking the white population of the Union at 19,553,068, and the slaves at 3,638,808 (which is what those tables authorize), it will be found that of the whole number of deaths from all causes, 1 in every 37·01 is a death from old age among the white population, whilst, in the whole number of deaths, 1 in every 32·49 is a death from old age among the slaves.

TABLE V.—Sex, Color, and Condition of those who Died during the year ending, June, 1, 1850, with the causes of death.

|                                                              | WHITES. |          |         | COLORED. |        |          |       |        |       |        |       |        |     |        |       | Aggregate deaths. |    |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|---------|----------|---------|----------|--------|----------|-------|--------|-------|--------|-------|--------|-----|--------|-------|-------------------|----|
|                                                              | Males.  | Females. | Total.  | Slaves.  |        |          |       |        |       | Free.  |       |        |     |        |       |                   |    |
|                                                              |         |          |         | Black.   |        | Mulatto. |       | Total. |       | Black. |       | Mulat. |     | Total. |       |                   |    |
|                                                              | M.      | F.       | M.      | F.       | M.     | F.       | M.    | F.     | M.    | F.     | M.    | F.     | M.  | F.     | M.    |                   | F. |
|                                                              |         |          |         | Bl'k.    |        | Mul.     |       | Total. |       | Bl'k.  |       | Mul.   |     | Total. |       |                   |    |
| ALL CAUSES .....                                             | 142,496 | 21,927   | 264,601 | 25,238   | 23,437 | 1,691    | 1,598 | 48,675 | 3,289 | 2,485  | 2,234 | 890    | 844 | 4,719  | 1,739 | 323,023           |    |
| I. ZYMOVIC DISEASES .....                                    | 62,179  | 50,220   | 112,515 | 8,597    | 7,491  | 598      | 568   | 16,088 | 1,166 | 785    | 676   | 317    | 266 | 1,461  | 583   | 131,813           |    |
| SPORADIC DISEASES.                                           |         |          |         |          |        |          |       |        |       |        |       |        |     |        |       |                   |    |
| II. Diseases of uncertain or variable seat.....              | 8,602   | 8,313    | 16,915  | 1,692    | 1,761  | 82       | 121   | 3,453  | 203   | 181    | 163   | 67     | 62  | 344    | 129   | 21,044            |    |
| III. Diseases of the brain and nervous system.....           | 11,570  | 8,865    | 20,435  | 1,456    | 1,215  | 129      | 94    | 2,671  | 223   | 179    | 152   | 58     | 69  | 331    | 127   | 23,787            |    |
| IV. Diseases of the respiratory organs....                   | 23,111  | 23,020   | 46,131  | 3,532    | 3,342  | 205      | 227   | 6,874  | 432   | 528    | 525   | 164    | 146 | 1,053  | 310   | 54,800            |    |
| V. Diseases of the organs of circulation..                   | 1,228   | 1,027    | 2,255   | 110      | 80     | 4        | 11    | 190    | 15    | 31     | 24    | 11     | 9   | 55     | 20    | 2,535             |    |
| VI. Diseases of the digestive organs.....                    | 6,074   | 5,125    | 11,199  | 1,908    | 1,597  | 138      | 113   | 3,505  | 251   | 75     | 69    | 42     | 31  | 144    | 73    | 15,172            |    |
| VII. Diseases of the urinary organs.....                     | 827     | 163      | 990     | 84       | 12     | 2        | 1     | 96     | 3     | 5      | 5     | 2      | ..  | 10     | 2     | 1,101             |    |
| VIII. Diseases of the generative organs, and childbirth..... | .....   | 3,061    | 3,061   | .....    | 684    | .....    | 48    | 684    | 48    | .....  | 26    | .....  | 23  | 26     | 23    | 3,842             |    |
| IX. Diseases of the locomotive organs....                    | 856     | 606      | 1,462   | 135      | 100    | 11       | 10    | 235    | 21    | 23     | 12    | 13     | 4   | 35     | 17    | 1,770             |    |
| X. Diseases of the skin.....                                 | 242     | 214      | 456     | 35       | 17     | 1        | 2     | 52     | 3     | 2      | 2     | .....  | 1   | 4      | 1     | 516               |    |
| XI. Old age.....                                             | 3,198   | 3,950    | 7,148   | 763      | 789    | 46       | 32    | 1,552  | 78    | 85     | 113   | 19     | 32  | 198    | 51    | 9,027             |    |
| XII. External causes .....                                   | 7,072   | 2,072    | 9,144   | 1,925    | 1,449  | 136      | 88    | 3,374  | 224   | 183    | 56    | 49     | 26  | 189    | 75    | 13,006            |    |
| XIII. Stillborn.....                                         | 184     | 130      | 314     | 28       | 24     | 2        | 2     | 52     | 4     | 2      | 1     | 1      | 3   | 3      | 4     | 377               |    |
| XIV. Unknown .....                                           | 17,363  | 15,161   | 32,576  | 4,973    | 4,876  | 337      | 281   | 9,849  | 618   | 456    | 410   | 147    | 177 | 866    | 324   | 44,223            |    |

§ 2. For further information, see § 25 of App. C.

## G.

§ 1. The United States Census of 1850 shows that the number of paupers in the State of Georgia, at that time, was 954 — at a cost of \$28,248. The population, as shown by the Census, was then 905,999. Accordingly there was only 1 pauper to every 949 of the inhabitants. The average charge for maintenance being to each inhabitant a small fraction over 3 cents. If the slaves be excluded, the average charge to each tax payer is a small fraction over 5 cents.

The text to which this note is annexed, shows that the number of paupers in Great Britain, in 1849, was 201,644, and the cost £5,395,022, or about \$26,975,110. The population was then 20,936,468. Thus there was 1 pauper for every 23 of the inhabitants; and there was an annual average charge upon each inhabitant for the maintenance of these paupers, of \$1.28.

§ 2. *Extract from Cobb's Historical Sketch of Slavery, p. ccxiv.*

“Slavery is a protection from *pauperism*, the bane for which the wisdom of civilized man has not yet prepared an antidote. In America, affliction” (disease) “old age and idleness are the only sources of pauperism. Where the laborers are slaves, the master is compelled by law to provide against the former, and is authorized to protect himself against the latter. The poor-house, therefore, is almost unknown.”

## H.

*Statistical Table from the United States Census of 1840.*

| States.            | Total White population. | Insane and idiots. | Proportion. | Total Colored population. | Insane and Idiots. | Proportion. |
|--------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|-------------|---------------------------|--------------------|-------------|
| Maine .....        | 500,438                 | 537                | 1 in 950    | 1,355                     | 94                 | 1 in 14     |
| New Hampshire...   | 284,036                 | 486                | 1 “ 584     | 538                       | 19                 | 1 “ 28      |
| Massachusetts....  | 729,030                 | 1,071              | 1 “ 662     | 8,669                     | 200                | 1 “ 43      |
| Vermont .....      | 291,218                 | 398                | 1 “ 731     | 730                       | 13                 | 1 “ 56      |
| Connecticut.....   | 301,856                 | 498                | 1 “ 606     | 8,159                     | 44                 | 1 “ 185     |
| Rhode Island.....  | 105,587                 | 203                | 1 “ 520     | 3,243                     | 13                 | 1 “ 249     |
| New York.....      | 2,378,890               | 2,116              | 1 “ 1,108   | 50,031                    | 194                | 1 “ 257     |
| New Jersey.....    | 351,588                 | 369                | 1 “ 952     | 21,718                    | 73                 | 1 “ 293     |
| Pennsylvania.....  | 1,676,115               | 1,946              | 1 “ 861     | 37,952                    | 187                | 1 “ 256     |
| Delaware.....      | 58,561                  | 52                 | 1 “ 1,126   | 19,524                    | 28                 | 1 “ 697     |
| Maryland .....     | 317,717                 | 387                | 1 “ 821     | 151,515                   | 141                | 1 “ 1,074   |
| Virginia .....     | 740,968                 | 1,052              | 1 “ 704     | 498,829                   | 381                | 1 “ 1,309   |
| North Carolina ... | 484,870                 | 580                | 1 “ 835     | 268,549                   | 221                | 1 “ 1,215   |
| South Carolina ... | 259,084                 | 376                | 1 “ 689     | 335,314                   | 137                | 1 “ 2,440   |
| Georgia.....       | 407,695                 | 294                | 1 “ 1,387   | 283,697                   | 134                | 1 “ 2,117   |
| Ohio.....          | 1,502,022               | 1,195              | 1 “ 1,257   | 17,345                    | 165                | 1 “ 105     |
| Kentucky .....     | 590,253                 | 795                | 1 “ 742     | 189,575                   | 180                | 1 “ 1,053   |
| Louisiana .....    | 158,457                 | 55                 | 1 “ 2,873   | 193,954                   | 45                 | 1 “ 4,310   |

## I.

During the year 1854 I met with the following compilation of facts in one of the newspapers of the day. I do not now remember from which it was that I clipped it, and am sorry that I do not, as I would like to give it credit for the article. A large proportion of the facts are taken from Stephens' History of Georgia, and as they are here put into a very compact form, a perusal of this statement may save the reader the necessity of turning to that work.

*“History of the Slave Trade in North and South America.*

Our attention has been attracted to the origin and subsequent progress of the African slave trade upon this continent, by an article which appeared some weeks ago in the New York Tribune. After reading that article, we turned to Stephens' History of Georgia, which contains an instructive chapter upon the same subject. From these two sources we compile the following interesting facts, and commend them to the reader, both North and South, as worthy not only of perusal, but remembrance.

The European traffic in negroes was fully established before the colonization of the United States, and had existed half a century before the discovery of America. “As early as 1441, Portuguese ships sailed as far South as Cape Blanco, in Africa, and returned with Moors—not negroes—and these Moors were treated as strangers of distinction, from whom important information could be obtained. And in 1443, Anthony Gonzales, who had brought them to Portugal, was commanded to restore them to their native homes; he did so, and the Moors gave him not only gold, but ‘black Moors’ with curled hair for their ransom. It was thus that negro slaves were introduced into Europe; and negroes immediately became a lucrative traffic from the beginning, and ‘abounded in the city of Seville before the enterprise of Columbus was conceived.’”

The maritime adventurers of those days regarded the inhabitants of the countries they might discover, if infidels, as their slaves; and consequently Indians from the West Indies and our Atlantic ports were imported into Spain and sold. Even Columbus sent 500 Indians to Spain, and ordered them to be sold at Seville.

The English traffic in American slaves began in 1563. Sir John Hawkins, in the prosecution of a commercial enterprise, visited the coast of Africa, and took thence a cargo of natives, whom he sold in Hayti. On his return to England, a public complaint was lodged against him, but he excused himself on the ground that he had ‘taken these natives from heathenish barbarism, and placed them under the blessed influences of Christianity.’ The second voyage of Sir John, undertaken in 1567, was under the protection of Queen Elizabeth, she sharing in the profits of the adventure.

The first attempt to engage in the slave trade by the American colonists, occurred in 1645, and was made by two Boston merchants, one of whom was a member of the church. We commend this historical fact to the abolitionists and disunionists in New England. The trade being profit-

able, Boston was the first to engage in it; slave labor becoming unprofitable, Massachusetts was the first to abandon it. At one time, white persons—criminals and dissolute persons—were transported to the American colonies and sold into slavery. Finally, it became a regular business to seduce men and women to leave England, and to make slaves of them on their arrival here. So usual was this traffic in Englishmen, that the Scots who were taken in the field of Dunbar were sent into involuntary servitude in New England; the royalist prisoners taken by Cromwell at the battle of Worcester, the leaders of the insurrection of Penruddock, were shipped to America as slaves. And, in 1685, 1000 of the gallant partisans of the Duke of Monmouth were transported to America, to supply hands to the colonial freeholders. In 1688, persons coming into the colonies, who were not Christians in their native country, were subjected to slavery, even if converted to Christianity afterwards.

Slavery was introduced into Virginia in 1620; into New England in 1645; into Maryland in 1650; into South Carolina in 1671; and into Georgia in 1749. Slaves were first taken to Pennsylvania by William Penn, the founder of the State; and Stephens tells us that, though he did somewhat to meliorate their condition afterwards, 'he died a slaveholder.' For sixteen years after the first settlement of Georgia, slaves were not allowed by the Trustees of the colony; and it was not until after repeated applications from the most influential men in the province—among others, the Rev. George Whitefield, the celebrated Divine—that the prohibition was relaxed. Mr. Whitefield made a test of white and slave labor, on a plantation which he bought in Carolina, the result of which was to confirm him in the opinion, as he wrote the Trustees, 'that Georgia never can or will be a flourishing province without negroes are allowed.' Finally it was determined to admit slaves into Georgia, and a Committee in the British Parliament, at the head of which was placed the Earl of Shaftesbury, was appointed to prepare an act for that purpose. This Earl of Shaftesbury was, we presume, the ancestor of the present Earl of that name, who has made himself so conspicuous of late in his attentions to Mrs. Stowe, and in his intermeddling with American slavery which his progenitor introduced.

In March, 1713, a contract was made between Spain and other powers, for furnishing slaves to the Spanish dominions in America. July, 1718, this contract was transferred to England by the treaty of Utrecht, and thereby England obtained the privilege of filling the New World with negro slaves. No Frenchman, nor Spaniard, nor any other person might introduce a single slave into Spanish America, and England had the exclusive monopoly of the slave trade for the Gulf of Mexico on the Atlantic, all along the Pacific, and the English Colonies. These monopolizing privileges were enjoyed by a company—the Asiento Company—and Philip V. of Spain, took one quarter of the stock; Queen Anne reserved one-fourth to herself, and the remaining half was divided among her favorites—thus the sovereigns of England and Spain became the largest slave merchants in the world. By the treaty assigning the contract, her Britannic Majesty undertook 'to bring into the West Indies of America, belonging to his Catholic (Spanish) Majesty, in the space of thirty years, 144,000 negroes, at the rate of 4,800 each year.' These negroes cost nothing but trinkets and toys and refuse arms, and England gained by her total sale of slaves in America, under this contract, the capital which built up and confirmed the British Empire in Hindostan.

A little more than one hundred years ago, the British were the greatest

slave-traders in the world, and it was contended and promulgated in England by British merchants, that the American slave trade was the great pillar and support of the plantation trade in America; that if the slave trade should be thrown into the hands of her rivals, and the colonies depend upon white labor, they would soon be undone, or shake off their dependence on the British Crown, 'as white men cannot be obtained as cheaply as we have obtained Africans. Even were it possible for white men to answer the end of negroes in planting, we must drain our own country of husbandmen, mechanics, and manufacturers; thus we might dread the prosperity of our colonies; but while we supply them with negroes, we need have no such apprehensions.'

It is estimated that over 300,000 negroes were imported from Africa to the English American colonies previous to 1776. Raynal puts the whole number taken by European nations from Africa before that year at 9,000,000. Bancroft 'thinks the number imported into the Spanish, French, and English continental colonies, previous to the prohibition of the slave trade, was about 3,000,000. The gross returns to the English from the whole traffic in negro slaves is estimated at four hundred millions of dollars!'

It is mentioned as a noteworthy fact, 'that at one time or another, every Christian potentate and government has sanctioned the slave trade between Africa and America, save only the Pope of Rome.' In 1787, the civilized world was engaged in the traffic. It was a lawful trade in Portugal, Spain, France, Holland, Denmark, and Sweden; and in England and Scotland great and good men were ranked among its active or silent promoters. In this same year the convention for framing the Constitution of the United States prohibited the African slave trade after 1808. The original proposition was to give Congress the power to abolish the traffic from and after the year 1800. Yet, when Gen. Pinckney, of South Carolina, moved to strike out 1800, and insert 1808 as the period for abolishing the slave trade, the motion prevailed by all the New England States voting for it, with only four slave States, Delaware, Virginia, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, voting against it.

Stephens says: 'Begun, as the trade was, by Sir John Hawkins in 1763, patronized by Queen Elizabeth, maintained by repeated acts of Parliament, and openly countenanced by the Dutch in their municipal, charter, and corporate societies, slavery was forced upon the American colonies. In nearly every instance, the earliest legislation in each colony was directed to putting down such a species of labor. Virginia early discouraged it, and during her colonial existence, passed twenty-three acts imposing duties on slaves imported into the colony, thus virtually prohibiting them; and Madison truly said, that 'the British government constantly checked the attempts of Virginia to put a stop to this traffic.' South Carolina soon passed a law prohibiting their further importation. It was rejected by the King in council, who declared the trade 'beneficial and necessary to the mother country.' Massachusetts, the first State in America which directly participated in the slave trade, imposed duties upon negroes imported; but as late as 1774, when the assembly of Massachusetts passed an act to prevent the importation of negroes and others as slaves, Governor Hutchinson refused his assent, and dissolved the assembly; because to sanction it would have violated his instructions. The royal orders to Governor Wentworth, of New Hampshire, directed him not to give his assent to or pass any law imposing duties on negroes imported into New Hampshire.

‘But what could the remonstrances of colonies, or the labor of individual philanthropy accomplish, when kings and queens, and cabinets, and cities, and parliaments, and associations, for two hundred years, were the patrons and participants in this evil traffic?’

The facts here collected are sufficient to show that Old England and New England acted a conspicuous part in the establishment of the slave trade, and the introduction of slaves into the United States; and that they never abandoned the trade or the labor of slaves until they ceased to be profitable. Whatever they did for the negro, was prompted by considerations of policy and not philanthropy — a fact which it seems to us ought to close their mouths forever on the subject of slavery.”

## J.

The following table, which has been compiled from the United States Census of 1850, will serve to give an idea of what the price of labor is in Georgia:—

|                                                                                     |                                                                               |                                                                          |                                                                             |                                                                                   |                                                                              |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Average monthly wages for a farm-hand, with board, in ninety counties of the State. | Average wages for a day-laborer, with board, in ninety counties of the State. | Average wages for a day-laborer, without board, in eighty-nine counties. | Average day-wages for a carpenter, without board, in eighty-eight counties. | Average weekly wages for a female domestic, with board, in seventy-nine counties. | Average price, per week, of board for laboring men in eighty-seven counties. |
| \$ cts. m.                                                                          | \$ cts. m.                                                                    | \$ cts. m.                                                               | \$ cts. m.                                                                  | \$ cts. m.                                                                        | \$ cts. m.                                                                   |
| 9 40                                                                                | 50 8                                                                          | 71 5                                                                     | 1 64 8                                                                      | 1 55 1                                                                            | 1 82 4                                                                       |

## K.

*Extracts from Cobb's Historical Sketch of Slavery, pp. cczii., ccxvii.*

§ 1. “The work to which this sketch is an introduction is intended to exhibit the *status* of the slave in the United States; a repetition here upon these points would be inappropriate. That their bondage has been mild, is evidenced by their great and rapid increase. For about 333,000 slaves imported, there are now more than 4,000,000. Their

physical development is undoubtedly much superior to that of the negro in his native country. Their longevity is remarkable. Their mental development has advanced very considerably, still retaining, however, the negro characteristics, except in the case of the mulattoes, where the traits of the white parents are sometime developed. But above all, their moral improvement is most evident. Though still inclined to superstition, they are frequently exemplary Christians, and generally inclined to be religious. An avowed infidel is a *rara avis* among the negroes. The statistics of the different churches in the slaveholding States show a greater number of negroes converted and admitted into the church, than all the conversions which have crowned the missionary efforts of the world."

§ 2. "As a social relation, negro slavery has its benefits and its evils. That the slave is incorporated into, and becomes a part of the family — that a tie is thus formed between the master and slave almost unknown to the relation of master and hireling — that in consequence even the young spendthrift experiences a pang in sundering a relation he has recognized from his infancy — that the old and infirm are thus cared for, and the young protected and reared, are indisputable facts. Interest joins with affection in promoting this unity of feeling. To the negro it insures food, fuel, and clothing, medical attendance, and in most cases religious instruction. The young child is seldom removed from the parent's protection; and beyond doubt the institution prevents the separation of families to an extent unknown among the laboring poor of the world.\* It provides him with a protector, whose interest and feeling combine in demanding such protection. . . . .

"In short, Southern slavery is a patriarchal social system. The master is the head of his family. Next to wife and children, he cares for his slaves. He avenges their injuries, protects their persons, provides for their wants, and guides their labors. In return, he is revered, and held as a protector and master. Nine-tenths of the Southern masters would be defended by their slaves, at the peril of their own lives."

\* "On my father's plantation, an aged negro woman could call together more than one hundred of her lineal descendants. I saw this old negro dance at the wedding of her great granddaughter. She did no labor for my father for more than forty years before her death"

THE END.





